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MARIE STOPES:
HER WORK AND PLAY

MARIE STOPES: HER WORK AND PLAY

By

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*Editor of the Centenary Edition and the "World's Classics"
series of Tolstoy's Works*

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PREFACE

In 1924 I wrote a short *Life of Dr. Stopes* which was published by Williams and Norgate, but is now out of print. In the present work I have freely incorporated material then used, but during the last eight years Dr. Stopes has been so active, and the birth-control movement has made so much progress, that the fresh matter now available dwarfs what had appeared in the former work, and this volume is presented as a new work.

AYLMER MAUDE,

Great Baddow,
Chelmsford.
January, 1933

CHAPTER I

A Brief Survey

DURING the last fifteen years, say since the publication of *Married Love* in 1918, the general attitude of public opinion towards questions of sex has altered to an extraordinary degree, and there has been a growing consciousness that "sex is a glory and not a shame, and that science and romance are not enemies but partners in building married happiness."

At the conclusion of the Great War the time was ripe for a fresh consideration of the relations between men and women. There had from age to age been an oscillation between periods of repression and shamefaced ignorance accompanied by hypocrisy, and periods when a trend towards free-love and self-indulgence paid little regard to the future of those concerned or of the race to which they belonged. Young men or women wishing to act wisely and rightly did not know where to find guidance such as they readily found on other subjects. Neither clergy, nor doctors, nor educational authorities, nor the literature of the day, offered a satisfactory philosophy or such practical advice as met their needs. The Old Testament inculcated the duty

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of having plenty of children : a doctrine of fecundity well suited to a primitive people in an under-populated world. The New Testament was less clear and explicit, but seemed on the whole to point in the contrary direction. St. Paul regarded marriage as a *pis-aller* and said :

" It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. . . . But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself" (that is to say, celibate).

The Church, too, afforded scant assistance. The Roman Catholic Church with its celibate priesthood, its monastic orders vowed to celibacy, and its exaltation of virginity, seemed to regard the single life as superior to matrimony and did little to render parenthood attractive or desirable.

Man's knowledge of the laws of nature had expanded and was still expanding, and no one doubted that it was laudable and right to use his intelligence and adapt nature to his service in regard to food, clothing, housing, the mitigation of pain, the cure of disease, the lowering of the death-rate, or the breeding of animals ; yet the curious opinion was often held that in regard to the breeding of the human race it was wrong to do what was "unnatural," by which was meant that it was wrong to apply one's intel-

ligence to that profoundly important subject, though in all those other directions it was realised that our brains are given us for use.

That amazing fact indicates the ignorance and lack of intelligence that surrounded the whole question of sex. And it was into that fog of Cimmerian darkness that Dr. Marie Stopes stepped with full confidence that it was supremely important to apply one's intelligence to that as to all other of life's problems, when at about the time the war broke out she became aware that her first marriage was not consummated and that neither her mother, her doctor, nor her lawyer, knew at all how to deal with her difficulty. The situation furnished a strong personal motive for interesting herself in the problems of sex, and her upbringing with its tradition of self-respect, her education, her scientific training, her natural ability and her strong self-reliance, fitted her peculiarly for the task. That she was a woman was also of importance, for gross as was the ignorance of all that related to a man's side of sex-life, the ignorance concerning a woman's side of it was even more profound and the prejudices against lifting that veil of ignorance even stronger.

After some years of marriage, Dr. Stopes's immediate task was to discover that her husband was impotent and she still a virgin, and then to learn how, this being so, she could escape from the legal bondage in which matrimony held her ;

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but beyond that first aim a wide vista of research opened up, to learn all that was then known of how to make the best of marriage and parenthood, to extend that knowledge by her own research and make it available for others, so that what she had suffered should clear the path for those who came after.

Her line of approach to the problem was an inevitable one for a young woman of scientific attainments, free from antiquated prejudices, accustomed to trust her intelligence and study the facts of nature at first hand for herself, and confident that it is right to seek a maximum of health, happiness, and efficiency for oneself and for one's children. Whether she would have shrunk from the task had she foreseen the strength and bitterness of the opposition she would encounter, I do not know ; but it was fortunate that she undertook the work when she did, for a reaction from the repression that had dominated the nineteenth century in this country was setting in. It usually happens that such reactions take the form of a claim for free-love, which quickly runs to licence, the evils of which lead back to another period of repression and to the suppression and distortion of man's natural and healthy instincts.

Dr. Stopes's own desire was for a monogamous marriage and for children of her own, and for this she found support in her researches. That has been the main spirit and direction of her

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work, which has reached hundreds of thousands of those who were in need of guidance. It has been a steadying influence between the obscurantist view which demanded a "conformity to nature" in the sense of a neglect to apply one's intelligence on this group of problems, and the "advanced" views of people who desired a "conformity to nature" sacrificing the future welfare of the individual and of the race for the sake of immediate gratification and self-indulgence.

Since she began her work on the relations of man and wife more than twelve years ago, Dr. Stopes has received such a quantity of personal confidences that, in addition to her study of the fundamental instincts of sex in all its normal aspects, she has come to know probably as much about the abnormalities of sex and human conduct as anyone living, but though she knows of them she regrets them, and has no wish to propagate knowledge of or interest in them. She hopes rather, by letting in the light on all that is normal and wholesome, to help to eradicate the abnormalities, and believes that teachers who are themselves in any way abnormal cannot bring health to the nations and that much of the difficulty about sex arises in that way. She would say that St. Paul—like St. Augustine after him—had messed things up because he was a reformed rake, and also because he really believed that the world was

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coming to an end in his own lifetime. It seems to her that only one who leads a simple, normal married life in a home with a nursery in it can have the true message for the race, as distinct from the individual—even if one makes excuses for erratic artists so long as they are not too infectious.

It is much harder to be a reformer and normal than to be a reformer and a crank, but she feels her chief value to lie in the normal balance of her teaching, and remembers that "example speaks louder than words," and that she would weaken herself and lessen her public value were she to devote less of herself to motherhood, friendship, and home-making.

Another matter that she has refused to deal with is the question of abortion. Heartbreaking as have been many of the appeals addressed to her and to her clinic by women in whose cases an abortion seemed a lesser evil for the individual and for society than the birth of the child would be, Dr. Stopes has stood resolutely aside. She is aware of the very great prevalence of the practice of abortion both among the married and the unmarried, and she makes her contribution towards checking that evil by making knowledge of cheap, easy, and safe methods of prevention readily accessible to those who need that knowledge.

As a result of her application of intelligence to the problem of sex we have now reached a

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new epoch in which life should be healthier and happier. It seems unlikely that mankind will again be deprived of the knowledge now made available, or that man's mating and production of offspring need ever again be so subjected to superstition, delusion, and ignorance, as they have been in the past, and as the Churches and the medical profession for too long a period seemed quite willing to let them remain.

CHAPTER II

Why I Write

To write the life of a friend who is still very much alive presents difficulties, but they are compensated for in the present case by the fact that I am able to consult the subject of my work and her family and draw much of my material direct from the fountain head. I had a similar experience when I wrote *The Life of Tolstoy*, but there my subject was eighty years of age and had nearly completed his life's span, whereas my present subject is still as young as ever and her work still progresses vigorously. In the former case I wrote of the ablest man and now I am writing of the ablest woman I have met. In both instances their personality and influence, as well as the misunderstandings and misrepresentation to which they have been exposed, deserve attention.

Dr. Stopes's world-wide reputation as a scientist, especially as a leading authority on paleobotany and coal research, is not of the kind that quickly reaches the general public. What has made her name rapidly familiar the world over has been the revolution she has effected in the general outlook regarding sex. When she

first touched that question, twelve years ago, no intelligible principles were recognisable among us to guide people in their matrimonial arrangements. There was, as I have said in the previous chapter, an obscure impression that virginity, celibacy, and the suppression of the sex-instinct, were ideals for normal men and women to aim at, while on the other hand there was a belief that married couples ought either to avoid marital relations or else produce as many offspring as chance might decree—regardless of whether such offspring were likely to be healthy or unhealthy and whether the parents could support them or not, regardless too of the effect continuous child-bearing would have on the health or even on the life of the mother.

Many felt the need of a sensible principle on which sex morality could rest, and in the chapter on "The Sex Question" in my book *Leo Tolstoy*, I ventured to say: "It may be necessary to overhaul the accepted ideals on this subject and to consider it afresh," and suggested the principle that "those things are good in sexual relations which make for the health, happiness, and efficiency of the present and future generations"; but this was a cold philosophic conclusion, and it was Dr. Stopes who supplied what was really needed, namely, the application to the problem of a keenly trained scientific brain in combination with artistic ability to convey her feelings and a full appreci-

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ation of the immense importance of the details of the subject for the welfare of mankind.

Love and hunger are the two great driving forces of humanity, and we cannot afford to allow a taboo to inhibit the application of thought to the problems relating to either of them, nor can any system of morality be effective the reasons for which cannot be so stated as to commend it to the acceptance of rational people who frankly face the facts of life.

In relation to ordinary normal humanity Dr. Stopes agrees with what is said in the Bible : that it is not good that " man should be alone," and with the implication of the text which says that " male and female created he them." She also agrees with St. Paul's injunction to husbands and wives : " Defraud ye not one the other, except it be by consent for a season " ; and she is sure that it is very wrong for people recklessly or deliberately to bring children into the world who cannot be healthy or decently provided for, and that it is also wrong to sacrifice the health and lives of women by demanding that they shall bear children beyond their capacity to do so healthily and willingly.

To indicate on the one hand scientific reasons why normal marital relations are favourable to the development of people's mental and physical powers and to their capacity to serve God and man, and why on the other hand the ascetic type of celibate is often cantankerous, embittered,

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and prone to crave for power as a compensation for the normal life he has missed, required up-to-date knowledge of the action of secretions in the human body. To discover and point out the hidden rocks on which many marriages are wrecked owing to ignorance of the normal sex-rhythm in healthy women was work specially suitable for a woman scientist. In 1918 considerable courage was needed to present these matters to the general public (whom they so greatly concern) in defiance of the social taboo that then still prevailed, and of a medical prejudice against the lay public being permitted to understand things that pertain to its peace. Besides these qualities, literary skill and much tact were needed to present the case so that it should reach and convince a wide circle of readers with a minimum of friction.

In 1924 I wrote : " The effect of Dr. Stopes's efforts, in so short a time as six years, has amounted to nothing less than a revolution in the general attitude towards sex. She has created a new atmosphere and a new terminology. Even her opponents now use her language ; the difference noticeable before and after the publication of *Married Love* is most marked. Heaps of imitators and heaps of converts have appeared." This is even more emphatically true to-day, when time has ripened and widened her influence.

On the special question of birth control (which by the way is only briefly alluded to in a couple

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The battle is now set between a reasonable and an unreasonable moral code ; and though the force of inertia and a long tradition of ignorance are on the side of the obscurantists, the ultimate triumph of light against darkness is already assured.

Owing to the extreme urgency of the need, the public has over-emphasised Dr. Stopes's birth-control work and under-estimated her general work on sex. Concerning this latter, Dr. Havelock Ellis, writing in the *Medical Review of Reviews* (Vol. 25, No. 2, February, 1919), says of some of the new observations on woman's rhythm of sex-potency in *Married Love* :

" This seems to represent the most notable advance made during recent years in the know-

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ledge of women's psycho-physiological life." And Mr. Luther Munday wrote to her :

" There always have been situations experienced that neither the Bible nor Science have hitherto explained. . . . But through your thought has come, once for all, a message clean and pure, linking the mystery of sex with the majesty of the Eternal and giving happiness to all during life's little part of immortality here on Earth."

The following chapters furnish some account of the preparation Dr. Stopes had for her work, of the fields in which she has made her mark, of what she herself is like, and of the bitter opposition she has encountered.

We may still expect that, both on the problems of sex and on other subjects, Dr. Stopes will live to add much to what she has already given us.

CHAPTER III

Glimpses of Childhood

MARIE CARMICHAEL STOPES, the first child of Henry Stopes and Charlotte Carmichael his wife, was born in Edinburgh, the town of her mother's birth and upbringing ; but her father was pure English, and at the age of six weeks the baby girl became a Londoner, which in essence she has remained ever since.

Henry Stopes was by profession an architect, but from early childhood had a passion for fossils and the stone tools left by prehistoric man. Indeed, at the age of eight years he was soundly whipped for insisting on taking his stones to bed with him, and through life his passion for archaeological research furnished him with a second career, which undoubtedly greatly influenced the home surroundings of his children and in the case of his elder daughter largely directed the line of her development. Long before his death Henry Stopes had accumulated the largest private collection in the world of prehistoric stone implements, and their constant care and classification, as well as collection, was a great feature in his elder daughter's life from her earliest childhood. Henry Stopes's interests

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were profound in many directions and very human. In addition to these two main interests he was a noted agricultural expert, writing regularly under a *nom de plume* for agricultural papers and being Chairman of the British Judges of Barley ; being indeed a pioneer in the critical judging of grain. He accumulated statistics on the effects of different rotations of crops in connection with prize-winning strains, which meant much statistical work from the records of numerous entrants for the annual barley competitions, and in this his little girl before she was twelve years old used to help him, or was led to believe she was helping him, while undoubtedly he was training her in arithmetic and in a scientific attitude of mind towards life in general.

Marie Stopes sometimes calls herself a " British Association Baby," for Henry Stopes and Miss Carmichael were first introduced at a meeting of the British Association ; and Marie was taken to almost every meeting of the Association during her school days, missing only those which were held overseas.

Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, her mother, was one of the pioneers of women's University education, having been the first woman to take the University Certificate in Literature, Philosophy, and a number of other subjects at Edinburgh University, when these courses were given by the professors privately to ladies, who

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afterwards were set the same examination papers as the men, but from whom degrees were withheld, Charlotte Carmichael headed many a list in the early days when Miss Jex Blake was studying medicine. After marriage, Mrs. C. G. Stopes came to live in London, and took up the study of Shakespearean contemporary history, becoming an expert in reading early records and ferreting out facts about Shakespeare's life history that time had rendered obscure. She was the author, among other works, of "The Bacon-Shakespeare Question Answered," "Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries," "The Life of the Earl of Southampton," and a number of serious original contributions published by the learned and periodical Press. Mrs. C. C. Stopes died at the age of eighty-eight, still in the midst of unfinished literary research work. A memorial lecture was delivered by Professor Boas, M.A., at the Royal Society of Literature, which with a complete bibliography was published in 1931 in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. It was a peculiarity of hers that till she reached the age of eighty she did not like to tell her age. Her daughter shares that peculiarity and, whether it is a case of the transmission of an acquired characteristic or the effect of environment, it hinders me from fulfilling a biographer's usual duty and supplying the date of her birth. When asked her age she always replies : "Twenty-six : I feel twenty-six

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and twenty-six is my essential age." She uses no make-up, nor any artificiality, and her husband and intimates know that when she is well, and not poisoned by smoke in cities, it is true she is twenty-six. She has a few feminine vanities, reflections of her essential attitude to health : she can bend with knees stiff and touch the ground not only with finger-tips, but with the flat of her hand ; and her foot is the unspoiled Greek foot with great toes straight ; and her toe-tips, toe-joints, ankles, and knees, all touch simultaneously in a straight line—a thing not one woman in ten thousand can do.

On both sides the baby Marie inherited a variety of intellectual interests. One of her maternal great-grandfathers was Brown, the Royal Architect in Edinburgh, who not only repaired Holyrood Palace but designed and built many of the finest streets and squares in the West End of Edinburgh which still delight the town-planners of to-day. Another maternal great-grandfather was William Carmichael, Writer to the Signet, assistant and then successor to Sir Walter Scott. The Scott family were intimate with the Carmichaels, and Lady Scott personally embroidered a beautiful christening robe for one member of the family, which descended to Marie, was used for her own christening and is now handed on to her son.

On her father's side, behind an immediate

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Quaker connection, there was a long line of Anglican clergy.

She also inherited a great liking for travel which amounted almost to a passion. After the journey at six weeks from Edinburgh to London, the nine-months-old baby was taken to the seaside and bathed in the sea, and thereafter, never less than twice a year and often more frequently, she made a journey to some part of England or Scotland, becoming later on a world-wide traveller.

After a few years little Marie had a sister, called Winifred, and these two were the only children of their parents, no boys being wished for. This fact, and the attitude of generous appreciation towards women that was characteristic of her father, undoubtedly had a favourable influence on her character and achievements through life, for she was brought up from her earliest consciousness not only to feel that her birth had been desired, but that she, as a girl, had been wished for and that no boy would have satisfied her parents as she did. For an eldest child who has the misfortune to be a girl when a boy is desired, a very different home and outlook must develop. Whilst still a tiny child, when asked by inquirers whether, besides her sister, there was no brother, she would gravely announce that pussy was her brother, and she thinks she was probably eight or nine years old before she ceased to call pussy a brother.

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Her father being particularly fond of cats and having an almost magical power of training them, the family cat had its own dinner-service and used to sit up at table with the children, eating off its own plate on the table from a high chair just like Marie's little sister.

From her uneventful childhood she remembers a few points as of great importance in the development of her character. One of these was a nurse who was for many years their devoted attendant, and after whom the favourite doll was called "Little Annie." Nurse Annie one day, looking at the doll's dress which the child was sewing, remarked that it was very good "for a lady," and Marie, at that time not more than six or seven years of age, blazed with indignation that it should not be very good in itself. In some queer childish way she resented the fact that a lady should be considered incapable of doing things as well as other people, and determined that she would sew, at any rate, as well as a servant. This she did, but unfortunately the nurse said nothing about knitting like a lady; so that when Marie was twelve years old and first went to school, she immediately took top place in the sewing class and bottom place in the knitting class.

A rather absurd introduction to her later well-known birth-control ideas may also be traced to the nursery. Her mother one day, when the nurse told her that new boots were needed,

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laughingly remarked, " Oh, what should I do if I had a dozen children ?" Little Marie gravely remarked : " You would drown all the others, and keep Winnie and me."

In London the Stopes family lived beside the Crystal Palace in a house in Cintra Park overlooking private grounds on one side and with ground behind the three central gardens of the neighbouring circle of houses which went uphill and downhill, so that the children had much space in which to play. Mr. Stopes built a wing on to the house that they took and, having very enlightened architectural ideas for those days, had an open verandah connecting the back parts of the house, for the convenience of the maids and to make an open-air playground for the children in wet weather. In the garden an old quince tree was a favourite resort of the children because they could lie on its branches and overlook the stableyard and watch the horses being groomed. It was under this quince tree, too, Marie Stopes says, that as a very small child she first got the idea which finds expression in her pamphlet " Mother, how was I born ? " —for it was just by that quince tree that, as a prattling child of four or five, she was talking about babies and where her little sister had come from, and felt, rather than saw, that people were laughing while telling her the gooseberry-bush fiction, and she then felt with a flush of insight and indignation that they were lying to her.

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The matter, however, did not actually interest her, but the vivid impression of that moment has painted on her memory every leaf and the exact arrangement of the grass and of the border walks, so that it is the most vividly remembered scene of the whole of that home.

The children were taken regularly once or twice a year to some seaside place, and for many years they went to different seaside resorts in the South of Scotland. At about the age of nine North Berwick was the choice, and Marie's inherited passion for fossils found full vent in the collection of crinoids which were washed up thickly on the seashore. There too, she tells me, she has a very vivid memory of lying on her back in the garden at North Berwick and really, for the first time in her life, noticing the clouds ; noticing them, that is to say, in such a way that to this day she can remember their shapes and patterns and the thrilling sense of portentous glory their mounting and swiftly riding god-like forms created in her mind. She thinks this was connected in some way with the reading of a book, *Tales of Ancient Greece*, which had been given to her not long before ; but she says it felt as though she had suddenly looked through a glass door into the whole universe, peopled with mysterious beings she had never seen before and never ceased to see thereafter. A little later, indeed she thinks that very summer, a sense of personal humiliation and inferiority developed

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in her which she did not get over for many years, and at that time almost her only consolation was the story of the Ugly Duckling in Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales. The first consciousness of what is now called the "inferiority complex" arose from her mother's advanced, and as we moderns would think very sensible, ideas. Little Marie had been given a knitted wool dress to wear, when no one else, at any rate in that seaside place, was advanced enough to be wearing knitted dresses ; and instead of feeling happy and distinctive in it as she logically should have done, she felt utterly ashamed to appear different from other children ; a feeling that was accentuated by the fact that a young cousin laughed at her. About the same time, owing to the curious inaccuracy and incompleteness of a child's ideas, this feeling was emphasised and increased by the following incident. The Stopes family and three or four other families in the district combined to employ the services of a private dance-mistress who came in turn to each of the four houses where the class was held in rotation. Mrs. Stopes, when her turn came, gave the children a nice tea of wholesome cakes without currants, and to make them attractive used to send to town for cakes with coloured icings and various fancy things she thought the children would like. One of the other households, however, gave only rock buns and milk. Poor little Marie did not realise that sugar-iced gateaux

and sponge cakes were really the more luxurious fare, but childishly thought that rock buns, as they contained currants, which she was never allowed to have at home, were something much grander and more expensive, and was always ashamed of what she felt was a fact, that they were "not rich enough to have rock buns for tea." As usual with her, however, no external sign of this deep shame was ever shown, but for years she felt crushed and humiliated by the fact that to her a halfpenny rock bun was far grander than an iced gâteau. At this time and all through her earlier childhood her father was very well to do—but when she was about eleven he had heavy financial losses, which left them permanently impoverished in comparison with earlier expectations.

Marie's education was exceptional in many ways. Her mother having been brought up in the good old Scottish school, started the little girl on Greek and Latin roots when she was about five, so as to give her a fundamental knowledge of the structure of the English language. But Marie proved so stupid that this was dropped and, beyond being taught to read and write, she had almost no education until, a few days before she was twelve, she was sent to school. This statement should, however, be qualified by mention of something that, again, greatly influenced her mental attitude towards the universe. A large atlas was solemnly brought

out every morning, and on its title-page this atlas had a circle in which part of the world was drawn with clouds around it. Her first memory of any lesson at all was pointing with a stubby little baby finger at this circle, representing a sphere, and repeating "The world is round and rolls in space." This formula, which was repeated daily for years, so impressed itself on her that she was always trying to feel the world rolling in space and even, as a very small child, used to wonder which way up she was standing at any given moment.

Marie and her sister Winifred were sent to St. George's School in Edinburgh for their first schooling, and then the unusual nature of her preliminary training, pitted against the ordinary school curriculum, left her woefully behind her age in routine school attainments, so that she was placed with a class of girls much younger than herself. In half a term, however, she began to find her feet, but not before her backwardness had emphasised the feeling of shame and humiliation at her inferiority, which indeed throughout her schooldays was strongly characteristic of her, and which she tried to hide by making the most of any attainments she thought she had ; and she undoubtedly had some unusual in a child of her age. For instance, she had been entrusted by her father with a small collection of flint implements he was presenting to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in

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Edinburgh, and when she was taken down with them to Dr. Anderson, the learned Director of the Museum, without any hesitation or embarrassment she gave him what amounted to a lecture on their nature and uses, and told him what to write on the labels for the exhibition cases. So amused were her elders by her expert knowledge of these implements, that her headmistress asked her to lecture to the assembled school on the subject. This she did, her audience consisting of the entire school including the teachers. Having never been brought up to an acute personal consciousness or any personal conceit, she did not realise then that there was anything unusual or surprising in a new girl of twelve years old facing such an audience. A diary which Dr. Stopes kept for some weeks as a child still exists, and begins with an entry concerning her first day at school : " Oct. Tuesday 4. I went to school at 10 o'clock and did not like it at all. I went to bed very cross." Three days later comes an entry relating to what subsequently became one of her chief studies. " Friday, 7th. Went to school. It was so nice we had an object lesson on coal-mines and coal."

While in Edinburgh she had the immense advantage of the kindly personal friendship of Miss S. E. S. Mair (now Dame Sarah Mair), her mother's friend, one of the founders of the St. George's Girls' School, the best in Edinburgh, and a leader of social life and

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advanced thought in that city. Miss Mair used to give famous parties for little girls, at which, after a sumptuous tea, each child was asked to make a clever remark to entertain the whole company. Having to try to make such remarks was extremely embarrassing to Marie and kept her petrified with fear throughout the whole tea, so that she used to feel that it was a great pity the remarks were not asked for before tea, as then her appetite would have been so much better for the tea itself—a feeling that many after-dinner speakers have no doubt shared. In Edinburgh also the horizon of the two little girls was enlarged by the kindly care and interest of Miss Menzies, who had a great interest in Iceland and read many Icelandic and Northern sagas aloud to them. Miss Menzies, too, had a comfortable elderly cook who took Marie's domestic education in hand and on Saturdays taught her home cooking and the making of real Scotch scones and shortbreads, interesting her in cooking and sowing the seeds of an accomplishment which later in life proved of great value when she was out camping, or living under unusual conditions, as she often did.

After two years in Edinburgh the children were brought back to London and sent to the North London Collegiate School, whose headmistress was Dr. Sophie Bryant, the successor of Miss Buss the founder of the school. Although two years

of Edinburgh schooling had made Marie rather better able to meet girls of her own age on an equality, she was still far behind her years in many of the routine school subjects, and when she finally passed the London matriculation, second-class, her Latin mistress said to her : " I do not know how you did it, you had no business to get through," and she replied : " I did it by writing very clearly everything I knew and saying nothing about the things I did not know, for I thought it would save the examiners' time " —a remark which showed much penetration, for in later years when Dr. Marie Stopes herself became an examiner, she learnt how examiners are worried by illegible handwriting and screeds of mazy reading which do not make it clear to them what the candidates know and do not know. At the North London Collegiate School the two girls were still educated in a rather unusual way. They were not permitted to go to afternoon school, and only lived in London from Monday mornings till Friday mid-days, going home to a country house in the then beautiful village of Swanscombe. The house there was an old Elizabethan oak-panelled house which Marie was old enough to appreciate and the charm of which, and the mysterious beauty of some of its rooms, fascinated her in her early adolescence. At the age of about fourteen she often got up at four or five in the morning to be alone in the old rooms, one or

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two of which she sketched very industriously though with little talent. These pictures, however, are still precious to her as recalling the house she has always loved. It had a very high stone wall along the tiny village street on one side, and opened into cherry orchards leading to woodlands on the other, and it was in these woods and flowery lanes that Marie first really saw the beauty of flowers. She says : " At the age of fifteen I remember observing the faces of flowers as passionately as I had at the age of about nine observed the sky. I escaped by myself one day into the woods and spent several hours lying motionless, gazing into the faces of the violets. That, too, was the opening of a door into another universe. Of course I suppose I must have seen flowers before, but till then I had never felt the sight of them." This home in Swanscombe had been taken because of Henry Stopes's great interest in the brick-earths and gravels of the surrounding neighbourhood, which teemed with relics of prehistoric man in the shape of both palaeoliths and neoliths, and there Marie, and to a less extent her sister Winifred, spent nearly all their holiday time and almost the whole of every Saturday and Sunday collecting specimens with their father in the quarries and on the fields, washing them, labelling them, and cataloguing them, with him.

To this house also came many visitors of interest

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to the growing children. " One of my school-girl memories of Swanscombe is the famous editor, Mr. Norman Maccoll, the editor of the then thunderer, the *Athenaum*. He was always very charming to us children, but disapproved of our going into the woodlands without gloves, as he said we were to be young ladies in the future and should have white hands. So on the days that he came to lunch we used to put on gloves to go round the woodlands with him, but never on other occasions. He was a very stout, elderly gentleman with a long beard and a benign fatherly face, though his literary criticisms were the terror of many a serious author. We did not look upon him with such awe as we undoubtedly should have done, and I remember once luring him to sit on what appeared to be a very firm bush, through which he promptly went, leaving only his head and his feet sticking up, and from which the united strength of my little sister and myself were insufficient to extricate him, red and indignant and very much less pompously impressive than usual. I remember another occasion when to avoid climbing a high fence we children stepped through it, and he, miscalculating the width of the bar, followed us but stuck midway. No pushing or pulling could get him either in or out. He became purple in the face, and we were all frantic. My mother, as one of his reviewers and an author whose reputation could be made or marred by his

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paper, was almost in tears, and my father at last was so genuinely concerned that he ran home for a saw. I also remember Capt. Seton Karr, the famous lion-hunter, lunching with us and being escorted by my sister and myself across the cherry orchard, wherein we encountered two or three cows from whom Seton Karr fled with teeth chattering, while my sister and I remained a protective bodyguard between him and the cows. We were firmly convinced at the time that he was in real terror of them, and I remember preaching myself a moral lesson on the vanity of courage. Now however I begin to wonder whether he was not an adept in the art of pleasing children. A man who also made a great impression on my early childhood was the late very lovable Dr. Furnivall, the famous Shakespearean, who often came to lunch with us in his pink shirt and with his pink bald head, and went with us through the woods in a state of childlike glee. He first among all my acquaintances showed me the delight of lying flat on one's back in the baking sunshine, and I well remember his refusal to proceed round the woodland with my mother and the rest of the party, and insisting on lying where he was on the violet-decked slope in the sun for an hour at a time, while the rest took the decorous walk round the crest and picked him up on their return. I also remember there Professor Sayce, the famous Assyriologist, who was much in-

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terested in my father's flint implements ; and also Mr. Mabson, the owner and editor of the *Statist*, a journal for which my father sometimes wrote.

" As a young girl I met so many of my parents' friends, mostly people who were doing something in the world of thought, that it is difficult to say who influenced me and who did not, but I clearly remember an outstanding influence from one talk with Sir Francis Galton and also from Mrs. Alec Tweedie, whose house I was sometimes taken to visit. Once at a party at Robert Mond's country house she introduced me to him as 'a girl who is going to do great things.' I felt it was incumbent upon me to try to live up to such an introduction ! "

With the exception of one annual day for their chief school friends, the children had almost no young companionship, but listened to the talk of scientific or literary experts at their parents' table and found their chief pleasure in the constant companionship of their father. When the elder girl was about fifteen however the parents thought it wise to come nearer to their school and the family moved to Hampstead, by chance to the house next door to Professor Bonney, the geologist. Professor Bonney had not grasped who his new neighbour was, and when hundreds of butter boxes were piled in the garden he gave out a groan round the neighbourhood that his new neighbour was a

wretched grocer. Professor Bonney, though he was more a geologist than an archaeologist, made a show of polite interest in the boxes when he found out that the contents were museum specimens of stone implements and not the remains of a grocery business.

The continuous unconscious education which companionship with her father gave Marie was supplemented, whilst settling into this house, by really expert lessons in carpentry. Her father, always anxious that she should not do things in a " ladylike " way, taught the girl when and how to use screws instead of nails, and how to mitre a corner in making cabinets or shelves, and both girls helped their father to put up many shelves and make arrangements for his specimens. This resulted in a passion for doing things for herself, and a small room was allotted as a study for the girls, which Marie distempered with a stencilled design of her own make and for which she constructed a good deal of the furniture. In this room she pursued her school studies in an erratic way, hurrying through the official homework and, as she grew older, reading many books it would probably have surprised her elders to know that she read. " Between the ages of sixteen and seventeen I read most of Kant and Swedenborg, a great deal of comparative theology, as well as a large number of out-of-the-way novels, and, of course, many scientific books, such as *The Origin of Species* and

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others then new to me, which it would have shocked my mother very much to know that I was taking seriously."

In her later school years Marie had more or less caught up to the standard for her age, but until she reached the Sixth Form and was a prefect she never felt really sure among her school contemporaries. Even though in many classes she headed the list she always came down in some other subject. She was seldom indisputably top of the class, but when she was nearly seventeen the chemistry mistress, Miss Aitken, developed scarlet fever and for the next morning's work there was no teacher. Marie, without hesitation, went to the headmistress and said that as she had been spending some hours in the laboratory she knew just what Miss Aitken had intended to give to those classes and that she could show where the apparatus was ready prepared. Dr. Sophie Bryant, the headmistress, in view of the crisis and also possibly to test the quality of a girl in whom she felt some interest, asked Marie if she could take the classes, which she did ; and then for six weeks, directed only by correspondence from Miss Aitken, Marie took the chemistry for the whole school, including the class of which she was herself a member. She was very proud when she received a present of five pounds for having done this, and much humiliated when, having sent a receipt without a stamp on it, this was returned for rectification.

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Nevertheless she went through the school leaving a general impression on most if not all the mistresses, except Miss Aitken and Dr. Sophie Bryant herself, that she was a stupid girl whose plodding perseverance alone saved her from disgracing herself in the examinations. Among her schoolmates she made a few lasting friendships. Her great school friend, and the only one whose life remained in close contact with her own, even after they were both married, is Olga Kapteyn, a girl of Dutch descent, niece of Professor Kapteyn, the famous astronomer. These two girls, who both had a passion for colour, including a love of gold and orange tone for silk (which was then almost unattainable), came together over their intense appreciation of their teacher, Miss Aitken. Of Miss Aitken, Marie Stopes says : " She was, undoubtedly, the greatest influence in my school career. She opened to me the door that led to all the exquisite beauty of Italian art and of the school of artists represented by Watts, Rossetti, and their contemporaries. She taught me chemistry so well that I was doing work of honours degree standard in physical chemistry before I left school, and she strengthened and hardened my character by her mingled austerity and beauty. I had undoubtedly the usual schoolgirl's ' Schwarmerei ' for other teachers whom I thought I loved more at the time. But Miss Aitken and Dr. Sophie Bryant are the two mistresses who understood

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me and influenced me and to whom I owe a lasting debt of gratitude."

On leaving school Marie Stopes was given a leaving scholarship in science, and under the influence of Miss Aitken she went to University College, London, rather than to a woman's college which had been suggested for her. Miss Aitken wisely said : " I f you are going to do science at all, do it under the biggest men of the day."

CHAPTER IV

The Student

WHETHER Marie Stopes should go to a women's college or to University College, London, was being discussed by her parents, the headmistress, and teachers. The girl however settled it for herself by going down to University College and entering herself there as a student in the faculty of science. That was in the days of Miss Rosa Morrison as the women's tutor, and after due formalities and recommendations had been put through, the question came up of the classes she would take. As her last two years at school had included considerably more training in zoology and chemistry than is usual for a schoolgirl, the chemistry indeed being far beyond the intermediate standard and up to the degree standard, Marie wanted to enter for honours in the intermediate examination at the University. Professor Sir William Ramsay was always very sympathetic towards any student with ambitions, but did not himself conduct the practical classes for the juniors though he gave them their lectures. The professor naturally would not hear of her doing honours degree work until the intermediate examination had been passed, so that

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chemistry, from being the young student's chief interest and most advanced study, dropped into second place. Receiving considerable encouragement from the Professor of Botany, Professor Oliver, who was willing to give the necessary attention even to one honours student, the girl took up honours in that subject, in which at school she had taken very little interest ; and she made botany her main work for the first year at the University. At the close of the first year, naturally, there were the college class examinations, and owing to the curious lack of personal supervision—which, though it is in many respects one of the best features of university life, has its inconveniences—no one, not even the dons under whom she was working or the Dean of the University, ever told her that by taking the class examinations she would enable the professors to place her for some of the various scholarships which were available. When the young student asked Professor Oliver at the end of the session whether it was compulsory or wise for her to take the class examinations, his reply was, " It is a free country."

The Professor of Zoology, the famous proto-zoologist, Minchin, on the other hand, most kindly came to her in the laboratory one day shortly before the examinations and urged her to take sufficient trouble with the nomenclature of the bones, saying that if only she would work up the bones with their foramina she would be

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nearly certain to get the medal for the class. But the obstinate young student replied that no medal would be worth her wasting the small amount of brains she felt she possessed on learning the names of the bones, and that she could not see the advantage of learning them when they were always available in a book ; what she wanted to do was to learn things she could not find in books. The professor laughed, and had another friendly but rather reproachful smile when she took the second place in the class instead of the first.

How much this unguided young student lacked orientation was also shown by the fact that on the annual prize day of the college she was spending the morning fishing for algae in the Botanic Gardens with a fellow-student who urged her to come to the college in the afternoon. Her dress was wet and covered with the slimy green of the algae and she did not feel inclined to go at all, but her fellow-student pressed her to do so and she slipped into the back of the hall when prize distribution was in progress, entirely unaware even of the possibility of any prizes coming her way, and was incredulous when the fact that she was the recipient of a gold medal was announced and her name was called. Instead of being pleased she was much distressed at receiving this gold medal, for she felt that if work such as hers secured a gold medal, it must indeed be a disappointing thing to be a professor

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with such poor students. She told me she stayed awake the whole night crying about it and vowed to herself to be worthy of it in the future.

Ridiculously unoriented also was she about the little feminine things generally of interest to girls. For some time after going to the University, for instance, she wore a ring on her engagement finger, and when asked by her fellow-students when she was going to be married, was amazed to learn that this was the engagement finger, as she had not known that there was any such thing. The ring had been given her by her mother and the girl had no knowledge that any significance was involved in wearing it. Similarly, when in the first year of her college course she received her first proposal of marriage, the man was surprised at her reply : " But I am not nearly old enough to think about such things ; surely I do not look twenty-five." And he had to learn that of course she would not consider anything of the sort until she was twenty-five, " because nice girls do not." Her father had brought her up in this belief, with the very proper intention of delaying her sex-consciousness as long as possible, and so strictly and implicitly had she accepted the idea that nothing the man could say could persuade her that it was not most improper of him even to have thought it possible that marriage could be discussed with a nice girl under twenty-five. Naturally such a girl was not always understood

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by her fellow-students, but she was popular enough to be made President of the Women's Union Debating Society and one of the hockey eleven.

Shortly after the college examinations the open University examinations took place. Marie Stopes took the first place in first-class honours and gained the University scholarship.

During that first year at the University, in addition to the intermediate work at University College, she was pursuing, without the professors or anyone else knowing it, work beyond the ordinary degree standard in zoology—partially under the tuition of an old school teacher, a friend, and partly at Birkbeck College where she went to the evening classes for the honours course in zoology—on the small animalculae and invertebrates. In this way she gained a considerably wider training and experience in zoology than is generally recognised, and this point is of some importance in connection with the rather absurd criticisms sometimes levelled at her work in human research, to the effect that she is "only a botanist" and therefore has no business to make discoveries in fields outside the floral world. She had in fact a very adequate training in a number of branches of science, including microscopic zoological work which pre-eminently qualified her to tackle scientifically the branch of human research work in connection with birth control which she took up later on,

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For the tripos for her degree she had originally intended to take chemistry, but having been diverted to an interest in botany greater than she had expected, and also from a sense of indebtedness to the Professor of Botany who had so kindly encouraged her work, as well as from the fact that her scholarship was given on the results of the botanic examination, she felt it incumbent on her to take botany as the main subject. Then, too, she had not outgrown the "inferiority complex" which always made her doubt her own powers and, without telling any of her professors, she secretly decided that she would get some practice in taking examinations, so she quietly entered for the external honours degree at the end of one year instead of at the end of three. For this it was possible, in those days, to take only two subjects instead of three if the student passed in honours standard in one subject and obtained a first-class pass in the second. When the Registrar of the University (Dr.—now Sir—Frank Heath) received this entry as an external examinee from an internal student at University College, he sent for her very kindly and begged her to reconsider what she was doing, saying it was ridiculous and impossible for anyone to try to do honours as well as first-class pass in one year. A kindly argument was of no avail, and the headstrong girl said : " I will not only get first-class pass, I will get honours in *both* subjects at the end of

the year," an undertaking which, as the event proved, she made good under tragic circumstances. The two subjects she then decided on were botany and geology, and for the geological work she had the immense advantage of a practical training in the field all through the summer from a member of the Geological Survey who was training a couple of young men as mining engineers in survey work.

Shortly before the actual examination took place, on which she had started rather as a joke or a purely experimental effort, it became seriously urgent and important for her to succeed owing to the grave illness of her father. Indeed on the night of the main examination in botany the girl was up all night with the fear that her father would die at any moment. This, though it reduced the quality of her work, fortunately did not prevent her winning a first-class honours place, and as her father's death appeared imminent her professor very kindly obtained the results of the degree for her privately, so that she was able to tell her father before his death, what greatly interested and pleased him, namely, that she had passed the Bachelor of Science Degree in double honours—though the published lists for that year were not out until after his death. The mutual love between herself and her father was exceptionally intense and the shock of his loss affected her inner life for many years,

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The result of her hurried examination brought her a further scholarship which was sufficient to take her abroad ; but as she had defied the professors and taken the degree after too brief a period of study, she conscientiously made up the remains of another year at University College, doing minor research work and completing some of the classes she ought to have taken. At this period Professor Oliver and Dr. Scott were actively engaged on a research of great palaeontological significance, which led to the recognition of an entirely new group of extinct plants. In order to find some small clues necessary to complete the association of the fragmentary remains of the fossils, some Sherlock-Holmes-like scientific detective work had to be done on all the leading collections of fossil plants in England, and the young student had the good fortune to be deputed by Professor Oliver and Dr. Scott to do this on their behalf in Manchester and in some private collection in the north, as well as at the Natural History Museum. The work on the Owen's College collection in Manchester University was not only of technical value to that research but of great educational value to the student, and an incident that occurred in connection with it proved important to Dr. Stopes later on. Professor, later Sir William, Boyd Dawkins, was the Professor of Geology in whose charge the collections were, and he very kindly arranged to take the student out on to

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the moors and show her horizons in which fossils occur in the Todmorden district. On the morning of the little expedition there was a hopeless downpour from early dawn, but the opportunity of going to these districts was too precious to lose, and of course Marie Stopes turned up at the station, but equally of course she found no professor there to meet her. She then decided to go by herself, though she did not know the district at all ; and she spent the day walking the eight or ten miles across the solitary moor in the drenching rain, very pleased with herself that she found the various spots they had planned to visit, but feeling all the time that the rain, and the absence of the instruction Professor Boyd Dawkins would have given, meant that she had seen much less than she would have done on a fine day.

She thought no more of the event, but curiously enough this little incident proved to be a turning point in her career, for Professor Boyd Dawkins was so impressed by her serious interest in the subject and by her determination and independence of character, that later on, when a much coveted post was open for election, he used his influence in her favour and she was appointed the first woman to teach science in the University of Manchester. To return however to the young student, the post-graduate scholarship from the University was just sufficient to take her for a year to some foreign University,

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and her interest in fructifications and the study of egg-cells and ovules (fostered both by Professor Oliver's researches and by her zoological work), led her to desire to study the fructifications of a unique group of plants, the cycads. For this purpose Munich was considered the best continental locality, as Professor Goebel, the famous morphologist, who had travelled far, had an exceptionally fine collection there both of living and spirit material of the kind suitable for research.

Languages had always been a main stumbling block at school between Marie Stopes and class prizes, and it was therefore rather adventurous of her to go to Germany, for she had only had three or four lessons in the language before she reached that country. She found however that learning a language in a country itself is a very different and much easier thing than learning it in classes ; and though her German was a source of great amusement to her fellow research students in the laboratories it carried her not only through her University course, but finally also through the *viva voce* examination for the degree.

On presenting herself to Professor Goebel, the English student announced that she had come to study under him the structure of the ovules and the fertilisation of the cycads, and the genial and amused smile in the vivid blue eyes of the Viking-like professor encouraged her even though his words were discouraging. Though some

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women had received degrees from Munich University, none had hitherto entered from the Botanical Institute and it would require an alteration in the regulations to make it possible. Marie Stopes was disappointed, but replied that she had come to work, and would rather stay and do the work than go elsewhere and get a degree for work that did not interest her as much, and after about three months in Professor Goebel's research laboratories he came to her one day and said : " It is ridiculous that any regulations should stand in the way of you getting your degree ; I will have them changed." And the regulations were changed so that at the end of the year she was allowed to enter for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. During that year, though working hard in the laboratory which opened at eight o'clock in the morning, the young student enjoyed all the pre-war delights of Munich : the opera, a great deal of dancing, excursions every week-end to the snow mountains in the winter and to the Tyrolese flowering valleys in the summer, while in Goebel's laboratory she met as many nationalities as there were research students and entered with great zest into the profound discussions which knots of students often embarked on far from the fields of their own immediate work. Most of the research students in the laboratory that year were themselves professors or lecturers in their own countries, and they included a Polish

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professor, a Japanese, a Norwegian, a Dutchman, an American, and a number of other nationalities and types. Frequently a quartet composed of a Buddhist, a Roman Catholic, an atheist, and Marie Stopes, would discuss with great earnestness and animation the problems of the universe.

Though life at a University College had somewhat educated the girl, she was still remarkably sexless and quite unaware of the nature of the stimulant her presence must have been in this laboratory of men. One rather amusing incident may be cited. The geological and botanical students were taken into the mountains by their professors for scientific expeditions, and on one of these occasions a lecturer from another faculty joined the party and insisted on talking, in English, to the only girl there. His English however was very poor and he neither attracted nor interested her. She spent most of the time chatting in lively colloquial German with a man on her other hand, merely saying "Yes, yes," at intervals to be polite to the lecturer. A day or two later she was rather surprised to be sent for by Professor Goebel to his private sanctum, where he broke the news to her startled incredulity that the relatives of the lecturer who had bored her on the expedition had been to Professor Goebel with a request to induce her not to drive this man mad, as they feared for his reason and that he would have to go to a lunatic asylum if she persisted in her attitude

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of not recognising their engagement to be married. Marie Stopes, in open-mouthed amazement, denied any knowledge of being supposed to be engaged, and said that the man had never even proposed to her. It transpired however that the bad English and the many boring exclamations he had made, to which she had automatically replied " Yes, yes," had really included a proposal of marriage, to which the " Yes, yes," was naturally enough taken to signify her acceptance. The family were much distressed when it was made quite clear that no marriage would be contemplated by Marie Stopes, and they begged that she would at least permit the man to write to her until she left the country. As a result she possessed for years a large pile of unread love letters in a very small German hand, unread and for her unreadable, as she has long since forgotten how to read German handwriting.

In such a narrative as this it is perhaps difficult to make it clear how much hard brain work was included in her days. She told me once her *longest* spell of *uninterrupted* mental work was thirty hours at a stretch, when she worked with beef-tea and a spirit stove at her elbow, and did not leave her work even for meals. Steady work, and the extremely valuable and interesting material supplied by Professor Goebel, yielded sufficient results in the discovery of new and interesting features in the cycads to justify the preparation of her thesis towards the end of the

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first year, and this she herself wrote in German, but it was German of such an amusing quality that the professor kindly suggested that a Swiss student should sit at the same table as she did in the laboratory and go through it with her. He was a very handsome and attractive but safely married man, so that a few days later, when the professor inquired how she was getting on with him, the whole laboratory was sent into convulsions and the professor himself, with tears hopping out of his bright blue eyes, sank into a chair shaking with laughter beyond his control, when she replied that he had been very kind : "*Er ist es mit mir durchgegangen*"

She meant this to be, as it is, a literal translation of, " He has gone through it with me," and was quite unaware of the fact that the German phrase means, " He has eloped with me." Laughable however as her German was it was very fluent, and when the day of the *viva voce* examination came it served its purpose sufficiently well. Professor Hertwig, the great zoologist, meaning no doubt to be kind, questioned the young botanist on the structure of *volvox*, a microscopic organism, and Professor Rothpletz, also meaning to be kind, whispered, " Have they been nice to you ? " before he began his *viva voce* in geology—for the *viva voce* examination for the German degree takes place audibly in the presence of the University Court, so that the student has not only the nervous work of

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replying to the professor, but of knowing that outsiders, and critical outsiders at that, are listening to the replies.

She however got a high degree *Magna cum laude*, and all the members of the research laboratory were cordially enthusiastic. Professor Goebel was exceedingly generous and kind to the young foreign student, and of him Marie Stopes says : " Although, of course, lots of people had been kind to me before, Professor Goebel was the first who really treated me as a father might have done. Toward the end of my time in Munich, when I told him that I was returning to England where I must take up work that would bring me a salary, he said, ' But it is a shame that you should not continue doing research work, and if you would only permit me I would, out of my own purse, defray all the expenses for you for another few years if you would stay and do research work here.'⁵ He and his wife lived almost opposite the University Institute and were on many occasions extraordinarily kind to me, and this was all the more remarkable as Professor Goebel did not like women to study, and until I went to his department and practically forced my way in, he had never permitted a woman student to work in his laboratories. I shall never forget his noble generosity and his fine impatience at the trend of modern life, particularly of German life, his hatred of the Prussians, and his Viking-like

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appearance and zest and joyous gallantry when, in Tyrolese costume, he went to his mountain laboratories. Munich was a second home to me until the war and the desolation the war brought."

A junior lectureship in botany at Manchester University was vacant at the close of the year in Germany, and for this Marie Stopes sent in her application. No woman had ever lectured in the science faculty at Manchester University and the Committee was nervous about appointing a woman, for the classes of the junior students were large and contained medical students who were notoriously hilarious. The Committee was helped in its decision to select Marie Stopes, in preference to any of the male applicants, by an extraordinarily cordial recommendation from Professor Boyd Dawkins, which resulted from the impression she had made on him more than a year before, when, as previously mentioned, she had gone by herself through the drenching rain over the moors to Todmorden.

CHAPTER V

Academic Life

WHEN Dr. Stopes received her appointment in Manchester the authorities of the college were in some trepidation as to the advisability of appointing a young girl to the staff, but no untoward events occurred and the junior classes were indeed quieter when she lectured or demonstrated to them than they were in a good many other departments. The staff of professors and lecturers, mostly men from Oxford, Cambridge, and other universities, formed a very friendly circle, and became truly colleagues to the junior lady lecturer. Indeed in after years, when Dr. Stopes was appointed to the staff of her own college in London, she felt the contrast, for there the professors' common-room was barred to all women on the staff, so she found herself shut out with the others, whereas in Manchester she had at once been made a member of the professors' common-room and was always cordially welcomed and made to feel at home when she used it. With her immediate chief and the members of the staff associated with her work she found things very easy and pleasant, and outside the University,

too, she made many friends, notably the late Mr. R. D. Darbishire (who was then very old), the philanthropist and founder of the Whitworth Galleries, who with Miss Dymes, his secretary and companion, made his home in Victoria Park ever open with a warm welcome for the girl, who learnt both to reverence and love the fine autocratic old gentleman. Professor, now Sir Arthur, and Lady Schuster, also in Victoria Park, were friendly, and the social life in Manchester was an attractive feature and seemed to her much more sincere and cordial than life in London. After the plentiful dancing and opera of Munich, Dr. Stopes missed dancing very greatly and, in addition to private dances, took the then rather audacious step of giving a dance herself and cajoled the elderly professors to come to it in fancy dress. Out of that sprang a little dance club among the members of the staff, which survived for a good many years after Dr. Stopes left Manchester. The young lecturer, feeling that she was very inadequately trained in the art of lecturing, went to hear a number of the professors and lecturers in the University lecture to their students. Mostly, it seems, she learnt what to avoid in lecturing ; she observed a good many little points which explained the reputed rowdiness of the junior classes. On one occasion she was present at the back of the room when a distinguished professor of world-wide fame faced his class of two

hundred juniors, and with a quivering hand took a piece of chalk, drawing a wriggly thing which might have been a triangle or a hexagon, and commenced his lecture by saying, " Let us suppose that a circle is a circle " ; and he could not understand the roars, and the cloud of dust from the stamping feet, with which this opening was greeted. Dr. Marie Stopes was amused to see how well the same students behaved when they were given the chance in her own classes.

In addition to the teaching work in the biological classes, time was available for the young lecturer to follow up her own researches, and the great interest in fossil plants always associated with Manchester University where Williamson's original work was done, combined with the fact that coal-mining districts lay so close round the town, led her to penetrate to a number of collieries in search of fossils, as well as to follow out some research on the structure and deposition of the coal seams. In this connection she came into personal contact with a number of mine owners, who always met her with warm cordiality and helpfulness, and among whom Mr. Sutcliffe should be particularly remembered. He opened disused mines for her researches and often made her welcome. He purchased an extensive series of microscopic sections of a rare new fossil that had been discovered, and presented them to the University to be placed at the service of Dr. Marie Stopes,

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who undertook the work of their scientific investigation and description. The fossil proved to be a unique new species, which she named *Tubicaulis sutcliffi* and made the subject of the first paper she read to the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Society.

When she was first appointed a junior lecturer in Manchester, the centre of one of England's coal-mining districts, she enthusiastically investigated the local coal mines. She read an important paper on the subject of coal before the British Association. It was the first time she had done so, and the then Director of the Geological Survey, Sir Jethro Teall, attended the lecture. The discussion proved most interesting and cleared up a number of points hitherto obscure, and Sir Jethro (then Dr.) Teall said that he was "astonished at the quality and quantity of the detail given. I went to encourage a young girl, and I remained to learn from a master."⁵⁵

The work on the collieries and coal-mining industry which began with this connection in Manchester, was persisted in and is still actively continued by Dr. Stopes to the present time, and has led her to a large number of scientific discoveries and to the contribution of publications in the Royal Society and elsewhere (see Appendix B, page 287-9). Among the many interesting people this collegiate life gave her the opportunity of meeting, Captain Scott, the Antarctic explorer, was one who most impressed

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the girl. She was invited by Lady Schuster to meet him at a luncheon and, fired by her enthusiasm for the palaeontological history of coal, she begged Captain Scott to take her with him on his then projected Antarctic expedition. They met again at a dancing party in the evening. She found him the most "divine waltzer and reverser" she had ever met, and he promised to take both her and Lady Scott with him if that was possible or, failing that, he undertook to bring her back the fossil she wanted from the Antarctic. He came down to the University before leaving Manchester and spent an hour or two with her studying the external appearance of the fossils, so as to bring back with him exactly what she desired. The tragedy of this expedition is known to the world, and it is also known that he was found dead with a few fragments of fossil plants by him. These however, though so obviously collected for her, were not given to Dr. Marie Stopes to describe; and she was glad of it, for unfortunately they were not those she had longed for from the Antarctic regions.

In all this busy, happy life in Manchester there was however one severe trial, and that was that after a very few weeks there Dr. Stopes, whose vitality and general health were quite exceptional, developed acute neuralgia. This neuralgia vanished immediately vacations came and she could leave the locality, but always

returned within three days of sleeping in Manchester. In spite of this, her intense vitality kept her going in many directions, and lectures to the students were supplemented by an attempt to organise a seminar on lines similar to those she had had experience of in Germany, excursions, plant collecting and fossil collecting on the moors and, in addition, evening lecturing to the very poor in the slums at Ancoats, where the Ancoats Settlement had organised classes for factory hands and others anxious for intellectual work. There for a time she came in touch with some of the worst conditions of city life, and she only gave up these lectures when neuralgia and the acute pain of seeing human beings under such appalling conditions were undermining her strength to such an extent that it was impossible to go on. Among her treasured possessions is a glowing testimonial given her by her poor students at the settlement.

By no means exclusively serious, Dr. Stopes, in a skittish mood, instituted the first, and I believe the only, international comic scientific journal. She called it *The Sportophyte*, and in it made fun of a good many of the great biologists, and lampooned the style of more than one publication. It achieved not a little success, and after the first number one learned professor said to her : " Oh, of course it is very funny, but you cannot possibly do it again/" " Why not ? " said Dr. Stopes. " You must not be

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allowed to do it again ; think what *power* it gives you." This was hardly the way to stop the activities of an independent and enterprising young woman, and *The Sportophyte* lived until the international calamity of the war killed the spirit of international jocularly.

The suffrage movement naturally attracted Dr. Stopes's interest, and without becoming an aggressive extremist she put a good deal of time into quiet work for the suffrage, joining the Tax Resistance League and lecturing from time to time, as well as joining in processions and deputations. Fired by a sense of the injustice of obliging women either to forego marriage or forego a career, she ardently supported the efforts to stop the restrictions on married women's work, and in that connection met Miss Margaret Ashton who was then a councillor and one of the most active of women's champions in the north. Her attention was also drawn to the deeper problems of married women by an incident which occurred to one of her own students, who happened to be a woman older than herself and had been assisting a doctor in dealing with out-patients at a hospital when a woman had brought in a miserable little baby which wailed all the time and, the mother explained, would not put on flesh or grow into a nice, healthy baby whatever she did with it. The mother, with tears in her eyes, made an intensely earnest appeal to the doctor to tell

her what was, to her, unaccountably wrong with the infant. She said this was her fourth, and the others had all died when they were very little. The doctor put her off with some soothing platitudes, but the woman, driven to despair, said : "I believe there's something wrong with my man. If there's something wrong with my man I won't have babies no more—it's just cruel to see them miserable like this and have them dying one after the other. Won't you, for God's sake, tell me whether there's anything wrong with my man or not?" This appeal was met by the assurance that there was nothing wrong and she should do her duty by her husband and go on having babies. The medical woman student said that it was glaringly obvious that the baby was syphilitic.

That not only such ill-fated mothers, but that *all* mothers, should be freed from the appalling slavery of unwilling and undesired motherhood became a conviction so intense as to necessitate action. Dr. Stopes realised with the astonishment youth always feels towards the cruelty of its elders, that though the knowledge of birth control had been freely circulating in our country for very~ many years, it had been available chiefly for the educated and the well-to-do.

While Dr. Stopes studied more and more deeply the work on the coal mines, she followed up several branches of research in connection not only with fossils and their deposition, but

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with their mode of origin, and in connection with the petrification of the internal tissues which is so wonderful a feature of some structurally preserved specimens she was led to the belief that, given certain conditions in the surrounding horizons, the existence of the type of fossil for which she was searching could be more or less predicted. Combining this with an intense desire to discover the origin of the angiosperms, which was then as it still is one of the desiderata of biological science, she considered the horizons in all countries from which she could get the necessary data, and came to the conclusion that in an horizon in the northern mountainous Island of Hokkaido petrified specimens of angiosperms, such as she sought, should be found ; and she applied to the Royal Society for financial assistance to go there and investigate the matter, at the same time having a sample specimen sent over from Japan, from the rocks *in situ*, and she had the thrilling experience of seeing her scientific prediction fulfilled and finding in the very first cut a beautiful petrified angiosperm. This strengthened her application which was still under consideration, and though the Royal Society had never before sent a young woman out of the country on any such work, her application was so well backed that an exception was made in her favour and she finally went to Japan alone, with a grant from the Royal Society, and with assistance from the Japanese Government,

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obtained through the Imperial University at Tokio. There she went up country and collected large quantities of unique and hitherto unknown fossils which, on her return to Tokio, she cut with the assistance and collaboration of Professor Fujii. They together wrote a memoir containing an account of a number of plants new to science and also of the earliest known angiosperms, the first petrified flower ever discovered in the world—a discovery of interest and importance. The public perhaps do not realise that the vegetation which is conspicuous to-day in the landscape, and which alone provides all our agricultural plants and food, did not come into existence until the early Cretaceous epoch.

In Japan, as in Manchester, she found the professorial staff cordial and kindly, and Baron Hamao, the President of the Imperial University, made her an honorary member of the Professors' Luncheon Club, where she met the personnel of the various faculties and thus saw the life of Japanese intellectual circles in a way seldom permitted to a foreigner. A room and research facilities were allotted to her in the Institute of the Imperial University, and in exchange for all this courtesy she gave a short course of lectures on plant palaeontology to the students and to others of the staff who cared to attend. A fairly full account of her manifold interests and experiences in Japan is given in her book entitled *A Journal from Japan*, published by Blackie but

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now out of print and only to be seen in libraries. She returned *via* America, and a fresh post in Manchester University was offered to her—the first lectureship in paleobotany in this country. It was exactly the post for which her researches fitted her and which her heart desired and she was happy to get back to her many friends in Manchester ; but it was no good, for the neuralgia which had not touched her all the time she was away returned after a week in Manchester as violently as before and became intolerable, so that at the end of the first year of this new post she had to leave it and finally settle in London, which her mother and sister had never left and which all along had been her home.

After obtaining the degree of Ph.D. in Munich she had on returning to England followed up her B.Sc. in London by obtaining the Doctorate of Science, London, in 1905, when she became, I believe, the youngest Doctor of Science in England, and in 1910 she was made a Fellow of University College, London. She was invited by the Geological Department of the British Museum to prepare a special memoir for them on the Cretaceous Flora of the World, a memoir that took several years to complete and which was published, with many illustrations and drawings, in two volumes by the Trustees of the British Museum. The Royal Society published in their *Transactions* some of the results

of the Japanese expedition and she was invited to exhibit her specimens from Japan at the ladies' *soirie*, where she met Count Solms-Laubach, the veteran palaeontologist of Germany whose classic treatise had been her original text-book. He, though a woman-hater and extremely reserved, showed the kindest appreciation of her new species. The advantage of meeting such men, which all men of any note in the scientific world can do by attending the Royal Society's meetings, was a rare privilege to this young woman, who like all her sex was discriminated against. When some of her later discoveries were made she was invited by representatives of the Royal Society to send her specimens for exhibition but not on ladies' night. She said she could not send them without being there herself to demonstrate and guard them, and was told that she could send any of her own men-students or even her butler, but could not herself be admitted. With natural indignation she refused to exhibit. It seems strange that to this day, however brilliant a woman's scientific work may be, her sex precludes her from equality of treatment in the world's senior society of science, and she can never hope to be made an F.R.S.

In the course of her travels for palaeontological research Dr. Stopes was once again in the United States and took the opportunity to attend the American Association of Science at St. Louis,

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where she met Dr. Gates. He, like many others before him, immediately fell passionately in love, and proposed marriage within a few days of making her acquaintance. He was a botanist and in many respects apparently a suitable husband, and Dr. Stopes and he were married in Montreal, Canada, before her return to England a few months later.

From her earliest childhood, and strengthened by her interest in the suffrage, Dr. Marie Stopes has always keenly felt the rightness of the old Scottish and Norwegian customs whereby a married woman retains her patronymic after marriage, and she arranged with Dr. Gates that she should retain her own name. In English law—though many people are unaware of it—provision is made for such cases, and to retain her own name legally all a married woman has to do is to announce at the time of her marriage that she intends to do so, and to use it systematically for legal documents and transactions. The effect of loss of personality arising from change of name has undoubtedly had a psychological influence on women, and such a change is most unreasonable when one has made such a name for herself as Dr. Stopes had ; a name which was then already recorded in thousands of card indexes and catalogues in Universities all over the world. A good deal of press interest was shown in her revival of this old custom of retaining her own name, and a number of women have followed

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the practice since, though old-fashioned people try to make things difficult for anyone who thus desires to preserve her identity, and Dr. Stopes on more than one occasion has had to threaten to take legal action against scientific committees and other persons who endeavoured arbitrarily to decide her name for her.

This marriage might have been arranged by destiny to give Dr. Stopes the almost unique experience which completed her fitness to undertake the work on sex reform by which she is now best known. At the time of her marriage she was still, in spite of her zoological training and her travel and experience of men of many countries, amazingly innocent, and she was quite happy for six months or more. After that she began instinctively to feel that something was lacking in her marriage. Although she was living within a stone's throw of her mother and her family doctor, they neither of them detected what was amiss or offered any help or solution of the problems which confronted her. Finally her life became quite intolerable, and I heard her say one day : " I should go mad if it were not that I say to myself, ' Why have I a scientific brain and scientific knowledge, if it is not to find out things that seem to puzzle everybody ? ' " and in a very impersonal manner she took up her own case as a piece of scientific research. She went to the British Museum and read pretty nearly every book on sex in English,

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French or German, just as she would read every book on palaeontology before publishing on her own subject. She also read Lord Halsbury's *Laws of England*, and then returned to her family doctor and family lawyer, and when matters were made thoroughly clear to them it became a comparatively easy matter to put through a nullity suit, in which she sued as *virgo intacta* for the legal annulment of her marriage, which her husband's abnormality had never allowed him to consummate. Dr. Gates was a passionate lover but an incomplete husband, and as a result after years of marriage was not only leaving his wife a virgin, but had developed an absurd jealousy and attempted a domination which rendered life intolerable. At that time I was frequently a witness of ridiculous little scenes, one, for instance, in which he "forbade" this independent and high-spirited young woman even to purchase *The Times*, which she had been reading for years and which at the age of twelve she had longed to own. As was natural perhaps, Dr. Gates made things as difficult and in some respects as scandalous for her as he could, but the war was on before the legal case was finally settled, and shortly after its outbreak he left England and sought refuge in America, returning however before hostilities were over.

Meanwhile, throughout all her heartbreaking difficulties, Dr. Marie Stopes remained outwardly very calm, and continued her palaeonto-

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logical work at the British Museum and at University College, where following on her Manchester work a palaeobotanical lectureship was founded for her in London University. This attracted much interest and attention at the time and her first lecture was widely attended and published, and there is little doubt that but for the war, which swept away her classes of young men, it would have led to the founding of a regular school of paleobotany.

Meanwhile however the war diverted all who were able to do anything of practical utility, the more abstruse and academical aspects of paleobotany were left on one side, and Dr. Stopes concentrated on what seemed immediately useful, namely, the application of her knowledge to the problems of fuel and of coal in particular. The Scientific and Industrial Research Department of the Government, under Sir Frank Heath and the late Sir George Beilby, actively supported her work, and she collaborated with Dr. R. V. Wheeler of the Home Office Experimental Station, in the preparation of what *Nature* described as a "classic"—a Monograph on the Structure, Chemical and Palaeontological, of Coal. (See Appendix B, page 285.) Following on this Dr. Stopes continued researches both in collaboration with Professor Wheeler and independently, and the Royal Society, in 1919, published her short paper on the four ingredients of coal, in which she originated the now

well-known words, clarain, durain, and vitrain. The terminology then instituted by Dr. Stopes is now followed internationally, and that short paper of hers has led to enormous changes in the attitude both of palaeontologists and chemists towards coal structure. It has proved fruitful in many directions and in many countries—see, for instance, the work of Dr. Lessing on coking, of Dr. Ivan Graham, the Assistant Director of Mining Research at Birmingham, and the many papers in the technical journals, arising from the inspiration of that paper of hers. M. Duparque, the famous French geologist, in his work, *La Constitution de la Houille D'apres les travaux de Mme. Marie C. Stopes*. (Annales de la Societe Geologique du Nord. Tome XLIX. 1924. Lille, 1925. pages 148-159) remarks :

" Depuis pres d'un siecle, de nombreux ouvrages ont ete publies sur la structure de la houille. En 1826, Karsten avait distingue de charbon mat du charbon brillant. Quelques annees plus tard, Dawson reconnut la presence de trois constituants du charbon. Le ' mineral charcoal ' ou charbon mat a structure fibreuse ; —Le ' charbon mat fissile ' et le ' charbon brillant. '

" De nombreux auteurs ont publie les resultants de leurs recherches sur cette interessante question, je me bornerai a citer les travaux de Ch. E. Bertrand, de Renault et de Grand Eury en France ; de Withe, Thiessen et Jeffrey en Amerique, de Stopes, Wheeler et Seyler en

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Angleterre, de von Gtimbel, de Potonie et de Winter en Allemagne, de Zalesky en Russie.

" De tous ces travaux, ceux de Madame Marie Stopes ont eu la plus grande influence sur la direction de toutes les recherches concernant la houille."

Professor Wheeler and his students and collaborators, and many others now doing research on fuel, have followed up the initial research of Dr. Stopes on the ingredients of coal, for her work made possible a discrimination in the analysis of different zones in the same coal which is leading to a much more accurate knowledge of its intimate structure and potential uses than was previously possible.

In the course of her scientific researches Dr. Stopes has made many original discoveries and has published the results in a number of learned *Transactions* and journals, a more or less complete list of which is given in Appendix B.

Among so many additions to scientific knowledge it is difficult to say in a few words which are her most important contributions, but they deal in the main with three themes : (a) the structure of the reproductive organs both in living and extinct forms ; (b) the composition and structure of coal ; and (c) the structure of the vegetable inhabitants of the Cretaceous epoch.

Her discovery of the earliest known angiosperms is described in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society (Appendix B, page 285), and

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further facts about them are embodied in her big volume published by the Trustees of the British Museum. Of this Dr. (now Sir A.) Smith Woodward said : " There is so much that is new in it. No one would have believed it possible to get so much out of the Lower Greensand ; it is quite wonderful."

Although the general public did not know her as a lecturer until later, in the course of her academic career Dr. Stopes had lectured regularly in Manchester and London Universities, and had given brief courses or single lectures in the University of Tokio, in the Parliament House in Hokkaido, in Chicago University, in Toronto University, and in many other institutes and halls in various parts of the British Isles and other countries, and her palaeontological work was utilised by various Government departments in addition to the British Museum and the Home Office. The Canadian Government, for instance, sent for her to settle a problem which had been in dispute for over forty years, about the age of certain potential coal-bearing deposits in Eastern Canada, and the results of her investigations were published by the Geological Survey of Canada in a large memoir. (See Appendix B, page 285.) Amid this life of manifold activities her relation to her students was such that she always brought to every lecture some fresh idea of vital interest. Had she taken up some popular subject instead of so remote and academic

a field as she pursued, her name, no doubt, would have become a household word among us years sooner than was actually the case. Her personality was bound to make its impression on our national life even had she never touched so burning a subject as that with which she has been recently associated.

In addition to her many scientific associates, Dr. Stopes has had warm friendships and interesting literary associations with many distinguished literary men. For instance, with Maurice Hewlett, the novelist and poet, who was considered retiring and *difficile*, a warm friendship started long before she was known to the world. Hewlett wrote to her :

" Yes, the writer of the *Letters to Sanchia* is Senhouse. I can't say that he is a portrait of anybody in particular, though it docs so happen that I have known a man who lived, and still lives, much the same life. But the two have nothing else in common, and I think my man is more what I should like to believe myself to be than anything more definite. *Video meliora*. He is one of the better things I see. I won't go nearer than that as yet.

" But if you, who have travelled far and been quit (for a time, at all events) of our horrible trammel of circumstance, find truth and reason in the substance of what I have imagined, I feel enormously encouraged to go on. It was really kind of you to tell me so."

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And soon after he wrote :

" Senhouse will feel that he has done something when such a letter as yours is communicated to him. You evidently haven't read his third volume, *Rest Harrow*—which I beg leave to send you herewith. Therein you will discover how he and Mrs. Germain parted company, and in what unearthly manner he and his Sanchia found each other—the where and when as well as the how. I personally am unable to distinguish the fairy tale from the other tales, or the the dream from the daylight reflection. I don't know whether I write truth or lies. To me they are truth—to a large proportion of mankind foolishness : but I write for myself because I have to, and am lucky to have such readers as you."

Israel Zangwill, the author-dramatist, and his wife the novelist, were both cordial friends much interested in her literary work before she became well known through *Married Love*, and it was Edward Carpenter who first encouraged her to publish that book.

Both before and after she was well known she had some friendly and amusing little encounters with Bernard Shaw, and I may quote a postcard he sent to the C.B.C. regretting his inability to attend the annual dinner in November, 1923 :

" I shall not be able to come as I shall not be in London. If it could possibly be made an

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M.S. (Marie Stopes) dinner without being a B.C. one, I should greatly regret this. As it is, it is rather convenient for me, because I cannot find a satisfactory public position about B.C. If I went into the movement merely to fight the Malthusians I should do more harm than good ; and I really could not sit quiet in it and seem to acquiesce with them. I am sure M's (Marie's) psycho-physiology is right ; but neither of us can prove it.

" G. B. SHAW."

Her poems—of which Heinemann published the small volume, *Man, Other Poems, and a Preface*, in 1914—brought her many warm and interesting letters from literary men whom she had never met personally. For instance, about these poems Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch wrote :

" First let me thank you for the little book that brought me such jolly discoveries as ' Marjorie ' and ' Tokio Snow '—and such fine ones as ' The Beaters ' and ' The Brother ' (this last the sort of thing that walks straight in and takes a seat in memory for the rest of one's days)."

Her wide travels and busy life have brought her many contacts with men and women of note, and for a few of them she felt the warm regard which cements friendship. Among such were very varied and contrasted types, as, for example, the great philosopher, Samuel

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Alexander, O.M., the late Earl Russell, Under-Secretary of State for India, Lady Wyndham, Sir Edward Hulton, Professor Jogi Sakurai the Dean of the Imperial University in Japan, the Hon. Sir John Cockburn sometime Prime Minister of Australia, and Edward Carpenter, whose name has already been mentioned.

CHAPTER VI

World Travel

THE taste Dr. Stopes had inherited for travel found practical justification in many journeys in connection with her scientific research work. In addition to those expeditions, which were often long ones, she was continually travelling both in the British Isles and on the Continent. At the close of the first session after her appointment to Manchester she attended a scientific congress in Vienna, where she enjoyed the gathering of learned men and also the city and its beautiful surroundings. She then returned to Munich for a further couple of months' work in Professor Goebel's department, including some research in his Alpine laboratory perched high up on the Bavarian Tyrolese mountains. The research she was engaged on was on the structure and development of the fertilised ovum or egg-cell, together with a study of its actual fertilisation by the male sperm cell and the introduction of food granules from the sperm into the ovum. This work led to very interesting original observations to make which she had to be up all night for a series of nights, cutting into the living ovules and examining their structure under the

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microscope at regular intervals through the whole twenty-four hours. These investigations, though minor in comparison with her other researches, were part of the preparation which subsequently enabled her to speak with authority on problems of fertilisation in other connections ; for the nucleus and the detailed structure of ovum and spermatozoa and the immediate after effects of fertilisation are remarkably uniform wherever life is sufficiently evolved to have two distinct sexes.

Holland, especially Amsterdam, and also Leiden, the home of so much of Holland's scientific life, were visited several times, as also were Switzerland and France. On one occasion after having spent a few weeks in the University of Caen where she was visiting Professor Lignier, one of France's great palaeobotanists, she set out to walk from that town to the distant coast of Brittany, there to form one of an expedition organised by Professor Oliver, on then new and interesting lines, for the study of oecology. Sending her luggage on in advance she started with a knapsack across Normandy, first making a bee-line for the coast and then following the ins-and-outs of the rugged headlands and bays. A characteristic anecdote may be told of this expedition. Failing to find an hotel in one of the further portions of Brittany, she decided to sleep on a ledge of rock on the coast, which seemed safely far from the sea and afforded some

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shelter approximating to a roof. Having a camper's equipment with her she made her evening meal and curling up in her long cloak went peacefully to sleep. Next morning she was waked by a gurgling suck of water at her very toes, and found that the ledge that had afforded a roof at night shut her in with no possible outlet of escape. The tide had come in much further than had seemed possible the evening before. Fortunately the sea was calm, and Dr. Stopcs examined the rock on which she sat and, finding certain lichens in its crevices, felt reassured that she would not be swamped out, and turning round went to sleep again till the tide had receded.

It has sometimes been said by those who wished to injure her reputation that she spent her vacations in "very curious ways," implying that what she did was improper. Unusual many of her vacations undoubtedly were. Not the least so was one spent in Norway when she and the only Norwegian woman professor, Frau Resvoll, went together to the north on an oecological expedition, touching the Lofodon Islands and then going to the northern coast of Norway into the Arctic Circle. They walked back in a bee-line over snowy mountain passes and past glaciers, in places where houses were sometimes forty miles apart, carrying provisions as well as their clothes on their backs, sleeping on more than one occasion in little isolated huts

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provided by the community for those who travel in the only way possible in these districts, namely, on foot. In Norway, accompanied by one so well known and appreciated as Frau Professor Resvoll, she saw something of the type of life which years before had influenced Ibsen when writing his plays. A deep impression was made on her by the austerity and difficulty of the life in some of those isolated homes, where the flabrod was baked only once a year and the muscles of dried reindeer were scraped to a kind of powder for meat, and where except for brief seasons in the summer potatoes and fruit were an unknown luxury. She will never forget looking down from a mountain crest and seeing a herd of reindeer fording the icy water below, and has an equally keen recollection of the exhilarating effect of a sun that set at eleven p.m. and rose again at one a.m. In Chrisiiania she and Frau Professor Resvoll were the only women present at the opening of the University by King Haakon.

However abstruse and scientific the work occupying her days in the laboratories and in the various Universities she visited, time was always found in the evening for opera or theatre, and she was fortunate enough to see "Peer Gynt" presented in its native theatre, as well as to meet some of those who had been connected with its original production.

The journey to Japan, of which mention has

already been made (page 69), and which preceded her marriage to Dr. Gates, opened new and delightful vistas. Dr. Stopes went across Europe, embarking at Genoa, visiting Naples and the great aquarium there, and then sailed down the Red Sea. Of this she says : " I was peculiarly fortunate when travelling through the Red Sea to have it shown me in such a way as to understand its name. One evening I came on deck and found the whole sky from east to west and north to south one blazing crimson and copper fiery mass of light ; this was reflected in the sea itself so that it looked blood red, and the desert rocks on either side glowed in orange and coppery colours. I should never have believed such a sight possible had I not seen it with my own eyes. After a quarter of an hour or so it had almost faded, but I had seen that the Red Sea undoubtedly can be red." Aden, with its ostrich feathers and diving natives, its pathetic " ladies' garden " and rock-bound sterility, was succeeded by the luxuriant beauty of Ceylon and Singapore. At Singapore the ship stayed in port two or three days, enabling Dr. Stopes to visit the botanical gardens, one of the famous gardens of the world, where she collected specimens besides seeing living in their native haunts many plants which had hitherto only been significant names to her. In Shanghai a sidelight on the population problem gripped the girl's heart. With the rest of the tourists she was investigating the town in

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a rickshaw ; there on the street, kicked aside by the passers-by like garbage in the gutter, was a dead baby.

Penang left a memory of moonlight and wonderful sleeping trees. Some of the wide streets were lined by avenues of some kind of leguminous tree, which folded its leaves in sleep as a clover does. In the native quarter an outdoor stage was showing one of the interminable Chinese plays, which had lasted all day and was still going on at midnight.

A strange experience she had there formed the basis of a chapter in her one published novel, *Love's Creation*, which was published in 1928 under the *nom de plume* of Marie Carmichael.

Finally Japan was reached, and the *Journal* she kept there has been published. From that book, *A Journal from Japan*, one may take a few characteristic passages, but, first, let us note Dr. Stopes's remarks on a trait in her own character which, though perhaps an inevitable accompaniment of some of her best qualities, has struck many people as a defect. It is not surprising that an able, energetic, and successful woman should exhibit a high degree of self-confidence, tenacity and perseverance in pursuing her aims. There is a driving power about Dr. Stopes which if mistakenly applied would be blameworthy, and those who have not had experience of her uncanny trick of being right have often been taken aback by the decision and

emphasis with which she speaks and acts. It is unwise to expect a racehorse always to go quietly, and if one expected Dr. Stopes to be placid in her activities and struggles one would be courting disappointment. But let us see what she herself says about this in her *Journal*.

" In many ways I had wonderful opportunities of touching the living reality in the Japanese ; opportunities so exceptional that it is to my lasting shame that my stock of patience and sympathy was not always equal to them. . . . It is true that from an ordinary standpoint there are many things in Japan that are exasperating to a Westerner, but that was no excuse for me. Let me quote as an illustration a small incident that I have ever since regretted. On page 43 (of the *Journal*) you will find the account of my involuntary visit to the courteous principal of a College, when I was really bound for a coal mine. This young gentleman asked me to give a lecture to his young men and I refused. It is true that I was really anxious to go directly to that mine, that it would have upset my plans to have been at all delayed, and that at the moment the disturbance of those plans seemed a serious matter. But nevertheless I was the first European woman that many of the people there had seen, and the first scientific woman any of them had seen or heard of. Their curiosity and interest about me were as natural as my curiosity and interest about their coal mine,

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but I gratified my own curiosity and not theirs.
... It would be practically impossible for
them to realise how many other claims had
been made on the hasty young scientist who
visited them ; they would only feel that, in
place of the human interest and understanding
which might have been shown, there was a
blank wall of refusal. I tried to explain that
science is a hard taskmaster, but what good are
explanations ? . . ."

The following entries in the *Journal* give some
idea both of her work and of her play while in
Japan :

" Some of the Professors kindly took me to
visit the Principal of the University in solemn
state ; he was most gracious and (through an
interpreter) said most ridiculously flattering
things. According to him only one ' specialist'
lady has visited Japan before, and she was
elderly. Therefore they all marvel at me as
though I were some curious kind of butterfly !
We then visited the Director of the Imperial
Geological Survey. The Director is *most* kind,
as is also the Chief Inspector of Mines, and they
put every facility in my way. The Director
gave me all the information he could and the
largest geological map of the district, which is
very small, only about one-hundredth part of
the scale I am accustomed to do geological work
with, so that things will be difficult. The
Government here has kindly written to the

Governor of Hokkaido and to the owners of the mines, so that I shall fare as well as possible."

[In Hokkaido.] " The Governor insists that as well as Professor Y——(who is to be interpreter), *as well* as an official from the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, *as well* as several coolies, I must have a policeman to escort me to the mountains. I besought him not to enforce him on me, but it is an honour they delight to give me and I had to submit. Too much zeal and too much kindness are as difficult to contend with as too little. We then called on the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and there were more formalities and more talk—when I shall get to the actual hammering of rocks I can't imagine.⁵⁵

" We began the day at five, and the regular escort is now raised to ten, with temporary additions between every stage ! I have given up protesting that so many people require quantities of food which will have to be carried, and shall now look on a hundred without a murmur.⁵⁵

" We went through the forest and up the river prospecting, and found scrambling along the steep banks of friable shale by no means easy ; but the escort assists me greatly, and one of them carries me on his back on the frequent occasions when it is necessary to cross the river. The

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only use the policeman has been so far was to lend his sword to cut chop-sticks which had been forgotten, and of course we had no knives and forks with us at all, for I have learnt to get on very comfortably without."

" A long day going up-stream collecting nodules, which are very big and very hard to break. The scenery up the rivers, with the magnificent forests, is very fine. It is a curious sensation to be in the midst of this boundless forest and see peak after peak densely clad by trees which no man has touched."

" Really it is hard work to carry tents and everything along these rivers. Often I alone find it difficult to go, and I have nothing to carry—except my fan and my hammer, both of which are in constant use. Sometimes it would be impossible to go where we have been with boots, the straw-sandals give such a clinging grasp that we are able to get a foothold on a steep rock which in boots it would be mad to attempt.

" Fortunately the river into which one would be precipitated is seldom deep enough to be dangerous. The day's scientific results are solid, but not thrilling. Tents are a luxury, but I would rather sleep out under the stars. With all these coolies and people I am not allowed to do my own cooking, but I most fervently wish I might."

" Sapporo once more. A day of official calls, bowing, compliments and formalities. They asked me to lecture to the women's Aikokufujinkai: the request of the Governor can hardly be refused after all he has done, so it had to be. The lecture was held in the large hall of the Government House, the body of the hall filled with women, the galleries with men ; the Governor acting as Chairman and giving an immensely lengthy introductory speech, of which I could only guess the drift from words here and there, Professor My——following on with another. It is easy to speak in an interpreted address because there is so much time to think between the paragraphs ; but I am sure it has not the same effect on an audience as the direct address. Some, of course, understood my English. Before the lecture there was a reception, and I was regaled with tea and cakes and left to the tender mercies of the ladies, and men who could only speak Japanese ; later, however, the Governor's German was available and so it was all right, and we were quite cheerful till the interpreter arrived with a solemn face and a black suit."

[Tokio.] " Professor Sakurai took me to visit Count Okuma [Japan's most famous statesman] in the morning ; he has a lovely house and grounds which he was gracious enough to show me. Every ordinary day he has about thirty

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or forty visitors, and is one of the busiest men in the country."

" November 24th.—This morning early I started off on foot in glorious hot sunshine to get the fossils, and succeeded in getting more than my coolie could carry. I am almost the only visitor in the place and everyone is very kind and very interested. My colloquial Japanese comes a cropper now and then—but I get what I want, which is the main thing. The rocky valleys and woods are very lovely and I appreciate the loneliness after these Tokio weeks. I should like always to live in complete solitude two days in seven."

[Tokio.J " All yesterday the Institute had been undergoing extensive cleaning, and this morning was spent in expectation and preparation of exhibits—the great Dr. Koch, the world-famed German bacteriologist, was coming to see the Institute. Professor Fujii was brought back from the mountain before his cure was finished, to be on duty ; my fossil slides were borrowed and put under microscope, and the spermatozooids of *ginkgo* were on show. He came, after the whole Institute and Baron Hamao had waited in a flutter of excitement for nearly an hour ; he is a big stout man, not very intellectual-looking. Though interested, he had evidently been trotted round a great deal. He seemed to

like my fossils, and asked me to show him a section of a leaf, as well as those I had under the microscope."

[Tokio.] " I went early to the Institute, where there is grand excitement over *ginkgo* ; the sperms are just swimming out, and they only do it for a day or two each year. It is no such easy business to catch them, in a hundred you can only get five with sperms at the best of times, and may get one and be thankful. I spent pretty well the whole day over them and got three, and several in the pollen tube, not yet quite ripe. It is most entertaining to watch them swimming, their spiral of cilia wave energetically."

[Tokio.] " At work all the morning, lunch with the Faculty at the Goten, and then at work all the afternoon. The fossils proved so enticing that though I had worn a trailly frock all day intending to go to the Belgian Legation garden party, when it came to the point the fossils won and I didn't go. In the evening I cycled down to dinner at our Embassy.

" When once one makes up one's mind to a cycle, one can even go out to dinner on it. I wondered, however, what the footman thought when he had to lift it into the Embassy hall in case of thieves getting it in the garden (I was told he has a brother who is an attache at the French Embassy ! The Japanese are very quaint that

way—one Count or Baron or other is driven up to the door every day by his own brother as a coachman). Thanks to the unmoved countenance of flunkeydom, added to the immobility of the Japanese, I could sail into the dining-room, past the same man, trailing a pink silk skirt with apparent dignity."

[Tokio.] ". . . When I got to the Embassy garden party (it was given to welcome Admiral Sperry and the American fleet) I found it had been postponed in the morning, but as the weather was now so lovely it was put on again. That is to say, it was half on and would be repeated to-morrow. So we had one of the bands, and quite a lot of the American officers and other people turned up. The chief sight was seeing Admiral Sperry and Admiral Togo sitting side by side looking on at a kind of sword dance. . . . Admiral Sperry, though not imposing or impressive in any way, seemed pleasant and keen, and was tall."

[Tokio.] "Sven Hedin lectured to-day at the University, and I had been asked to tea previously to meet him. . . . He gave me the impression of being a genial, friendly, hardy, *pushful*, but not great, man. The only other lady there was Madame G——, the mother of the French Ambassador. She was very gracious, as she always is, but cannot speak a word of anything

but French. We all walked over to the Lecture Hall from the Goten—a slow and solemn procession. About the only people who spoke were Hedin and Madame G——, a few people said a sentence or two to me, but even the genial Dean seemed to be overpowered by the funereal solemnity of the march. I had my cycle, and the French Ambassador helped me to haul it up the steps ! His only remark was *très moderne*, which was very moderate of him."

[Tokio.] " Almost immediately after lunch we went over to—where do you think ?—Lafcadio Hearn's house to see his wife and family ! A rare privilege, for the sanctum is unusually well guarded. But Mrs. Noguchi's friendship has won me the way in, for, as I said, the eldest boy learns English from her and is devoted to her. . . . Mrs. Hearn was very friendly : less shy and quiet than most Japanese women, she was yet distinctly Japanese in her shyness and quietness. Without beauty, she pleased.

" She and the children were all in usual Japanese costume, and the only ' foreign ' things in the room were ourselves and the cakes and cups of tea she brought us. I inquired if she liked foreign food, and she told me that she did, very much, and that ' Lafcadio ' always ate it, for though he liked all the things to be pure Japanese and would have nothing he could help that was not, Japanese food upset him, and he

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always had foreign food, but that now she never prepared it. We chatted about many things, and she spoke freely of Hearn, of whom I did not dare at first to ask any questions till she had spoken voluntarily so much, to show that she liked to speak of him. . . .

" The children were with us most of the evening, showing Brownie picture-books of which they had a fine stock. Hearn evidently liked Andrew Lang's fairy books, for they were nearly all there.

" In his study, where we had supper, was the little family shrine, built rather like a miniature temple of plain wood ; within was Hearn's photo, and before it burnt a tiny lamp and stood dainty vases of small flowers. According to Japanese ideas, the spirit of the departed inhabits this dwelling and needs the love and attention of his kindred, and takes part in their life. Is Christianity more consoling to the bereaved than this ? From the window by the shrine could be seen the grove of the tall bamboo Hearn loved, and in the room floated one or two of the mosquitoes with which he had such sympathy."

Some of the Japanese ways must have startled a girl brought up in the propriety of the Stopes family. One finds indications of this in such passages as the following from *A Journal from Japan* :

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" The life in this train is different from anything I have yet seen in trains, yet very comfortable, with a dining-car where they cook beside you what you order. Near me was sitting a smart man, cultured-looking, and extremely well-dressed in perfect English style. Thus he remained for an hour ; then, the heat being great, he took off his coat, then his waistcoat, and finally came to his shirt alone ! Then he pulled over him a loose kimono and removed every stitch but that, finally winding a soft silk sash round his waist and sitting down, all without removing his gold-rimmed glasses or turning a hair ! The transformation was extraordinary, and during the whole ridiculous scene, acted within two feet of me, he was so utterly unconscious and dignified, and so many others in the long car did the same that I began to wonder if we aren't a little super-prudish in England. During the night that man was most thoughtful and kind to me, insisting on my using his rug, and finally doing an act of service that called for such unselfishness that I am sure we underrate the innate courtesy of Japanese men to women ; and he was, of course, a perfect stranger."

[From Hokkaido.] " I arrived at Aomori early this morning, and lost much temper because I had to lose much time in getting on to the ship. The language, of course, was partly the difficulty, but the natives are

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excruciatingly slow to move. After *three hours* of talking and arguing and going over things again and again, at last I reached the steamer—a very good little ship with nice state-rooms and saloons ; of course *very small*. The state-rooms have three berths, and I find my two companions are men. It was a shock at first, but they seemed so surprised at my being surprised, that I thought again that we have too much of the trail of the serpent about our customs. I slept in the train with men near me, why not in the steamer ? It is only for one night."

And again : " Life in the Club-house last night was not without its interest. I couldn't get to bed for constant visits and interviews from officials ; the last gentleman came after I had prepared for bed, and I conversed with him in my night-gown (which, mercifully, was long and rather like a tea-gown), but he never turned a hair—coming in on me before I could put on a dressing-gown. The maids are all excessively sweet and polite, but they slide open the partitions noiselessly with no warning, and catch me unawares.

" I put up at a little hotel near the sea, and after six went down for a bathe. The coast was perfect, shelving rocks sloping out to sea, with little bathing coves and sheltering rocks, and, as I imagined, perfect solitude. But, of course, in this out of the way place I had been noticed, and before I was in the water a minute

a crowd of women and children had collected. Nothing I could do or say would drive them away, and so I had to get out and dress under the fire of their eyes and criticisms. In their long-drawn country tones they kept up a running commentary, 'Ooa—how white she is !' 'Is she married ?' 'Why does she wear a dress in the sea ?' 'How old can she be ?' Perhaps twenty years.⁵ There was no escape from nearly fifty people forming a cordon but three feet away from me ; if I had fled they would have followed, so I dressed, as leisurely and as unconcernedly as if I were at home, and gravely buttoned the little buttons of my bodice and put on my stockings while I returned the compliment and made a searching examination of them.

" The boy children were naked, with smooth glowing copper limbs like sunburned clay—as indeed they were. The girl children had usually some floating robe of a dressing-gown nature, open to show the whole body, or caught at the waist and turned down to leave the upper part free. Bright-eyed they were and muddy-cheeked, but neither pretty nor attractive. The women were naked to below the waist, the kimono being turned down over the girdle to form a kind of double skirt. No one wore any ornament of any kind save a few coloured beads to tie their hair, but few of them had even that. The men wore three inches of cloth round their waists

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and sometimes a band round their heads made of a small Japanese towel. All were perfectly quiet, and the remarks were made one at a time by the older women ; the children stood open-mouthed. I know that the blue of the sea-water makes one gleam like white ivory, and as all my clothes were white, I suppose the effect must have seemed novel to them. The deep colour of the Japanese is chiefly due to sunburn, but as they are exposed to it from their earliest days, it gets so ingrained that they may not realise it is an attempt at clothing on the part of a body otherwise so unprotected."

From the above extracts it will be realised that after a short stay at Tokio Dr. Stopes set off by herself to the northern trackless forests in Hokkaido. She found however that the introductions kindly sent by Sir Edward Grey and the Royal Society left her less free than she would otherwise have been to travel in obscurity, and on arriving in Hokkaido an interchange of visits with the Governor was necessary. Before matters were settled she found that an escort of considerable magnitude was considered essential. Among them of course was an interpreter, as she knew very little Japanese. Whilst on the expedition with a party of coolies however the town of Hokkodate was burnt down entirely, and the interpreter had to return hurriedly to see to his family affairs, leaving her, with a very

meagre smattering of Japanese, to cope with her entire expedition, an experience she found most salutary and not a little amusing. In many of the villages to which Dr. Stopcs penetrated, no white person of any sort, male or female, had ever been seen before, and the curiosity her arrival aroused was naturally great and often embarrassing, as, for instance, when an entire school was brought to watch her dress, the natives having noiselessly removed the sliding panels of her room before waking her. The fossils she sought proved to be there, and her coolies returned laden with specimens new to science and of great interest. From Tokio she made many expeditions in other directions, including one to the Southern Island of Amakusa, where coal mines of a very primitive sort existed. Throughout her stay in Japan she continually experienced difficulties in consequence of the ramifications of Japanese interests she aroused. "It was so difficult," she said, "to get anywhere I wanted to go because they always wanted me to do something else !"

In Japan the aristocratic or "No" plays greatly attracted and interested Dr. Stopes, and she attended as many performances of these as possible ; and in collaboration with Professor Sakurai, then the Dean of the Imperial University, she made the first translation of three of them into English. They were published by Heinemann in 1913, with her notes on this most

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interesting and archaic of all still living forms of the drama. Concerning this, Baron Kato, then Japanese Ambassador, wrote of Dr. Stopes and her co-translator : "I am glad to be able to extend to them my sincere congratulations on their remarkable achievement. They have succeeded in their work to the best extent anyone can hope to succeed, and in my opinion have placed Western students of Japanese art and literature under a debt of gratitude." This book soon went out of print, and after the war was re-issued in a replica edition in paper covers by the Eclipse Press.

After living for some time as a paying guest with a Japanese officer's family, Dr. Stopes decided to try the experiment of having a little Japanese home of her own in Tokio, which city she always made her headquarters. To run this, she had a delightful Japanese maid and lived as nearly as was convenient in the Japanese style, using chopsticks and sleeping on silk quilts on the floor, though she kept to European cooking. As the French Ambassador said, " Next to the French, the properly trained Japanese make the very best cooks in the world," and her maid was remarkably skilful over a little charcoal brazier.

Many dances and dinners, garden parties, and receptions at the Embassies, afforded ample gaiety as a contrast to her serious and arduous palæontological work. At an " At Home " in

Tokio one day a matron, talking to a slender young woman in a pretty art gown of blue velvet, said : " Who is this Dr. Stopes people are talking about ? He collects fossils, and I expect he is a bit of a fossil himself." Later on the same lady said to her hostess : " Who is that nice girl I have been talking to in the blue dress ? "—" That is Dr. Stopes, the learned geologist," said the hostess, and the Yokohama matron collapsed. But Dr. Stopes wanted some social activity rather more serious than any that was offered, and so she hit on the idea of founding a ladies⁵ debating society, like one her mother had founded many years previously in London. For the European ladies in Tokio nothing beyond the superficialities of social life existed, since, being foreigners, the various fields of social usefulness open to women in their own countries were not available, and her idea was taken up with zest. The debates were both animated and interesting, but, to the amazement of all concerned, no men were admitted. This of course, in such a circle as the Tokio diplomatic one, caused great astonishment, and Baroness d'Anethon, the English wife of the Belgian Minister who was the doyen in Tokio, pleaded in vain when the debate was held in her house for exception to be made in favour of the Baron. This being sternly refused, he hid in the room, and had to be dislodged amid laughter. In looking back, Dr. Stopes thinks that this

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un-expected attitude of the women was what secured the initial success of the little society. It undoubtedly filled a want and took root, and in an expanded form with many added activities is now the Tokio Ladies' Club. Dr. Stopes also initiated a club for both men and women, the London University Club, in Tokio. As a graduate of London University she felt that the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, who each had their club in Japan, should not be the only ones to foregather. In this undertaking she was much helped by the fact that several of the most distinguished statesmen in Japan, as well as Professor Sakurai the Dean of the Imperial University, were graduates of, or had been students at, London University. That club, too, still maintains its existence and from time to time communicates with her.

On leaving Japan Dr. Stopes was the recipient of many beautiful gifts from various departments, including a pair of exquisite silver *cloisonne* vases, with a dedication to her from the Japanese Government "in recognition of the service she had been to science in Japan."

After a year and a half in Japan Dr. Stopes returned home across the Pacific and *via* Canada. The ship encountered a terrific storm. The manuscript containing her original drawings and the only copy of the results of Professor Fujii's and her work for the last year and a half was with her in her cabin. The sea broke in,

bursting the porthole of the great Canadian Pacific s.s. *Empress*, and before anything could be done water was waist deep in her cabin and the manuscript was floating about with the rest of her luggage. When rescued it was wellnigh ruined, but having been tightly tied up there was some hope of saving it if it could be dried quickly. The storm by this time was so terrific that she could not walk along the corridor of the ship at all, and with her heart in her mouth had to see the manuscript taken out of her care to the engine-room to be dried, while she was tightly wedged in with pillows and fastened into her bunk. Some days later the manuscript, with its pages entirely disarranged, was retrieved ; and by that experience she learnt a lesson she has not forgotten—never to allow a manuscript of hers to remain uncopied.

On arrival in Vancouver she was asked to lecture before the Women's Canadian Club. In Toronto, too, she was most cordially received and made much of by Dr. Helen MacMurchy, a well-known figure in the medical and Government circles of Canada. She then proceeded to New York, where she received much cordial and friendly hospitality.

It was not long before she returned to America for a stay of over three months, a large part of which was spent in Washington where she was correlating the paleontological collections with those in the British Museum, in preparation for

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the volumes published later by the Trustees of the British Museum. She was the guest then of Hennen Jennings and his charming wife, who gave her many delightful opportunities of meeting Americans of note. At a dinner party to meet Viscount Bryce she found an Ambassador not merely broad and sympathetic, but with a profound knowledge of unexpected subjects, as he showed in his table talk. Of him she says : " He was the only man of note and general world-culture I have ever met who knew the correct scientific names of fossils in coal-bearing horizons, and mentioned them as though they were everyday matters of conversation. He amazed and delighted me."

In New York she met Andrew Carnegie, who invited her to his palatial home, and she found him very different from the hard old man rumour had described him as being. He gave her tea in *tete-a-tete* comfort, and though he refused an endowment for palacontological research in London which she asked him for, he received the request with such humour and such personal charm that she went away feeling she had gained a great deal. And perhaps she had, for this wise old man said to her : " You are far too clever, my dear, to be wasting your time over fossils ; *things that live matter more*. If you had come to me with a proposition that would help the peace of the world, I would not have given you a quarter of a million " (dollars, presumably) " I

would have given you a million, and gladly. Take my advice, and do not waste your time over these dead-and-gone things." The palaeontological enthusiast then pointed out to him that the whole of his wealth rested on the use of coal, and therefore the palaeontological study of its nature and structure must have value, even to him. But he would not see it, and said : " You are clever enough to make all the millions you want for yourself. We dug coal before you scientists existed, and we can go on digging it without you." Patting her kindly, he led her downstairs, right down his front steps on to the street in most kindly and fatherly fashion and next day sent her a book of his own, inscribed as follows : " For relief from severer studies likely to destruct the brain."

In Chicago where she was invited to lecture at the University, Dr. Marie Stopes met Jane Addams, the great social worker, and a number of academic men of world note. Of American cities, Boston, next to Washington, attracted her most, and there she was entertained by old Mrs. Fields, whose home was one of the last links between modern times and the glorious days of American literature. Other friends in Boston gave a dinner for her to meet Henry James on his native heath. " That night," she said, " I really felt that I had achieved fame. Henry James entertained the dinner-table with a number of stories from my *Journal from Japan*, I suppose

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he had forgotten their origin, but I played up, and laughed in the proper place every time. I felt for the first time in my life that I really had accomplished something."

In Ottawa she was the guest at Government House of the Governor-General, the late Earl Grey, and Lady Grey. Here she met the Premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier, who was full of reminiscences and confidences about his youth. The Minister of Finance sat next to her at dinner one evening, and semi-officially asked her to name her own terms for remaining in Canada to develop paleontological work in connection with their Government departments, but she then felt that she would rather have a junior's salary in London than comparative riches elsewhere.

Shortly after this she went on to Montreal, staying only a few days. Lord Grey, who was visiting Montreal at the time, opened Lord Strathcona's house and gave a luncheon party to Dr. Stopes. In Montreal she visited Professor Penhallow, the palaeobotanist, who had charge of many interesting fossil specimens, some of them dating from the famous Dawson's time.

Continuing her researches on fossils, a year or two later a visit to Stockholm became necessary. There Professor Nathorst, one of the greatest paleobotanists in the world, had unique collections it was necessary for her to correlate with those in the British Museum. She stayed a good many weeks in Stockholm, and while

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she was there the city was also visited by Professor Seward (now the Master of Downing College, Cambridge), a palæobotanist, and his wife and daughter. This palacobotanical party, together with Professor Nathorst, was invited to a lunch by the British Minister, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, at his beautiful summer villa some way out of Stockholm. Sir Cecil made a deep personal impression on Dr. Stopes. His sympathetic and charming personality and real interest in science was unusual. She had often experienced in Japan, where she moved freely among the diplomats, and at Washington and elsewhere where she met ambassadors and their kind, a superficial courtesy and pretence of interest which seemed to her unreal, but Sir Cecil created an impression of noble sincerity and sympathetic understanding.

Since the war Dr. Stopes has travelled little, though she has been once to New York, when she went over for a week-end just to give a lecture in the Town Hall of New York. In 1923 she attended the Fuel Congress in Paris, where she had been invited to give a paper on her researches on the structure of coal.

CHAPTER VII

Marriage

ABOUT eighteen months after having been freed from the legal matrimonial entanglement which had proved itself no true marriage, Dr. Marie Stopes and her real husband met at a luncheon party given by a mutual friend. They were immediately attracted to each other under rather curious circumstances, each having been invited to meet the other, and each of them thinking that the other had not turned up but that the delightful young person they were meeting was a son or daughter of the one they were to have met.

Humphrey Verdon-Roe was the son of Dr. Edwin H. Roe and Annie Verdon, his wife, and was one of seven children. Medical men and clergy were numerous in his family, and he was the grandson, son, nephew, and brother, of medicals. He himself went straight into the Army from school and from his crammer, and entered the First Battalion of the Manchester Regiment as a subaltern. The regiment was stationed in Gibraltar, where he first saw foreign service, and before long it was drafted

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to South Africa, in 1899, where he served through the whole siege of Ladysmith, suffering permanently in health to some slight extent from the starvation he then endured. At the end of the South African War he resigned his commission and entered first one and then another business, making himself independent of his family. A brother a year older than he, Alliott (now Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe), who had a varied engineering experience and a great gift for invention, was interested from a very early date in the possibilities of flying. Humphrey Verdon-Roe placed his business knowledge and resources at his brother's command and the two worked in partnership: a partnership in which Alliott benefited by the keen common sense of Humphrey, who kept a control on the development of the many ideas coruscating from his brother. The development of those that could lead to solid results was organised by Humphrey, and the machine they then constructed is still of value. Together the two brothers founded the firm which manufactured the "Avro" biplane in 1910, when flying was still thought to be almost an impossibility: and only a few years after *The Times* had published an article saying that from an engineering point of view it was not possible to fly, the brothers had mastered the obstacles before them. In the first year of the war Humphrey Roe's policy was more than justified. Avros were on active service

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everywhere, and in November, 1914, Avros were selected for the successful raid on the Zeppelin headquarters at Fridrichshafen.

In an editorial in the *Aeroplane*, August 17th, 1932, it was remarked that " more pilots have been trained on Avros all over the world than on any other type of aeroplane that has ever been produced."

The development of the production of Avros, and others modelled on them, naturally expanded enormously during the war, but Humphrey Roe, though at the head of a rapidly increasing business, at once tried to take up a fresh commission in the Army, but was held back as being of more service to the country as a producer of flying machines. In 1917 however the huge expansion of production having been fully organised and established, he succeeded in rejoining the Army, and resigning all direct interest in the firm, obtained his commission and went flying in Trance. At this time, at the age of thirty-nine, he was in such good physical condition that he went night-bombing over the German lines. His machine was brought down and he was sent home with a broken foot and a jarred spine, gaining a wound stripe early in 1918. An account of his night-bombing work is given, with a photograph, in the *Annals of the 100th Squadron*,

Besides being a successful business man of many interests, IL V. Roe has been through life

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a most abstemious liver, a teetotaller, a non-smoker, and of very simple personal tastes and habits. Before he met Dr. Marie Stopes he had in conjunction with Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., the well-known philanthropist and social worker in Manchester, been endeavouring for some time to improve the lot of working women by founding a clinic for birth control. Indeed he made an offer to a Manchester Hospital of £1,000 a year for five years and £12,000 at his death if they would open such a clinic, but through fear of losing other supporters if they took such an advanced step, they regretfully refused to do so. On going to the front Mr. Roe made a will leaving his whole property for the endowment of birth control and the foundation of various scholarships. It is an indication of the extraordinary ignorance then prevalent on that very important subject, that his solicitors in 1917 were exceedingly chary of allowing him to make any bequest for birth control, warning him that probate might be refused. Fortunately however his marriage in 1918 with Dr. Marie Stopes, who was equally anxious to promote birth control, resulted in the mutual efforts they have made to do this in their own lifetimes. They founded the first clinic for birth control in the British Empire, and indeed the first birth-control clinic in the world founded on a scientific basis, keeping records and case-sheets (which Dr. Stopes devised) and forming a basis

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for research. Under their supervision it has steadily progressed.

His meeting with Dr. Marie Stopes took place just before he went to France, but on his return he and she decided to marry as soon as he was allowed out of hospital, and arrangements were made for the marriage to take place at St. Margaret's, Westminster ; the Bishop of Birmingham, an old friend of Dr. Stopes, and Mr. Roe's uncle, the Rev. Russell Napier the Vicar of Old Windsor, were to officiate. The demand for officers was then so great however that he was ordered again to the front sooner than had been anticipated, and they were hastily and secretly married a month earlier than had been planned, at the Registrar's Office at Westminster. Then, fortunately, his orders were changed and the religious marriage at St. Margaret's, Westminster, could proceed. The couple were then in the amusing position of having been really married a month, when with all due pomp and solemnity they were, in the eyes of the world, being married for the first time. No one but myself and one other friend had been informed of the first marriage hastily arranged in view of the tragic possibilities at that time.

Humphrey Verdon-Roe had many years previously determined to retire from business at forty, and after his marriage he and his wife decided to devote their whole leisure, when the war should be over, to public service in one

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form or another. In addition to his interest in birth control, Mr. Roe, as an employer of labour, had often endeavoured to bring employers and employed to a better understanding, and he actively took up the work of the Industrial League and Council, joining its committee and furthering its efforts to promote Whitleyism. He was also interested in other public service, town planning in particular. Dr. Stopes had for some time been living at Leatherhead and, as the district offered just the kind of beauty and facility of access to London they desired, he bought a beautiful property and they settled down at Givons Grove, where they lived for nine years.

After they had been married fifteen months their first baby son was born, a beautiful and well-built boy of eight and three-quarter pounds, whose tragic death, and all the attendant circumstances, involve a story too strange and horrible for me to tell here. Fortunately, their second son, who was born in 1924 (and who also weighed eight and three-quarter pounds at birth), was another beautiful and sturdy baby, so like the first that he might have been his own elder brother come to life again.

Humphrey Verdon-Roe was so severely injured in France, where he had a foot broken and two bones in his spine jarred, that he was invalided out of the army before the close of the war. With the exception of a brief visit to Switzerland,

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he and his wife have done none of the travelling they had planned, but have lived very quietly since their marriage. Whatever strength each of them has had has been devoted principally to work in connection with birth control : the founding of the clinic for birth control, and the Society for Constructive Birth Control of which H. V. Roe is honorary secretary.

Those who, like myself, have often stayed at Givons Grove, know well how complete and real a marriage this is, perfect in harmony and sentiment and in many respects actively vital. Each with a pioneering instinct, though exercised in different directions, each serene in disregard of their own immediate advancement, each having an almost child-like sentiment and sensitiveness, they have strengthened and completed each other in the happiest way.

No reference to life at Givons Grove would be complete without mention of their beloved Chow dog, who went everywhere with them, even on their honeymoon, and whose affectionate disposition fitted well into the home-life there.

Dr. Stopes is one of those rare people whose mental and moral energy never allows them to rest long on their oars, but who when they have mastered one problem have to engage on another. The mere diversity of tasks she has undertaken indicates this, including as it does a considerable body of important scientific work, besides elementary text-books, a book of travels, a

book of poems, plays, a cinema story, and fairy tales, as well as the series of works on sex that have had such an enormous circulation here and have been translated into French, German, Swedish, Danish, Czech, Polish, Rumanian, Dutch, Spanish, Afrikaans, Arabic, Chinese, Hungarian, Danish-Norwegian, and Portuguese. This forms a surprisingly varied output for anyone, and especially for a woman of her age, from whom there is every reason to expect yet more.

The characteristics observable when one gets to know her well are a curious blend of feminine charm with a trenchant intellectuality such as one rarely encounters. She is clear-headed but not of the aridly intellectual type ; on the contrary, she frequently jumps to conclusions by a kind of intuition, though she verifies and tests them afterwards. I have already alluded to the exceptional tenacity—some people would say obstinacy—with which she clings to a purpose, great or small, and also to the surprising frequency with which she reaches her aim when an onlooker does not see at all why she should. Perhaps I may illustrate this by an example. When her husband bought Givons Grove, Dr. Stopes set to work to beautify and decorate it, a task for which she is highly qualified. **Well,** at Givons Grove she resolved among other things that the upper part of the dining-room walls were to be painted a particular shade of blue. It was war-time, and after the decorators

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at her instigation had tried a dozen different sources they declared the required paint to be quite unobtainable. Dr. Stopes would not have the walls painted any other colour. About that time she underwent the serious operation necessitated by the circumstances briefly alluded to earlier in this chapter, following the birth of her first baby, and she stayed at Torquay to recuperate. The first day she was strong enough to go out, she asked a policeman to direct her to the best oil-and-colour shop in the town. He did so, and on reaching it Dr. Stopes asked for two pots of the shade of blue paint she required. The shopkeeper said he had none of it, but Dr. Stopes insisted that he had. She said she must have it, and would he please be quick and examine the stock in his cellar, as she was not at all well and very weak, did not want to wait long, and *knew* he had it in the shop. She was, in fact, by this time so exhausted with weakness as to be almost collapsing over the counter at which she sat. The man replied that he had no cellar ; but on being questioned he admitted that he had a small attic, and at her bidding went to see what was there. He soon returned, having to his surprise found just two pots of the identical shade required, which Dr. Stopes promptly purchased, and the paint from which adorned her dining-room walls.

Physically, Dr. Stopes matured slowly, and must have been nearly thirty before her sex-

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instincts were at all fully developed. Slowness of development seems almost to be a definite quality in racial advance, and has been studied and written about by her in her book, *Radiant Aiotherhood*. Besides being happily married she is the mother of an unusually fine boy : a particularly bonny, healthy little chap, whom she nursed herself and who in the first year of his life never had a wakeful night, and spent all his waking daylight hours laughing and crowing.

CHAPTER VIII

Children

AT a meeting Dr. Stopes addressed at the Albert Hall, Leeds, in April, 1932, at which Dr. W. H. Maxwell Telling presided supported by Lord Moynihan, the chairman said :

" Because Dr. Marie Stopes identifies herself with birth control and with the definite and proper hygienic limitation of families, I want to make it clear to you that she is in no way anti-maternity. There is no more maternal-minded person in this room than Dr. Stopes. She advises in every marriage a baby as quickly as possible, as many babies as possible, but always as possible, having due regard to all the circumstances of each case. What Dr. Stopes has always stood for is maternity in the best and highest and most idealistic sense."

Following him Dr. Stopes said :

" May I emphasise what our chairman has so well put—that we stand for the *best* in motherhood. We are pre-eminently a pro-baby organisation. One of our slogans is " Babies in the right place." We are anti-baby when that baby is a diseased, C 3 and potentially rotten member of society, when it is going to destroy

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the health and happiness and potential motherhood of a woman who has already little ones to care for. I simply adore babies, but I hate seeing miserable, desperately unhappy, wretched babies, and it is to spare those babies from their misery and to spare the mothers the anguish of bearing them, that our Society came into being eleven years ago, when I coined the phrase ' *Constructive birth control*.' We have pictures on the walls of our clinic of some of the most beautiful babies you have ever seen, all of them brought by us to mothers hitherto sterile."

Dr. Stopes's second son, Harry Verdon Stopcs-Roe, was born in April, 1924. His babyhood was remarkably healthy and beautiful, and he never kept anyone awake during the whole first year of his life. His mother being passionately devoted to children, she and her husband intended to have four, and only the unfortunate accidents and operations she suffered just before and after the birth of her second son have rendered that impossible.

His mother passionately disapproves of *only* children, feeling that it is unfair to a child always to associate with adults. A child needs someone of approximately his own age in the nursery with him if he is to have the environment of healthy childhood. The little brother adopted for Harry Buff kins is nine months younger than he, and is the orphan nephew of very old friends of Dr. Stopes. He demands affection, has a

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sunny, happy disposition, and the boys get on better together than the majority of blood brothers.

Some silly people thought Harry BufFkins was " an accident," and that Dr. Stopes's " methods " had failed her. So she was invited to write by the Editor of the *Sunday Express*, and I quote from her article :

" ' Every lover desires a child ' are the words with which I begin my book *Radiant Motherhood*, for their profound truth is, in my opinion, a complete answer to the cackle about ' race suicide ' on the part of those who do not know what true love means.

" My baby is a child of love—not of the primitive, animal kind of ' love ' which society expects from all mothers, but a love aware of itself and wielding control.

" People talk glibly of ' mother-love ' as if it were all one kind ; but I see ' mother-love ' as of three qualities. There is the most widespread, the love that comes on the birth of the baby, the kind of which the nurse or district visitor speaks when she says to a revolting, unwilling mother : ' Ah, you wait until you hear his little cry, and feel his little fingers ! ' In a measure love is born to the mother even with the child that she did not desire. To me that seems to be Grade 3 of ' mother-love,' the coercive existence of which is a disgrace to civilisation.

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" Then there is the ' mother-love ' that comes before the child is born, and comes to the woman who unwittingly and unaware has conceived, but who loves the little being within her, and prepares gladly for its advent. That love, too, is frequent, and is Grade 2 of ' mother-love.'

" But the ' mother-love ' which alone is complete, which alone will be reckoned love when civilisation is a real thing instead of a sham, is the love that is there for the child *before* it is conceived—the love that springs like a flower from the deep love the woman bears toward her lover, the child's potential father ; the love that controls the circumstances of his conception and creates an avenue of as much beauty as her power permits for the little spirit to enter this world as her child. That is *real* mother-love ; that is the love on which the future of our race depends, through which the full joy and beauty of life can manifest itself.

" My baby was loved in this way—loved for years before times were propitious for his advent—loved most specially on the day he was conceived, when, on a stone tower high above the sea, with the sea all round it and the brilliant blue sky above, in a blaze of sunlight, he was called into being. There, as the night fell and the blue darkened into a purple curtain spangled with great stars, his mother lay under the sky, high above the world all night. With each of the many falling stars which left a

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blazing track across that brilliant canopy went wishes for the baby's future—wishes that must not be told, because we know the old adage that ^c a wish with a shooting star which isn't told comes true.⁵

" The baby has come true. His active little body leapt into the world sturdy and strong. As people think of babies like gold, in terms of weight, it should be said that he was eight and three-quarter pounds at his birth, and before he was three weeks old he was nine and three-quarter pounds. On the day of his birth he was nineteen inches tall.

" ' Tall ? ' you may say. ' That is a funny phrase to use about a baby ! ⁵ But it fits my baby, because he stretched out, feet firm, like a soldier at attention, before he was a day old. Owing to after-effects of bronchial influenza and other things, I had to have a very serious operation, and the first day when baby was brought to me, before his little Cupid bow of a mouth was laid on my breast, I said to him as I would to a grown-up person : ' Now baby, you must not kick your mummy at all, because she is very fragile, and you would hurt her by kicking,⁵ and that tiny thing, not yet twenty-four hours old, stretched himself straight along my side like a little soldier, and then turned over and smiled at me and found the right place for his lips. Although he kicked his socks off, and was lusty and valiant in his bath, yet never once

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did he move or kick when he came to me for his meals. [Babies, of course, always double up and kick their heels when being fed at the breast.]

"^c A ridiculous coincidence,' you'll say, 'Babies newly-born cannot understand.' Ah, but I answer, properly loved babies do understand and obey, even *before* they are born."

Dr. Marie Stopes combines very advanced and very old-fashioned methods of dealing with children. She makes an effort to obtain the old-fashioned explicit obedience from the child, but at the same time takes every possible opportunity to enlighten his mind about the *reasons* for actions imposed upon him, if not at once, then at suitable opportunities. She believes explicitly in allowing the child's intelligence to develop in its own natural spontaneous way in conformity with its own growth and not on lines of imposed lessons by adults and teachers: indeed she often says she has devoted eight years of her life to *protecting* the child from interference by nurses and governesses.

At the age of nine months she could allow him, crawling beside her, to weed a flower bed of flowers she valued. Although he could only speak a few words he knew the difference between flowers and weeds.

At the age of eighteen months she allowed him not only to play with a hammer, but actually to nail every nail down in a stair carpet, holding

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the hammer entirely himself. After she had inserted the nail so that he could hold it, he hammered every nail right in without once missing its head.

At the age of three he was given a sharp axe at his own request after watching wood cutters fell some trees, and with an axe and saw he felled unaided a tree twenty-five feet high. He has naturally a very keen, observant mind, which Dr. Stopes cultivates in every possible way, but not by reading or " learning " things. She has cultivated his powers of observation, reasoning, and handicraft skill and accuracy, and deliberately discouraged reading, though encouraging writing.

He asked for a shorthand secretary when he was five, and got it, dictating a great part of the play, *Buckie's Bears*, which he wrote with his mother. Many pages of the dialogue were found to be delightful and actable, and were untouched either by his fellow-author or the theatrical producer.

That play was written by him and his mother (under the pseudonyms of Harry Buffkins and Erica Fay) when he was six. Unfortunately, he had scarlet fever that autumn, so that the play was not produced till 1931, when he was seven. It then had a four weeks matinee run under the management of Mr. Leon M. Lion at the Royalty Theatre, London, commencing on Boxing Day, 1931, and was renewed at the

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Garrick under the same management for a similar season in 1932-3, with some additions. Unlike many "plays for children" it is really written for them, and not to cater for the taste of adults.

But although designed for children, elderly men and women laughed just as heartily as they at the delightful antics of Sam and Barbara, the polar bears who had escaped from the Zoo into Fairyland.

The press was very cordial and pleasant to Harry, whom the *Stage* described as the youngest dramatist in the world.

Buffkins's behaviour on the first night startled even his family. His mother, not wishing his charming lack of self-consciousness to be in any way spoiled, had not even told him that he might be called upon to make a speech. He had never heard anyone make a speech, and after enthusiastic cries for " Author, Author ! " had been repeated several times, his mother turned to the manager and said, " Does that mean I should make a little speech ? " But Master Harry Buffkins walked straight forward to the footlights, lifted his head, and in a clear, penetrating voice, well spaced, said, " Thank you all very much. I am glad you liked my dear bears, and I hope you will all come again," bowed, and then the heart of everyone on the stage stood still, for the stage manager had not been prepared for this speech and the heavy, death-dealing curtain was coming down ! It

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missed the child by a fraction of an inch. The manager and everyone at the back of the stage were paralysed by terror as it descended, but Buffkins just leapt back in time from the applause and the public, turned to his mother with perfect calmness, and said, " Mummy, I left a little space between each word because I thought, as there were so many people there, they would not hear it unless I left spaces for echoes." It was an illustration of the alertness of mind and instinctive preparedness for life the child has always shown.

Up to the age of eight he has had no lessons beyond half a dozen in arithmetic and some definitely guided hours in his mother's laboratory, where he can weigh with accuracy to three places of decimals of a gram.

The way he learned to write is interesting and is sometimes quoted by his mother as an illustration of the ceaseless maternal vigilance needed in the bringing up of children. It was five o'clock in the morning, when he was about five years old, that he sat up in bed and asked for paper and pencil and to be shown how to write "joined up writing so that you can do all the alphabet." His mother wrote the alphabet in clear copper-plate writing all joined up. The child copied it at once, and that is the *only* lesson he has had in writing. He writes a good clear round hand approximately like that of a child of eleven or twelve. While other children toil with separate letter formation, an idiotic

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invention for the destruction of children's intelligence, he writes whatever comes into his head to write, in a good round running hand. But at the age of eight he still has no lessons whatever and cannot read, and is encouraged not to read.

He is out all day in all weathers. He is a sure-footed climber, a quick runner, very boyish, and a lover of animals : birds, cat, dogs, pony, and any pets he can make.

This account of the boy has led me however to omit, what should have been previously mentioned, that Dr. Stopes considers fairy tales one of the highest forms of literature, and herself in 1926 published *A Road to Fairyland*, written under the pseudonym of Erica Fay (the secret of its authorship being carefully concealed at the time). This book was very favourably received, and of one of its stories, *The Princess*, which had appeared also in the *Fortnightly Review*, W. L. Courtenay said that he knew " no better English than that in which it was written."

Her scientific work has all had its influence on her home life, and Dr. Stopes's interest in mezozoic fossils took her and her husband to stay for a few days at Wyke Regis, from whence to visit the world-famous Chesil Beach and the Portland quarries.

Walking round the then rather inaccessible point they noticed high on the cliffs of Portland Bill a lighthouse which appeared to be empty.

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The solitude of the wild cliff scenery and the wonderfully bracing air appealed to them and, finding it was for sale and could be adapted for use as a summertime seaside house, Dr. Stopes bought it, and has since lived there almost every summer, and when he was a few months old Harry Buffkins was taken there.

After Dr. Stopes had become the owner of the old lighthouse at Portland and become smitten with the strange and subtle charm of the grey island in its clear blue sea, she found that her lighthouse was mentioned in Thomas Hardy's famous novel *The Well Beloved*, and in the tower of the lighthouse she had the pleasure of giving tea to him and his wife when they visited her in September, 1923.

"A Vice's Cottage," the house of the heroine in Hardy's *Well Beloved*, and the adjacent old cottage opposite Pennsylvania Castle, the oldest houses on the island, were ultimately bought by Dr. Stopes with some ground at the back for the purposes of a museum and given to the island. They were restored by public subscription, and the museum is now in process of being taken over by the local authority.

As previously mentioned, Harry Buffkins was taken to the lighthouse when only a few months old. He and his little companion loved the water, and at a very early age Harry Buffkins learnt to swim and delighted in going out of his depth and swimming under water at an age when

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most children have to be coaxed to get wet all over.

He early showed signs of having inherited his grandfather's and his mother's love for fossils, and year after year has taken the greatest interest in the museum, and has found and presented specimens to it.

At Portland, when he had just turned eight, he found a dead puffin, and immediately noticed that he had never seen such a bird before and insisted that it must be stuffed for the museum, which aims at having representations of every Portland species, living and fossil, but had not yet begun its bird collection. No local taxidermist could be found, and so the bird was hastily packed and sent to the British Museum where it was beautifully stuffed ; and the child was delighted, when the characteristics of puffins were read out to him, to observe for himself that the strange blue marks round the eyes and the brightly coloured bill showed features half-way between those characteristic of its winter and its summer habit.

It may be in place to close this chapter with a word on Dr. Stopes's home.

In April, 1927, Dr. Marie Stopes and her husband made a further sacrifice for the birth-control movement. It had become apparent after the heavy expenses of the lawsuits, that their finances could not continue to support **the** strain of the expenditure entailed by the

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upkeep of the clinic and the other needs of the movement and at the same time maintain their beautiful home at Givons. They had to choose between their home and their public service—so they sold Givons and moved to a much smaller place, Heatherbank, Hindhead, which was very healthy, and in early June a veritable riot of colour and bloom. The children were deeply attached to it and its large garden. But the parents still felt uprooted, and Dr. Stopes tells me she did not really feel at home there and never ceased to ache for the primrose-decked park, the sheets of golden daffodils, and the giant cedar, as well as the yew woods of Mickleham by their home at Givons. Givons meanwhile has been destroyed by "development" since they sold it.

The masses of papers, books, and scientific specimens necessary for her work occupy six or seven rooms, and render a *small* house impossible for them. Heatherbank was at any rate roomy, and had many attractions, but to one who loved her home it was always exile to live in a house which never felt like home, and just as the final pages of this book were being written, she was exceptionally fortunate in being able to secure Norbury Park house, near Dorking, and quite near her former home at Givons Grove. Fanny Burney, the novelist, was very fond of Norbury Park, and it was there that she met General D'Arblay whom she married.

CHAPTER IX

" *Married Love* " and its *Developments*

THE book *Married Love* was the outcome of Dr. Stopes's scientific investigation of her own case, when, as already mentioned, she read in the British Museum and elsewhere nearly everything that mattered on cognate subjects. This research revealed to her the great gaps that exist in the information available to ordinary people, as well as the lack of a book of instruction in sex sufficiently simple to be understood, scientifically accurate, yet sympathetic, and written with a basis of romance and poetry, which she deemed to be the atmosphere in which alone the subject can properly be broached. In addition to this, she made the fundamental physiological discovery, already mentioned, on the subject of women's spontaneous sex-rhythm and potential response to sex-appeal. Concerning (his, Dr. Stopes brought to the science of human physiology a contribution which has already had, and should yet have, far reaching sociological results. In her chapter on rhythm, together with charts, a fundamental law was laid down or rather its existence was revealed, but the statement was couched in simple and direct language suitable

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for the readers of any ordinary book instead of for the *Transactions* of a learned society. Its profound value has still perhaps not been fully realised.

Married Love, drafted at first to crystallise her own ideas, was nearly completed in 1914, but Dr. Stopes made no definite effort to publish it then and it was early in 1918 before she felt the time to be absolutely ripe for it. I had read it in manuscript and thought it of great interest, but I did not think it would find a ready market, and told her she would be fortunate if two thousand copies of it were sold in twenty years in the form in which it was being published. In her usual independent way Dr. Stopes laughed, and her laughter was justified, for the first two thousand copies were sold in a fortnight. The second and third editions were sold without a single advertisement, and Mr. Fifield, who was the original publisher, soon began to be oppressed with the burden of keeping the market supplied. When Dr. Marie Stopes, who knew him to be in general an active, efficient, and capable publisher, went to him with the book (sole control of which she retained), she asked him whether he could deal with a book likely to sell by the ten thousand for some years and ultimately probably by the million, and Mr. Fifield assured her that such was his capacity and desire. He put his heart into the publication and it owes much to his initial care. When

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however it had begun to get into the ten thousands the successful author was rather astonished to receive urgent telegrams from the publisher saying, " Stop this boom," and letters bewailing that he had to sit up all night to deal with the orders, and she was startled to find that where she had ordered the printing of an edition of ten thousand copies he had cut it down to seven thousand. She pathetically remarked, " Most publishers, I should have thought, would be only too glad to have an author who helped them sell their books, especially when no financial responsibility was involved.⁵⁵ In order to get the book out early in 1918, when paper was at a premium, Dr. Marie Stopes took everything in hand herself and within three weeks of deciding that it should be published had it on the market. She bought the paper herself, and had to go from one wholesaler to another to obtain the supplies needed for the successive reprintings, as paper was then rationed, and it was no small achievement to have kept the book on the market in the way it was. Ultimately, as Mr. Fifield was in any case retiring from business, in the most friendly fashion she transferred the book to Messrs. Putnams, who have published it since, and in their hands, in English alone, it has reached a sale of over three-quarters of a million copies.

When first bringing out *Married Love* I remember hearing Dr. Stopes say that she

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thought knowledge on these sex matters was now so urgently needed, and so well worth her time, that she would risk her academic position in London University and everything short of life itself to bring it out. She was quite prepared to be imprisoned. The one thing she was not prepared for was the avalanche of thanks and gratitude, the thousands and tens of thousands of touching letters that inundated her from all parts of the world. Indeed, ever since the publication of *Married Love* Dr. Stopes's life has been made a burden by grateful readers. She had deliberately in this book said very little on the subject of birth control, deeming it a minor matter, for *Married Love* presupposes a knowledge of birth control and was planned to give instruction in the general problems facing potentially happy married people. But such a number of letters came from private individuals requiring birth control help, and from people who had been to their doctors and been refused information or whose doctors knew nothing satisfactory to tell them, and so many came from medical men themselves, thanking her for the information she had given and asking for more, that it became impossible to reply to the individual letters, and instead of a letter she wrote a very small book called *Wise Parenthood*, which was first published in paper covers as a pamphlet. This has grown and been kept up to date as a small book concerning several methods of

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contraception, and is planned for the general reader. Public memory is very short, and it may not be generally realised or remembered how great has been the effect of Dr. Stopes's outspoken and scientific work on the subject of sex in general and contraception in particular. Before 1918 it was the exceptional doctor who was able and willing to give contraceptive information to his patients, to-day the position is reversed. After some time a further need became apparent, for a centre where trained experts could give personal advice to the large number of people who require individual attention and cannot follow written instructions, and Dr. Stopes and Mr. Roc often spoke of the idea of a clinic and endeavoured to persuade suitable societies and institutions to found one. Everyone feared to do so and shirked the responsibility. At last they said : " We seem to be the only two people independent enough, and with the necessary freedom, resources, and determination, to do it. No one can stop us, and obviously *we have got to do it ourselves*"

Before writing *Married Love* Dr. Stopes had served as a member both on the Cinema Commission and on the Birth-Rate Commission. The latter in a previous report had dealt with birth-control questions and did not intend to deal with that subject in the sessions arranged for 1920-1921. Dr. Stopes was willing to abstain from taking an active part in drawing attention

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to it; but witness after witness skirted so near the subject in giving evidence that questions on it were unavoidable, and it ultimately became one of the most important topics before this Commission, as it had been with the former one.

At the conclusion, however, contrary to the weight of the evidence, a majority of the Commission signed a reservation opposed to scientific birth control, whereupon a minority resolution was drawn up by Dr. Marie Stopes, which was signed by Lord and Lady Willoughby de Broke, Dr. C. W. Salccby and herself. Time has fully vindicated the four who then took their stand as a minority, and Dr. Stopes worked in many different ways to sway public opinion in that direction.

The first birth-control clinic in the British Empire therefore was founded by Dr. Marie Stopes and her husband in 1921, as a demonstration of what was needed throughout the country. It was deliberately kept small and simple, because they did not desire to create a large institution with an expensive staff, but wished to demonstrate how with a simple every-day shop and rooms, easy of access, with equipment costing only a small sum well within the means of every welfare-centre in the country, the knowledge of the control of conception could be brought to the very poor and ignorant. As they explain in a small brochure describing the first foundation of the clinic : " Here mothers will

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be considered not only as the producers of mere babies, *but as the creators of splendid babies*. Only motherhood which is in the control of the mother can now truly advance our race. . . . Birth-control knowledge will be given not in the crude repulsive form in which it is advocated in some quarters, but as the keystone in the arch of progress towards racial health and happiness.⁵

Not to be hampered by conflicts of ideas and ideals, no committee was organised in connection with this first clinic, but a number of distinguished persons from various social circles kindly showed their interest in the work by lending their names as patrons, and the list included several distinguished medical men and women. The clinic was opened on March 17th, 1921, and its simple accommodation was soon overtaxed to such an extent that it has hardly dared to advertise its existence since the first great meeting of welcome which was held at Queen's Hall.

Disregarding chronology, let us glance at the Movement as illustrated by speeches made at its decennary dinner at the Ritz Hotel on March 17th, 1931.* Delegates were present representing American clinics and Continental medicals, and cables from distinguished foreigners were received. Speeches were made by "Low," Miss Maude Royden, Professor Malinowski,

* For a verbatim report see the *Birth Control News*, April 1931

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Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, Dr. Mather Thomson, and Sir Arbuthnot Lane.

Mrs. Laura Henderson, always a warm and generous friend to the Movement, in the course of her reply to a toast proposed by Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, said : " You have no idea, going among the slums as I do, how much this Movement has achieved. A woman said to me the other day, ' You know, Mrs. 'Enderson, you don't know what it is to live in a large family. I've got a daughter and I don't know what's the matter with her. I've had her confirmed and I've had her vaccinated, and that don't seem to do any good.' She didn't know the girl had got pernicious anaemia. Then a doctor told me he had had to deal with a confinement with about six children in the small room looking on. Can you imagine anything more terrible ? Another time, when a doctor told a mother her child was born dead, she said : ' Thank God ! ' You see what work waits for us to do."

Miss Maude Royden, proposing the toast of " The Pioneer Clinic," said :

" The thing which interests me most of all in our extraordinary opponents is the desire of some people to direct the lives of other people. It seems to me a very strange thing that people who themselves do not desire to practise and who, perhaps, for themselves disapprove of birth control, should have the assurance to attempt to decide for other people what they

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should do, and to enforce their own wishes on others. I think everyone should decide this subject for themselves. The C.B.C. is a Movement for the giving of knowledge. This Pioneer Clinic has stood for that and has blazed the trail for other clinics to spread sound knowledge—that is a good reason why I think it a great honour to be asked to propose this toast to-night. The only bit of medical knowledge which I possess is midwifery. When I was in a maternity hospital I had to take charge of a woman who had her ninth dead child. Nine times she had gone through it--all for nothing. There was no resisting her fate, no one helped her. It was supposed she would come back to hospital because no one gave her the knowledge of how *not* to come back. It is with sympathy for those who so need this knowledge that I propose the toast of the Pioneer Clinic."

At a C.B.C. luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant on May nth, 1932, in replying to the toast of his health proposed by Sir Richard Gregory, the Editor of *Nature*, Canon Dearmer said :

" As you know, attacks come mainly from the quarter of Roman Catholicism. I think we have got to be perfectly definite and clear about this, because what is rather revolting is that what is said from that quarter is never quite sincere. Bodies of celibate people always get their consolation by searching after power. It

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is simply and manifestly an attempt to increase their voting power. John Bull is no longer master in his own house, and the idea is to prevent him ever becoming so again by flooding us with emigrants who are drifting over to Liverpool and Scotland and turning certain quarters into Irish Roman Catholic quarters, not Scottish or English quarters. We are not yet at the end of a highly organised attack by methods of intrigue against the habitual liberties of Englishmen. And it is the duty of everyone here to watch their newspapers and read what is said and expressed in them, and to write to the editors and tell friends to say that John Bull has gone to sleep—he thinks that everybody plays the game as he does, and is the last to suspect intrigue. It is important to tell everybody, and to show the editors that there are others interested in what is said in the press besides the highly organised people to whom I refer.

" Well, as you know, in our own Church things have moved extraordinarily rapidly. The most influential books about religion which have come out since the war mention birth control as part of the necessary ethics we have got to understand.

" Then you know at the Lambeth Conference the bishops, with a necessary amount of caution, came down on the right side. And that was very remarkable. I was relieved and quite a little surprised that after all the conference

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pronounced a perfectly legitimate opinion, due to the fact that our bishops and clergy are married. Thinking it over at home a bishop might have said, 'I am going to vote against birth control,' and his wife would have said, 'Don't be a fool, John.'

" The future is hopeful as well as certain. Nothing has ever moved so rapidly. It can only be a very few years ago when this subject was never discussed and when the whole thing was furtive and secret. Everybody who is middle-aged knows that the whole subject of physical life was always treated with a degree of falsity which to this younger generation has become abhorrent. Ever since people came to realise the beauty of physical life it has been looked upon in a different and more godly and wholesome light. And so the future is before us—though with some little difficulty. We have somehow passed the rocks quite quietly, and we are certain of science. We shall have a better world in the future than in the past. It is essential that if humanity is to escape from the recurrent danger of wars which become each time more devastating, if humanity is to escape from those wars which will destroy the civilisation we have acquired, it is essential we shall have to organise the rate of increase in population. If we are to have a peaceable and happy humanity in the future it is first of all a question of population. At the present moment the need is urgent

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that knowledge should be widely spread amongst the poorer classes as well as the educated. For which I am grateful for the efforts of the C.B.C through their wonderful work."

Dr. Marie Stopes, in returning thanks to Dr. Dearmer, mentioned that the Reporting Committee on Maternal Welfare, etc., of the League of Nations, issued a report on October 15th, 1931 (official No. C.H.1060), which had a paragraph on contraception in which they said that the practice of contraception for personal and economic reasons may be necessary, and go on to say it is necessary to tell all married women how to avoid further pregnancy, and " to explain exactly what steps she and her husband should take to prevent pregnancy. If the private doctor is not prepared to do this, the information can be given most appropriately at the Health Centre," and Dr. Stopes added : "Just what the C.B.C. has been working for for the last ten years.

" Does the world know that that has happened ? It does not! How many here knew of it ? Only *one* of you. There is nothing in our press about it.

" This magnificent gesture on the part of the League of Nations covers many countries where the majority of people are Roman Catholics. Yet organisations of medical men Catholics took the opportunity in this country of protesting against the action of the League of Nations (see the *Catholic Medical Guardian*

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for April, 1932). These men had the audacity to say that this subject does not belong to the domain of preventive medicine—that it is a moral question and should not be discussed as a medical subject as it is not in the domain of preventive medicine or therapeutics."

About the time of the foundation of the clinic, Dr. Stopes was to some extent personally in touch with Downing Street in connection with coal mining and other work, and met Mr. Lloyd George—then Prime Minister. He naturally could not at that stage commit himself to any open approval of a subject which had not yet been voiced in a reputable public manner. He said to her however, " Show us that there is a public behind you ; hold great meetings. There has never been a really *respectable* great meeting on the subject in the country." She responded, " All right, I will take the Queen's Hall myself and pack it." And this she did without any committee or backing beyond that of a few private friends, and a brilliant platform of speakers gathered round her. The hall itself was packed to overflowing, and the phrase " Constructive Birth Control " coined and set in circulation. An American journalist who was present said : " That meeting took my breath away ; twice you knocked us sideways. Once by daring to do it at all, and the second time when you gave us that idea that birth control

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could be *constructive*, a pro-baby idea ; we had always thought of it as a purely negative and repressive movement." Letters of cordial approval and support were sent for public reading at this meeting by Miss Maude Royden, Lady Constance Lytton, the Lady Glenconnor, Sir James Barr, C.B.E., M.D., and many others.

Speeches were made by the late Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, sometime Minister of Labour, Dr. Jane L. Hawthorne, Dr. Killick Millard, Admiral Sir Percy Scott, Councillor H. V. Roe, Dr. Marie Stopes, and myself.

The speeches were reported *verbatim* and are published in a pamphlet,* together with impressions of the meeting by people present.

Dr. Jane Hawthorne said :

" I am here this evening to represent those who have neither the opportunity nor the power to make their own appeal, and therefore I am anxious to put before you as clearly as possible the position of the very poor, hard-worked wife and mother. . . . The other week a woman came into one of our clinics to tell us that in twelve years she had given birth to nine children, and of these only two were alive, and this, ladies and gentlemen, is the history of that family."

After giving terrible details of this and of a second family, Dr. Hawthorne continued :

" Another woman, whom I know well, comes

* *Queen's Hall Meeting on Constructive Birth Control.*
Putnam's Sons, Ltd. 1921. 1/- net

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regularly to the Infant Welfare Clinic every eighteen months with a new baby, and that mother is mentally deficient, whilst her husband is deaf and dumb. None of these children are normal, and so they are born to find their way very quickly into the hospitals, the asylums, and other institutions.

" These, ladies and gentlemen, are only a few—a very few—of the hundreds of similar cases which one meets with in the year, and yet it seems to me that these few voice an appeal which ought to be irresistible to those of us who have ears to hear, and those of us who have the knowledge and power to help. By what right do we withhold this knowledge and take upon ourselves so great a responsibility ? "

In the course of her own speech Dr. Stopes said :

" Sometimes those who feel intensely with me, yet shrink from doing anything for the poor mothers because they think that by so helping them young girls and others will learn methods of birth control and may thus be sent downhill on a life they ought not to embark upon. So I want to make it clear once and for all that such an idea must not be allowed to hinder us. One of the very first experiences in the birth control clinic was a strong case to show how misguided that would be. The second person who came to my clinic when it was first opened came on behalf of a girl of twenty

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who was pregnant for the sixth time ! And every previous time she had had an abortion performed by her own mother ! We, of course, had no help for that girl. We cannot deal with such cases. Yet it shows that in that terrible underworld of misery and anguish which we selfish, self-centred, lazy people so seldom visualise and understand, there is already 'knowledge' of a kind. 'Knowledge' is going round which is utterly detrimental, utterly unwholesome and tragic in its effects. The true knowledge which we are bringing to counteract that is clean and wholesome, and is pure physiological information to replace the miserable half-knowledge which already exists.

" Then, too, another aspect of my birth-control clinic is lit up by the fact that by the word 'control' I mean CONTROL. It is extraordinary how the words 'birth control' have become associated with a negative and repressive movement. Now, in my opinion, control consists in being able to go uphill just as well as to go downhill ; to turn to the right as well as to the left. I will tell you the story of one woman who came a fortnight ago.

" She was one of the type that certain clergymen in their pulpits would refer to as 'those wicked women who refuse maternity.' All through her marriage she had openly declared she did not want children. But to me she came for help and said : 'I have been married

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seventeen years and have not had a child.' I asked her whether she wished she had one and she said : ' Of course, *of course* I want a child, but I've never told anyone ; I pretend that I do not want one because I can't get it,' and then she cried, and exclaimed : ' I would give my life, and suffer any torture to have a child.' We gave her information which I think will help, and I hope that in about nine months there may be a clinic baby in that home,"

There have been many other cases yielding " clinic babies " since then.

Dr. Stopes continued :

" Another incredible thing is the general lack of knowledge about sex and all the wonderful and beautiful mysteries of marriage. The extent of this ignorance is extraordinary. Do you know we had five cases of people married for years, and in each case the husband has not known how to play his part, and the wife is still a virgin and she wonders why she does not have a child ! . . .

" We have already to-day sufficient sound physiological knowledge to check from this moment (if one could only get everyone to know of it) the birth of every diseased, unhealthy, unprepared-for child. We really can, as Dr. Killick Millard quoted, stem at the source this incessant stream of misery which is always greater than our resources can deal with.

" How great this misery, and how great the expense of it is to our race, can be found by

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reading a few of these blue books. You could very advantageously spend a few shillings at Imperial House, Kingsway, buying reports in regard to prisons, costs of maintenance of schools of detention for the feeble-minded, asylums for the blind, schools for the defective, and so forth. Surely it is far better to spend the money on healthy, happy children who cost us far less per head than the wastrels ! (Applause.)

" To get rid of the wastrels in a Christian way we must see that they are not born.

" Beyond this, this ideal which I present is not *merely* that we shall be simply healthy people and have only healthy children born ; it is further that we shall consciously step forward to a greater potentiality of health, beauty, happiness, and understanding of life. An old false idea, which early got incorporated into Christianity, is that the enjoyment of beauty and sex-life in marriage was a wrong, or at any rate a lesser thing than the ascetic and repressed life. That idea is now doing us infinite harm. It is a lower and baser ideal which was suited to the earlier stages of evolution, but we have now passed through the stages of human evolution when that idea could be of use. The ideal which humanity to-day needs is the ideal of a full joyous life of real understanding, coupled with control, and with the full use of every beautiful aspect of the life of man and woman together. . . .

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" I absolutely deny that the so-called ' self-control ' which consists of the ascetic repressing of mutual love between man and woman is a high ideal. It was a temporary ideal suited to a phase of life in which there was no scientific knowledge. I now say quite clearly that the truest, and a far higher, ideal is for a man and woman to love each other profoundly as a pair of individuals and to benefit by that love and interchange which each needs from the other. And at the same time, but as a separate conscious act, to create only those children for whom they have sufficient means, sufficient love, and sufficient health. That is to say, that married lovers should play the part of parents *only* when they can add individuals of value to the race."

How familiar this sounds to-day—for in the last decade her words have been echoed by countless speakers from innumerable platforms—but when she spoke in Queen's Hall that night she startled and stirred the audience.

Following Dr. Stopcs, I said :

" Some three or four thousand years ago Moses and his successors, using the scientific knowledge of their times and well understanding the difficulties and dangers of the small Jewish tribe they represented, formulated a code of morality based on the broad common-sense principle that everything possible should be done to induce their women to bear as many children as possible for fear the race should be

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exterminated by the hostile nations and the wild beasts that surrounded them on all sides.

" That morality no longer fits our case to-day. If every woman in England were induced to bear a score of children the resulting misery would totally eclipse the suffering caused by the Great War. It was very well three thousand years ago to say : ' Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them (i.e., of children) ; they shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate.' With twenty fine strapping sons of his own, he could indeed talk ' like a father ' to any foe.

" But times have changed. We no longer insist on a man going to his deceased brother's widow to perform the husband's duty and raise up seed to increase the family. We even place obstacles in the way of his marrying his deceased brother's widow * if he wants to. Then again, we do not tolerate public polygamy in the old-fashioned way, and should be much scandalised if we had a king whose matrimonial experiences were as melancholy and as multitudinous as those of King Solomon.

" Evidently in our new circumstances we need some clear guidance suited to our present-day conditions, but which shall preserve the spirit of ancient religion by dealing with the questions of marriage and motherhood on lines as clear, broad, reasonable, and humane, as were the

* This was legalised that same year 1921.

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precepts of Mosaic morality for the people and time when they were formulated. It is not creditable to those who now sit in Moses's seat that they have made no serious attempt to do this. They have tithed the mint and anise of church ceremonies and legal enactments while forgetting the weightier matters necessary to the promotion of healthy and happy homes for men and women rearing cheerier and sturdier offspring to fill our places when we have passed to the Great Beyond.* It was under these circumstances that Dr. Stopes, three years ago, produced her great work, *Married Love*, which has since been followed by *Radiant Motherhood* and other books.

" These offer sound and sane guidance which we can oppose to the quackery, ignorant confusion of thought, and ascetic malignity, of those who love the darkness rather than the light. That is why I wish particularly to emphasise the thanks due to Dr. Marie Stopes."

Mrs. Zangwill, the authoress, wrote of that meeting :

" I had not heard Dr. Stopes speak in public before, and so was unprepared for the beauty of her voice and the amazing way in which it carries. She put forward yet another aspect of the case. Birth control is control and not negation, she insisted. Her clinic is not only to

* Since that Queen's Hall meeting the Bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 have done something towards supplying the guidance that was lacking.

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prevent the unwanted baby ; it is to produce the wanted. She touched on instances of disastrous marital ignorance—ignorance that is only possible through our ignoring the most important subject in life—the subject that is life."

Among the many false ideas disseminated about Dr. Stopes and her work is the one that she and the medical profession are mutually hostile : this is the reverse of the truth. Dr. Marie Stopes in her home at Givons spent several sunny days discussing for the first time the project of the C.B.C. work—before she had started it, and before it was considered by anyone else—with Sir John MacAlister, Librarian and Founder of the Royal Society of Medicine, and Sir Arbuthnot Lane, M.D., and their wives.

It was felt that the enthusiasm and interest shown at the Queen's Hall meeting ought not to be allowed to die down with no permanent growth, and consequently a society was founded to carry on birth-control propaganda and work on the lines indicated at that meeting. The Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress was founded at the Hotel Cecil on August 16th, 1921, Mr. H. V. Roe being elected honorary secretary, and Dr. Marie Stopes president, with a distinguished committee and list of vice-presidents. In a few weeks this



Society secured more public support than the old Malthusian League had done in forty years, for it moved in a way more in keeping with the feeling of the time : a yearning for constructive help for a pro-baby organisation which recognised the sacredness of motherhood and the need of knowledge to space babies so as to give the best conditions for both mother and child. This spirit is embodied in the tenets of the Society.

Ever since its foundation, meetings have been held in London, and a number of others all over the country, which have stimulated men and women in many directions, so that now the birth-control movement is a powerful constructive movement. It is however not yet fully organised, nor are its adherents all conscious of how large is the number of those who, like themselves, privately approve, but fear their next-door neighbour—who also probably privately approves but fears to say so. In the last few years it has branched out into several distinct organisations, just as the suffrage movement did and as all really vital movements tend to do.

When, following her first presidential address to the Constructive Birth Control Society, Dr. Marie Stopes responded to an invitation to speak in New York, and " popped across " the Atlantic for a three-days' visit, she found herself compelled to stay five days as there was no suitable return sailing, and during that time she gave an address to the first great meeting on the subject in the

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Town Hall in New York. This was a couple of weeks *before* Margaret Sanger attempted to hold a meeting there and was stopped by the police, as recorded in her autobiography. Dr. Marie Stopes received a rapturous welcome from her audience, and a *verbatim* report of the meeting was published by the Voluntary Parenthood League. She also spoke at private drawing-room meetings at which the formation of clinics for birth control in America was discussed and a scheme set on foot. The oldest of the American birth-control clinics was founded in 1923, since when many have sprung up, as recorded in the book *Seventy Birth Control Clinics*.

It may be mentioned in passing that Dr. Stopes's little book, *Truth About Venereal Disease*, had the good fortune to be mentioned with approval in the House of Lords by the presidents of the two opposing societies that were combating the evil—Lord Gorell and Lord Willoughby de Broke—and did something towards achieving the object with which it was written, namely, the unification of the opposing factions.

The Society for Constructive Birth Control, finding the press indifferent, needed an organ, and when it held its first public dinner, Dr. Marie Stopes as a surprise produced the first number of the *Birth Control News*, which was circulated among the guests. Since then that monthly has chronicled the world-wide development of birth control, which is now beginning to be

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recognised by thinkers in all directions as one of the most important and urgent subjects demanding social consideration. In the year 1929 the form of the publication was changed to a small quarto magazine, easier to file and refer to.

When *Married Love* was first published it won the approval of almost everyone, as it was written in a sympathetic strain of idealism. With its plea for temperate, wholesome living and the spread of sound knowledge it was difficult to disagree, and she had, in the first six editions of the book, the cordially expressed support of a Roman Catholic priest of the Society of Jesus, who said :

" DEAR DR. STOPES—I have read *Married Love* with deep interest. As a piece of thoughtful, scientific writing I find it admirable throughout, and it seems to me that your theme could not have been treated in more beautiful or more delicate language, or with a truer ring of sympathy for those who, through ignorance or want of thought, make shipwreck of their married happiness.

" Your clear exposition of the rhythmic curve of sex-feeling and of the misinterpretation on the part of so many husbands of what they call their wives' contrariness, arising from their ignorance of its existence, should bring happiness to many married couples whose lives are drifting apart through want of knowledge. In the exercise of my ministry I have repeatedly traced the

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beginnings of the rift to this want of knowledge, and consequently of sympathy.

" So far we are in complete agreement, but our ways part when you treat of birth control."

Then follow the usual Roman Catholic objections to birth control, in the course of which he says :

" Let me take in illustration of my meaning the case you give of the worn-out mother of twelve. The Catholic belief is that the loss of health on her part for a few years of life and the diminished vitality on the part of her later children would be a very small price indeed to pay for an endless happiness on the part of all."

He does not explain why " endless happiness " should be obtained by irrational conduct, but concludes his letter with the words :

" I cannot end without thanking you very sincerely for allowing me to read your book. Apart from what, as a Catholic, I object to in it, it contains so much most helpful matter that I feel sure it will bring to many a happiness in married life now wanting through the ignorance and the consequent want of sympathy which you so rightly deplore."

After Dr. Stopes and her husband founded the clinic, however, and had thus come into the arena not merely as dreamers and talkers, but as people who were practically active, hostilities arose of which something will be said in the next chapter. As pioneers they naturally enough

encountered sporadic animosity, often in unexpected quarters and sometimes, much to their distress and surprise, in quarters from which they had expected helpful co-operation, but no organised opposition exists except in one direction, namely, in the official attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and its associates, which became actively hostile after the founding of the clinic. Until then many Roman Catholics had been Dr. Stopes's ardent public supporters, but after that date they were forbidden to express public approval, and were positively encouraged to suppress knowledge of her and of her work and to pursue a hostile policy.

A notable instance of this was the late Sir Edward Hulton, a real friend of Dr. Stopes's and the owner of a dozen newspapers, who had been very helpful in opening the press to her propaganda through such papers as the *Evening Standard* and the *Sunday Chronicle*, in which she was invited to write frequently. After the *ukase*, and even to this day, she has never been asked to write in the *Evening Standard* again. Sir Edward Hulton was for years a neighbour of hers at Downside, whose boundaries marched with Givons, and one day when ill in bed he told Dr. Stopes of the orders he had received from his Church and of how deeply he regretted the necessity of obeying them to the extent of ceasing to help her—though he vowed she should not be " hounded " as he had been told to do—

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and no paper of his would ever say one word against her, silence being all that his Church could command of him.

These hostilities began to take the form of scurrilous articles in the press which Dr. Stopes was advised to ignore. Later however a Roman Catholic medical practitioner published a book containing statements against Dr. Stopes which, as the leader of a movement, she was advised that she ought to challenge by taking legal proceedings. The case became a *cause cilebre* and has been regularly cited since in legal textbooks on libel, for in its course many curious features developed. It is dealt with in Chapter XI of this volume, " Legal Conflicts," but here I may recall that among its remarkable features were the medical contradictions voiced by the defendant's witnesses. In the *Birth Control News* for November, 1923, some of that evidence was analysed.

This case, though it cost Dr. Stopes many thousands of pounds and incalculable worry and waste of time, did not hinder the birth-control movement but on the contrary gave it a great advertisement and caused many people to become sympathisers who had previously held aloof, not realising the issue at stake. All over the country meetings continued to be held on the whole question of contraception, social economics, and sex life. Among the larger meetings addressed by Dr. Stopes was one at

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Stockport, organised by the Labour Party, which was attended by a packed audience of three thousand. A couple of thousand squeezed into the Central Hall in Edinburgh, and large meetings were held in Battersea Town Hall, in Liverpool, and many other places.

Previously, in 1922, a meeting had been held at the Town Hall at Deptford when the mayor took the chair. Delicate health alone prevented Dr. Stopes from "stumping the country" in a whirlwind campaign, for she had undergone several serious operations and has never regained sufficient strength to travel as she had done previously. Yet, with intervals for rest, she has spoken in a very large number of town halls, big public halls, and medical schools, all over the country, and wherever she is billed to appear large crowds attend, and often long before the chair is taken the hall is packed and hundreds are turned away. Going from town to town she has kindled a great mass of public opinion, smouldering red hot in its demand that birth control shall be made available at the welfare centres or in small clinics all over the country, and that the self-respecting, thrifty, and healthy, members of the community shall no longer be burdened with the upkeep of large families of C 3's and wastrels brought into existence as a result of ignorance and thrown on to the rates, and more important still, that the enslavement of mothers shall not be perpetuated among us.

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Unable herself to speak night after night, she devised the idea of letting others speak for her, and wrote a play. Little has so far been said here of Dr. Stopes's interest in the drama, but I know that if she had not so many other calls on her time she would have devoted herself to it. As already mentioned, she published an interesting volume on the "No" plays of Japan (see Appendix A), one of which was produced at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, besides being set to music by Rutland Boughton and performed several times by the Glastonbury Festival Company. She has also published two or three modern plays besides *Our Ostriches*, one of them, *Conquest*, dealing with the tendencies that led up to the League of Nations.

The birth-control play, *Oar Ostriches*, ran at the Royal Court Theatre, London, for three months, and contained an amusing scene in which a commission (a replica of many official commissions) sat on the stage with two Anglican bishops discussing birth control—the heroine of the play eliciting ardent applause every night from the audience. *Our Ostriches* afforded Dr. Marie Stopes the experience of a riotously successful first night, when, in reply to calls for "Author," she gave a short speech in which she mentioned that this birth-control play had been permitted, but that another play of hers, a pro-baby one, had been blocked by the Lord Chamberlain.

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Our Ostriches was revived in the spring of 1930 at the Royalty Theatre, London, and was probably one of the influences that shaped the Lambeth Report. The Primate himself, speaking of the Lambeth decisions soon after, said of the section on birth control that the " Bishops could not adopt the Ostrich policy."

In January, 1929, Dr. Stopes had published *Mother England*, a collection of letters she had received from " the dumb class of working mothers of whose lives history has taken no cognisance." They are a sample of those she has been receiving for years, but not to make the book too bulky and yet to present the case fairly, they are all from one file in one year (1926), and the letters are simply those from women whose surnames begin with any of the letters A to H. Nowhere else, I believe, can so vivid and truthful a picture be found of the state of things which made the work of the Society for Constructive Birth Control necessary. A copy was sent to each of the bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1930, and was without doubt one of the factors which touched their hearts.

In April of the same year this was followed up by a sixpenny pamphlet entitled : *Preliminary Notes on Various Technical Aspects of the Control of Conception, based on the analysed data from 10,000 cases attending the Pioneer Mothers" Clinic, London*, which contained the following passage :

" The Clinic's degree of success is inexplicable

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to many people, so I think it is time to point out that our Clinic staff is all specially *selected*, specially *trained*, and specially *experienced*, and is instructed to give specially long time and care to each case. Our doctors and nurses are all *married* women and all our nurses are certificated midwives having long experience before they were trained by us.

" Many doctors and nurses desiring to ' learn our methods,' come thinking they can * pick it up ' in half an hour or so. The result is they then go away without instruction and practise what I designate ' the lazy doctors' ' method of the ' Dutch cap,' which is often applied to cases quite unsuitable for it, or they attempt to practise our methods after a casual visit of investigation and without adequate technique. Thereafter some even have the temerity to announce the failures they experience, blind to the fact that it is not the methods which are at fault, but their own ignorance of the necessary technique.

" On the other hand, many of our cases are sent to us by medical practitioners."

An indication of the progress that was being accomplished, and the rapidity of the advance, was given by the recommendation carried at the Annual Representative Meeting of the British Medical Association in August, 1930 :

" That in the opinion of the Representative Body the medical officer at any maternity and child welfare clinic (voluntary or municipal),

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equally with every other medical practitioner, has the right to advise either for or against the use of contraceptive methods in accordance with his individual judgment and responsibility, and should not be subject to dictation by the patient or by the doctor's employing authority in this matter."

CHAPTER X

Opponents

No one of so dynamic a temperament as Dr. Stopes could pass through life without making enemies and rousing opposition. *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*, and Dr. Stopes would be more than mortal had the pertinacious and unfair opposition to which she has been exposed never caused her to be over-suspicious, or made her seem too tenacious or too aggressive while intending merely to demand what is due to the cause she has at heart. We all to some extent have the faults of our qualities and she is probably no exception to this rule. But until after she had founded the practical *Clinic* the number of Dr. Stopes's opponents or enemies was remarkably few. Before she published *Married Love* she once said to me : "I believe the only people who do not like me and try to minimise what I do, are the men who have made love to me—and, of course, to whom I have not been able to respond." There were also a few small-minded wives of professional men with whom she came in contact, whose instinct was to feel that a woman who could enter into their husbands' intellectual pursuits must be dangerous,

but beyond these trifling and sporadic cases she might be said to have had no enemies until she encountered the Roman Catholics. She first encountered them purely by accident, on the publication of her book of poems, *Man, Other Poems and a Preface*. Till then she had not realised that such a thing as organised Roman Catholic hostility to any person existed, nor consequently that it was possible to arouse it, and she was much surprised to find that she had aroused the rabid hostility of a botanist on the staff of the British Museum, Mr. James Britten. He was a Roman Catholic convert and an exceedingly active worker for the Catholic Truth Society.

Dr. Stopes tried, but failed, to get him to understand that she had had no intention of offending Roman Catholics and could not imagine that they would apply to themselves the words of her poem, as she had no antagonistic thought when writing them. The hostility of this Roman Catholic botanical editor was unappeasable however, and it created artificial enemies for her.

Warned by this encounter, when she published *Married Love* she thought she would secure herself by obtaining a commendation from a Roman Catholic, and, as previously mentioned, she obtained a most cordial foreword of approval of the book from a member of the Society of Jesus. This undoubtedly safeguarded the first

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appearance of the work, which was hailed by many Roman Catholics and actively pushed by them in many directions until her practical work in the foundation of a birth-control clinic aroused the hostility of the higher authorities in the Church of Rome. Thereafter her books were taboo, the cordial treatment she had received from many Roman Catholics who well knew the value of her work was quenched, and organised hostility against her was instituted which, to those who have not themselves suffered from anything of the kind, may appear incredible in twentieth-century England. What Dr. Stopes has to tell of underground opposition would fill a volume, and includes whispered slanders of the most personal kind, definite tales and stories circulated in London clubs, some of which sounded very plausible, as almost correct anecdotes about her are subtly twisted to convey a false meaning. Almost every newspaper has been bombarded with correspondence from her enemies and in many cases induced to adopt a hostile attitude towards her, or even to ostracise her altogether.

In illustration, let me note what happened in *The Times*. Up to the date of this hostility, and after the publication of *Married Love*, Dr. Marie Stopes had always had very kindly treatment from that paper. She was, for instance, one of the few literary people who had never had a letter refused for publication, nor an article

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rejected. Indeed, one day she took down an article of a column length and said : " This simply *must* go in to-morrow, and I hope you will put it in," and it appeared. Other papers would often telegraph her to send articles by return, but since the Roman Catholic campaign against her began, the changed attitude of the press became so remarkable that some details should be mentioned. One must say, in general, that editors and advertisement managers are very busy people whose chief contact with their public is through correspondence, and that if they receive two or three dozen letters expressing more or less similar opinions they are apt to imagine that these letters represent a general feeling and to allow themselves to be guided by them.

A skilfully organised campaign of anonymous and also of signed letters against Dr. Stopes and the work she stands for, is a part of the Roman Catholic campaign. An indication of this appeared in the course of the trial in the High Court between herself and Dr. Sutherland, a Roman Catholic, when before giving judgment Lord Justice Scrutton made the following statement :

" Since we reserved judgment in this case I, in common with other members of the Court, have been pestered by anonymous communications all proceeding from and advocating the side of the defendant. Of course, I acquit the

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legal representatives of the defendant absolutely of having anything to do with these communications. I have also no reason to believe that the defendant himself had anything to do with these communications, but I think it is right to say that such communications are absolutely improper and are punishable as contempt of Court."

Judges in the High Court are not, of course, swayed by correspondents, but letters fictitiously signed, or signed by persons paid to write them, in addition to those written by individuals who really feel what they write, are handy weapons to use against an opponent whose natural outlet through the press certain people wish to block. The result of such influences was seen in a refusal by *The Times* to insert advertisements of her books for a considerable period, though they had been previously advertised in its columns, as indeed in those of almost every other reputable paper in the country. *The Times* also began to refuse the lecture announcements of the C.B.C. Society when they contained Dr. Stopes's name as taking the chair, and it was necessary for her to see one of the directors to get this ban lifted, since when the Society's announcements, as well as advertisements of her books, have appeared regularly. Still more incredible seems the fact that a double advertisement of the birth of her son was refused by *The Times* in 1924, although the announcement was worded in a quite usual

form,* first, under the surname " Roe " ; second, under the surname " Stopes " (as the baby had both surnames, Stopes-Roe), and was in the exact form of the announcement that appeared in the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and other leading papers. Moreover, this refusal was not made to an employee but personally to Mr. Roe, who took the advertisement himself to all the offices that there should be no mistake. After the birth of her son Dr. Marie Stopes was seriously ill for a long time. As a consequence of her world-wide travels she has friends in various parts of the world who are anxious to have news of her. *The Times* is the principal paper to be found in Embassies and outlying British homes, and was therefore the only convenient medium of communication with those friends, but a short paragraph for the social column announcing that she was out of danger was also refused, and friends consequently remained in ignorance of the state of her health, though a little later an advertisement was accepted by a different department of the paper for the personal column. Neither Dr. Stopes nor her friends attribute such disagreeable incidents to any definite policy on the part of the press, but to the sporadic successes her

* The exact wording was—"ROE—On the 27th March to Dr. Marie Stopes, wife of IT. V. Roe, of Givons Grove, Leatherhead, Surrey—a son"; and "STOPES—On the 27th March, to Marie Carmichael Stopes and her husband, Humphrey Verdon Roe, of Givons Grove, Leatherhead, Surrey—a son."

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enemies achieve working through individuals who come directly or indirectly under their influence.

The Times report of the Sutherland case had been quite fair, yet in its legal columns, reporting her application against two Roman Catholic editors, the words of her own counsel as also of the judge, were altered to describe her not as " Dr. Stopes," but as " Mrs. Stopes." On the day that this appeared, her solicitor wrote to *The Times* drawing the editor's attention to the mistake. Nevertheless a few days later in the judgment of Mr. Justice Roche *The Times* report again changed the judge's words so as to alter her description, and this in a case in which the title to which, as a learned Doctor of Science, she is by Act of Parliament entitled, was of material importance to her. These incidents are surprising, considering the reputation *The Times* enjoys for accuracy and the fact that it is often referred to in court as evidence of what has occurred.

It is hard to calculate what Dr. Stopes's movement has lost by the absence of the normal press publicity to which her work is entitled, and which it would no doubt have continued to receive but for the machinations of her opponents, for the general public forms its opinions of persons and movements very largely by what it reads of them in the press,

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Those who wish to minimise her work sometimes say of Dr. Stopes : " She is not a *proper* doctor, and is therefore not qualified to deal with these matters." But, in the first place, by the law of the land only the learned doctors of the various faculties, that is to say, Doctors of Science, Law, Medicine, Music, Divinity, and so on, are legally entitled to be called " Doctor,"⁵⁵ though medical practitioners very frequently and impudently appropriate that title, and many who are only Bachelors of Medicine, or even less, call themselves " Doctor " and are so called by the public.

An M.B. (*Bachelor* of Medicine) is of course fully qualified to practise as a physician, but this does not legally, and should not in any way, confuse him with the learned *doctors*. If a short name is wanted, he should be called a " Medico."⁵⁵ Dr. Marie Stopes, as a learned Doctor of Science, has more right to the title than the majority of the medical profession.

It should also be pointed out that what the ordinary medico practises he or she has learned from the Doctors of Biological and Medical Science. Pasteur was not a practising medical, yet almost the whole science of medicine now bases itself on his scientific foundations. It is fully within the province of a learned Doctor of Biology to instruct practising medicals on the scientific bases of any advances in any branch of their science, and to contribute new knowledge

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to it. To give a more recent example, the late lamented Sir William Bayliss, the greatest physiologist in the world, was not a practising medical, but medical practitioners all over the world are proud to learn from him.

Dr. Stopes has often lectured to medical students at medical schools and to audiences of qualified medical practitioners. As a fully trained biologist she has published the first medical and scientific manual in any language on contraception. This book is entitled *Contraception : Its Theory, History and Practice, A Manual for the Medical and Legal Professions*. It was published by a medical publisher and cordially received by the medical press of the world, the *Lancet* saying :

" Much of the evidence contained in the book is quite unobtainable elsewhere."

Dr. Christopher Rolleston, a Medical Officer of Health, said of this publication :

" I predict a great success for the work, and I wish to record my thanks to the author for her pioneer work in preventive medicine."

It is also warmly endorsed by Sir James Barr, M.D., a former president of the British Medical Association, and many doctors all over the world use it as the source of their practice. It has been reprinted a number of times, and its third edition, entirely rewritten, covers matter right up to date. It is very remarkable that till 1930 it remained alone in its field, and even

to-day the two or three manuals on the subject that have appeared owe much to it, and do not attempt to be as comprehensive as it is.

The fact is that the medical profession in the past had seriously neglected this subject, which greatly affects the health of the present and future generations. No instruction in the use of contraceptives was included in the training of doctors at any of our hospitals before Dr. Stopes's work appeared. Practising doctors are generally too busy to investigate matters not included in their training, and even if they have the time most of them lack the kind of training needed for original research in sex-problems, and especially in the relation of those problems to women. Yet when a qualified woman scientist specialises in the subject and supplies what the doctors had failed to provide, some small-minded opponents raise the objection that she does not belong to their trade union and that matters should continue to be neglected till one of them, some day, finds time to deal with the subject.

But while the doctors neglected it, another class of people were actively harmful in disseminating erroneous information. These were the Roman Catholic priests, whose celibacy, one would suppose, deprives them of sexual experience and renders them ill-qualified to deal with the problems of married life, apart from the fact that a theological education is a poor substitute

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for the scientific training required for the investigation of such questions. The intemperate language often employed in the denunciation of birth control not unnaturally leads to actions many sober-minded Roman Catholics must themselves regret. For instance, at Bradford on November 24th, 1929, Elizabeth Ellis, an unmarried Roman Catholic, set fire to a C.B.C. birth-control clinic van in the district, and she was in due course sentenced to two months' imprisonment for arson. Pleading on her behalf her counsel mentioned that " she was a woman of high ideals and of religious temperament . . . she purchased a book, which recommended other books, one of which was *Married Love* " (which she does not appear to have read). He continued her defence by saying that : " The prisoner had some very strong views about this literature. She thought it was filthy and likely to encourage immorality and prostitution." So she bought a two-gallon tin of petrol and, after one abortive attempt for which she was fined ten shillings, she finally succeeded in burning the caravan.

I have no feeling of ill-will towards the Roman Catholics, whose Church at various times has rendered great service to humanity, but I feel sure that many of them who value intellectual integrity must often blush to read the pitiful futilities that are put forward as the Catholic case against birth control.

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Though they make the bald assertion that it is "wrong"—which being the very question at issue cannot be decided by mere assertion—they seem unable to produce any rational argument to show why it should be wrong. Moreover, by the assertion that the use of preventives is injurious to health, without discriminating between methods that are and are not injurious, they take up a position which the results of research render more and more untenable day by day. For several years, until ridicule from Dr. Stopes drove them out of that position, they habitually confused abortion (that is, the killing of the embryo after conception—a dangerous and harmful practice and a criminal offence in English law) with the prevention of conception, which is neither dangerous nor harmful nor a legal offence. Those who confuse two such different matters are either so ignorant that they have no business to speak on the subject, or they seek with deliberate mendacity to darken counsel by their words. Yet the "Anti" society under the recently-coined phrase "Birth Prevention" still tries to perpetuate this confusion.

Besides this we have statements that a rational control of births, to ensure a moderate birth-rate with a high survival rate among those who are born and a healthy posterity, is "race suicide" leading to the depopulation of the world, the spread of immorality, and various other evils. These assertions are backed by references to

the state of France (a Roman Catholic country, in which birth-control information and the sale of contraceptives is illegal), where in spite of a terrible amount of abortion the birth-rate, as shown by recent statistics, is higher than in England, but where the death-rate among children is so great that the survival rate is very low.

It is natural that people who opposed the dissemination of knowledge on these subjects and have no better arguments than these to adduce in support of their views, are tempted to betake themselves to methods such as those referred to above : pressure exerted on the press to stifle news of the birth-control movement, and falsehoods disseminated about Dr. Stopes personally. But the free and open discussion of a great public question fundamentally affecting the vigour of the race, the health of mothers and children, and the happiness of the whole people, cannot permanently be blocked by a thin black line of priests and their dupes.

And to-day in the medical profession, the Ministry of Health, and the English Church (as evidenced by the Lambeth Report) birth control is recognised as an essential and sometimes a virtuous practice. Yet the personal vendetta against Dr. Stopes is still active, and while others are applauded for saying just what she said ten years ago, she is still thwarted in her natural activities by many sections of the press,

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As the public naturally asks for an authoritative statement from the medical profession, it should be more generally known that since 1922 there has been a Medical Research Committee dealing with the technique of contraception. When it issued a statement to the medical and general press after sitting two years, its composition was as follows : Sir James Barr, C.B.E., M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.E. ; Professor Sir William Bayliss, F.R.S., M.A., D.Sc. ; Harold Chappie, Esq., M.C., F.R.C.S. ; Dr. Jane L. Hawthorne ; Geo. Jones, Esq., M.A., M.B., D.P.H., Barrister-at-Law ; Dr. Maude Kerslake ; Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane, Bart., C.B., M.B., M.S. ; Sir John MacAlister, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. ; Sir Archdall Reid, M.B., F.R.S. Ed. ; Christopher Rolleston, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., D.P.H. ; D. Sommcerville, Esq., B.A., M.Sc, M.D., M.R.C.P. ; Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc, Ph.D., F.L.S., F.G.S. ; H. M. Telling, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P. ; Dr. Mather Thomson ; E. B. Turner, Esq., F.R.C.S.

It will be noted that the majority of the Committee are medicals, and biological science was represented by Sir William Bayliss, Dr. Sommcerville, and the president of the Society, Dr. Marie Stopes. In addition to the medical members of the Committee, other distinguished practitioners are in helpful association with it.

In accordance with the objects of its foundation the Committee considers a variety of current

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matters concerning contraception, but its proceedings and minutes are strictly confidential and its deliberations are not published, except on points which are specially passed for publication. The Committee, feeling the importance of the questions concerned, is in no hurry to draw up reports or make public statements, but desires to observe and investigate carefully. A number of new, or supposedly new, methods have been brought before it from various quarters. Due consideration confirms the view that no one method is applicable for all cases, but that several of the simple and well-known methods which have had a long trial are still the best to meet ordinary requirements.

At a Committee meeting in the spring of 1923, the following resolution was passed for publication in suitable quarters : " The Medical Research Committee of the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress wishes to place on record its joint and several opinion that the methods now used at the *Mothers' Clinic* are the best known at the present time."

The Mothers⁵ Clinic, it will be remembered, is the birth-control clinic founded by Dr. Stopes and her husband which has been the subject of much ignorant attack.

Her Roman Catholic opponents scored a great coup in connection with Dr. Marie Stopes's film *Married Love*, or *Maisie's Marriage*, produced

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by Messrs. Samuelsons. The producers, Captain Walter Summers who collaborated, and Dr. Stopes, agreed that it should *not* be primarily a birth-control play, but a melodramatic story of general interest. Dr. Stopes had been a member of the Cinema Commission and desired to produce a film to which *no* exception could be taken. This she thought she had done, and the producers did not believe it possible that any objection could be taken to a film which had been so cautiously produced. But the Censor instead of giving the certificate necessary for universal exhibition in a few hours or a day or two, as is usually done, *held up the matter for four weeks*, a delay that caused great loss to the producers, for in the cinema world everything must come like hot cakes after the first announcements. It was an unfortunate coincidence in this case that the Chief Censor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, was a Roman Catholic. In a personal interview all the facts presented to him failed to influence him and he insisted on alterations so harassing that the author could not consent to them. For instance, though no exception was taken to a cabaret scene that occurs in the picture, he considered a beautiful rose which faded into a baby's face to be improper, and demanded its excision! The play however *in its complete form*, exactly as written by the author, was shown to the trade, was rapturously received, and obtained excellent reviews in many solid

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papers such as the *Daily Telegraph*, and it has been exhibited in many of the large towns in England with the approval of the local watch committees ; for instance, the very strict Manchester Watch Committee approved of it and it was shown to packed houses in Manchester. Sometimes efforts were made locally to block it, but generally the committees came out in its favour ; for as Colonel Giles of the Folkestone Watch Committee, said : " One could safely take one's grandmother to see it, there being nothing obnoxious in it." Scotland, too, welcomed it in its original form. Mr. T. P. O'Connor wanted to enforce his alterations, though he had no real *power* to do so if local watch committees approved of a film he banned. The L.C.C., misinformed about details, backed the Censor and at one time even endeavoured to stop the use of the words " Married Love " in association with the film. As a result of a personal interview with the Theatres and Music Halls Committee, however, Dr. Marie Stopes received a letter from the L.C.C. in which they stated : " The Council has not raised, and will not raise, objection to the use, in posters and descriptive pamphlets issued in connection with the film, of the description *Maisie's Marriage*, a story by Dr. Marie Stopes, the author of *Married Love*, provided that the words ' the author of *Married Love*⁹ are printed in type which is appropriate to the description of that

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nature, and relatively small compared with the type used for the title *Maisie's Marriage*"

One wonders under what statutory right they dictated to the advertising world of the cinema the size of type they might use !

Mr. O'Connor's private and unauthorised intervention with the Home Office led to a circular letter being sent out from the Home Office to every Chief Constable in England. Dr. Stopes, on hearing of this, went at once to the Home Secretary and learned that the circular letter was unauthorised and deplored, and it was officially countermanded. Nevertheless such a communication from the Home Office led to local trouble here and there, notably in Portsmouth where the booking was cancelled. Dr. Stopes was personally in Portsmouth the same week and saw the Chief Constable and the Town Clerk under whose orders he acted, and they assured her that there had been a misunderstanding and mistake in the matter and if it came up again no exception would be taken to the display and exhibition of the film under the above title.

It was a curious coincidence that the week she was banned in the cinema, Dr. Stopes spoke from a pulpit in Portsmouth. At the Sunday evening service at which she spoke the crowds down the aisle and standing even on the grave-stones outside to hear through the windows, were so great that people asked whether a member of

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the Royal Family was there, as they could think of no other attraction likely to draw such crowds.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor's interference very nearly became the subject of a public inquiry. In the printed order of the day for the House of Lords, " Bills appointed and Notices " for Wednesday, November 13th, 1923, the following appeared :

" The Earl Russell.—To call attention to a communication from the Home Office, of June 30th last, addressed to the Chief Constables and Watch Committees and marked ' Confidential,' attempting to interfere with the production of a film entitled ' Married Love,' by Dr. Marie Stopes, and to ask His Majesty's Government what official status, if any, the Board of Film Censors has ; whether the censorship is in fact administered by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and whether it is the practice of the Home Office to act as Mr. T. P. O'Connor's representative in endeavouring to interfere with the production of particular films without any independent inquiry on their part."

Unfortunately this was a few hours too late, for the Baldwin Ministry resigned and under the rules of the House the subject could not again be raised in the succeeding administration, despite the injury done to private individuals who, one would think, should have some means of obtaining redress from those who succeeded

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to office. It is a pity that Mr. Baldwin did not hold the reins a little longer, for in a debate in the Lords, matters of considerable general interest would have come to light.

" Stopery " as a term of reproach was a word coined by her opponents, and very frequently used in Roman Catholic journals when referring either to Dr. Stopes's activities or to the advocacy of birth control in general.

The apt phrase " Stopery or Popery " has also been coined, and indicates a very real antagonism.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Roman Catholics are the only religious opponents of the movement represented by Dr. Stopes. Gandhi in India, for instance, utters much the same reactionary denunciations as are employed in the Western world. His position and Dr. Stopes's reply to him, is shown by the following quotations from a review she wrote of a collection of articles by him :

" Mr. Gandhi touches on a very fundamental principle when he uses the phrase : ^c It is one thing when married people regulate, so far as it is humanly possible, the number of their progeny by moral restraint, and totally another when they do so in spite of sexual indulgence.⁵ The false facts and consequently false deductions contained in this paragraph, lie in the words ' sexual *indulgence*? What right has Mr. Gandhi to talk of sexual ' indulgence ' when he really means the *use* of coitus in marriage ? He is

jumping to a scientifically false conclusion and balancing himself on a presumptuous pinnacle of 'moral superiority' which is a creation of his and other ascetic minds, but is essentially untrue and an insult to the Creator who made human beings male and female in the natural need for union with each other. When this need is satisfied with love-union in marriage it is physiologically correct living, it is not sexual *indulgence*, and it is an act of pharisaical impropriety so to malign it.

" Again, Mr. Gandhi quotes Foerster in support of his own idea that 'perpetual continence is the highest state.' That mistaken idea about humanity is propagated by some of the ascetic-minded of many religions, and in many countries of the world ; and one may point out, as a parallel, that it is no argument to multiply statements that the world is flat in order to disprove the fact that it is round.

" Gandhi's ill-considered arrogance can scarcely go further than his statement that 'Union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent.' The sex union of human beings is the result of a mutual need and a mutual fulfilment on three planes—physical, mental, and spiritual—the human pair is mutually enriched by true union. To the animals who unite, no knowledge even of the fact that progeny will result is vouchsafed, and the cow and bull who mate as a result of their own need and benefit

from the mating, have not the faintest desire for progeny.

" Humanity, higher in organisation and much more evolved, and with bodily, mental, and spiritual results from union in coitus greater than in any animal, obtains results more far-reaching. The act of coitus is not a mere fertilisation of the woman, but, as has been proved by physiological science, is the placing within the woman's body of millions of the active spermatozoa (where one only is required for fertilisation) together with the secretions of several glands which have no bearing whatever on fertilisation and the production of progeny, but are absorbed by the woman and benefit her system. Similarly, I have presented the scientific deduction, accumulated from a large number of cases (which although not absolutely proved is almost proved, and therefore a very sound hypothesis) that the man also absorbs and benefits from the woman when coitus is performed in the proper way, which, I may say, it far too seldom is by ignorant human beings.

" When Mr. Gandhi goes on to say that the ' adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration,' he is talking complete and arrant nonsense. When he goes on to say : ' The husband should avoid privacy with his wife. Little reflection is needed to show that the only possible motive for privacy between husband and wife is the desire for sexual

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enjoyment,⁵ he betrays such a base attitude of mind, and such a total ignorance of the higher relations between the sexes, that I am amazed that he can retain the respect of millions of people.

" The use of sound, scientific methods of birth control can do no physical, mental, or moral injury. They do incalculable good in making motherhood more precious, in enhancing the health and happiness of children and making it possible for parents to have the God-given need for mutual coitus satisfied wholesomely and properly. To-day in the clear and joyous light given by science, a young man and woman may marry and live in faithful love all their lives, satisfying their own physical and mutual needs (and thus being happier and consequently better members of the community) and love their children *before* they are born, because they themselves will their parenthood at times when they have the health and strength to bear the burden and to do their best for the young life entrusted to them. In these circumstances the death-rate of the infants goes down immensely ; those loved and begotten in such wholesome conditions have greater mental and bodily strength and happiness than those born under coercion and in poverty and misery, such as millions suffer to-day."

CHAPTER XI

Legal Conflicts

ON July 7th, 1921, Anne Louise Mellroy, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology of the Royal Free Hospital, London, read a paper on contraception before the Medico-Legal Society, and in the discussion that followed stated that the rubber check pessary was " the most harmful method of which I have had experience."

Dr. Halliday Sutherland, a Roman Catholic, who was present at this meeting, was so much impressed by Professor Mellroy's statement that he wrote a book on the subject in which he embodied a fierce attack on Dr. Stopes.

This attack accused her of " exposing the poor to experiment" and said that " the ordinary decent instincts of the poor are against these practices . . . but owing to their poverty, lack of learning, and helplessness, the poor are the natural victims of those who seek to make experiments on their fellows. In the midst of a London slum a woman, who is a Doctor of German Philosophy (Munich) " (in 1921 the Great War was still so recent that to have taken a degree at Munich was a grave reproach, especially in the absence of any indication that

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she had high English qualifications), " has opened a birth-control clinic, where working women are instructed in a method of contraception described by Professor MacIlroy as ' the most harmful method of which I have had experience.⁵ . . . It is truly amazing that this monstrous campaign of birth control should be tolerated by the Home Secretary. Charles Bradlaugh was condemned to jail for a less serious crime." It did not suit Dr. Sutherland to mention that Bradlaugh's sentence was quashed on appeal, and it is curious enough that though the Bradlaugh case was referred to again and again in the Stopes v. Sutherland trial, and even the judge spoke of " the case in which Mr. Bradlaugh many years ago was sentenced to a term of imprisonment "—no one seems to have pointed out to the jury that Bradlaugh had defended himself successfully against the Crown prosecution.

Dr. Stopes, advised that this book of Dr. Sutherland's was a serious attempt to ruin her reputation and destroy her work, took action for libel, and when, on February 21st, 1923, the case came on for hearing before the Lord Chief Justice, Baron Hewart, Professor McIlroy naturally appeared as the star technical expert for the defence of Dr. Sutherland.

In the course of her evidence she spoke emphatically against feminine contraceptives and repeated her condemnation of rubber check

pessaries in particular. Under cross-examination by Mr. (now Sir) Patrick Hastings (Dr. Stopes's Counsel), the following dialogue took place :

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " I just want to ask you something about your general views. I take it that you are in principle opposed to the use of contraceptives wherever possible ? "

Professor McIlroy : " In general, yes."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " Now I want to deal with the question of the particular contraceptive for a moment. Have you ever had a case of a woman who has worn one of these pessaries ? "

Professor MacIlroy : " I have never met a woman yet who was able to fit on the pessary."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " I wonder whether you could answer my question : have you ever met a case yet of any woman who has worn one ? "

Professor McIlroy : " No."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " So that all that you have been telling us at some little length in answer to Mr. Charles about the dangers of this is based upon practical experience which does not include one single case of that having been worn ? "

Professor Mellroy : " My remarks have been based on the experience of occlusion of the womb."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " Quite ; but was my question accurate, that it is all based upon experience which does not include one single case where it has been worn ? "

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Professor McIlroy : " It is not necessary to have a single case."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " The answer is that my question was accurately framed and the answer would be yes ? "

Professor McIlroy : " It is not necessary to have a single case."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " When I say it would be yes, perhaps I may say it should be yes ? "

Professor McIlroy : " I do not know."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " I do not think that I will trouble you any more about that."

The Lord Chief Justice : " But I understood the witness to say, Mr. Hastings—I am sure you want to deal with the point of the answer——"

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " Certainly."

The Lord Chief Justice : " I understood her to say : ^c True I have never met a woman who wore a check pessary and had an occlusion of the womb from that cause, but I have had a large experience of the occlusion of the womb, and it is upon that experience, not upon my absence of experience of the check pessary , that my evidence is based.' Is that what you say ? "

Professor McIlroy : " Yes, my lord."

Mr. Patrick Hastings : " I am much obliged to your lordship. I quite accept that, but that was not, if I may say so with respect, the point of my question. My question was—let me see if I am quite right, Miss McIlroy—that you had

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never had a case of a woman who had worn one of these check pessaries ? "

Professor McIlroy : " No."

Leaving for a moment the course of the trial, it is curious to note that subsequently Professor McIlroy herself advised the use of the rubber check pessary and applied it herself to patients she was treating—as will be told later.

To return to the trial in which damages were asked for libel, after much conflicting evidence, the Lord Chief Justice—instead of leaving the jury to find a verdict for plaintiff or defendant and to assess damages, if any—chose to submit four questions, which, with the answers returned by the jury, were as follows :

Q.i. Were the words complained of defamatory of the plaintiff?

A. Yes.

Q.2. Were they true in substance and in fact ?

A. Yes.

Q.3. Were they fair comment ?

A. No.

Q.4. Damages, if any ?

A. £100.

The jury having returned this verdict the judge dismissed them and reserved his judgment till next day, March 1st, 1923.

Whether it is advisable for judges to submit a series of questions to a jury is, I believe, one on which in legal circles opinions differ a good deal. At any rate, in this case the way the

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questions were put and the replies the jury gave led to a result which involved further litigation.

The Lord Chief Justice, when he delivered judgment, ruled that the action was concluded in the defendant's (Dr. Sutherland's) favour by the jury's answer to the second question. He therefore won the case with costs.

More than one member of the jury had come to hear the judgment pronounced, and they informed Mr. Percy Braby (Dr. Stopes's solicitor) that the intention of the jury had been to find in *her* favour, the only difference of opinion among them being whether to award her heavy damages as eleven of them wished to, or to give her only the one hundred pounds they eventually agreed on. Having been dismissed the day before the judge gave his decision they were deprived of the power—usually exercisable by juries—of correcting his misunderstanding of their meaning and of seeing that judgment was given in accord with their intention.

The point of misunderstanding, as explained by members of the jury to Mr. Braby and subsequently by him to Dr. Stopes, lay in the fact that Dr. Sutherland's statement that the methods used at her clinic were harmful and her propaganda criminal, were not considered by the jury as being matters of fact, but as unfair comment for which they awarded her damages : the true statement in the libel being that she

had founded a clinic and had given information to the poor.

When summing up, the Lord Chief Justice made the following remarks :

" You have had a great deal of stress laid both in the opening speech and in the closing speech of the learned counsel for the plaintiff upon her philanthropy, and upon the generous way in which she devotes money to what she conceives to be a righteous and a most important cause. Well, when I heard that the second time I was minded to do a little sum. *Married Love*, in the copy which is handed to me, is the one hundred and ninety-first thousand. You see on an early page this remarkable list of republications and reprints—this little thing—not a great deal of paper and typesetting in it—is 6s. net. *Wise Parenthood* in my copy is the one hundred and sixty-fifth thousand ; I do not know what further issues there have been, or whether there the matter ended ; but you know a hundred and ninety-one thousand copies at 6s. make £57,300 : ^a hundred and sixty-five thousand copies at 3s. 6d. make ,£28,875. If you add them together, you get £86,175--something between eighty and ninety thousand pounds sterling. Well, of course, one does not know what part of that sum has been swallowed up in printing, paper, book-binding ; 9s. 6d. they cost together ; but it is quite clear that there must be a very large part of the eighty or ninety

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thousand pounds available for some purpose. Now, the plaintiff says that money is devoted to the cause. Then one begins to see what the dimensions of this propaganda may be, or may become. Here are these books published and multiplied, and the proceeds, so far as they are not swallowed up in the cost of production and distribution, are devoted unselfishly, but completely, to this good work.⁵¹

Why the words "but completely" were inserted I do not know, for Dr. Stopes had not made that assertion.

The curious part of this calculation, introduced into the trial of a case in which Dr. Stopes complained of Dr. Sutherland's declaration that she had written books "of such a nature as to infringe the criminal law"—is that it does not mention the fact that publishers and booksellers do not work for nothing, and that storage, insurance, and other disbursements, come to something, not to mention advertisements, review copies, and the author's expenses on the production of the work. On a six-shilling book authors are generally satisfied to get sixpence or ninepence a copy.

The Lord Chief Justice himself seems on reflection to have felt a little perturbed by his own remarks, for next day, when in the absence of a jury he was delivering judgment, he remarked :

"I should like to add this further observation,

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with reference to what I have said on the subject of fair comment. I observe in a summary of the summing up which has appeared in the press some remarks about the amount of money to which the number of copies of some of these books sold, multiplied by the price of the books, works out. Of course, it is not easy—and especially perhaps in a court where it is not always very easy to hear—to summarise in a column or a portion of a column speeches and summing up which lasted a great many hours, but I cannot help thinking upon looking at this summary that it contained a suggestion which was certainly not made. The argument suggested to the jury from the proceeds of these books was that there was evidently a very considerable sum of money to devote to this propagandist purpose, and I used the word unselfishly, and that that was one of the things which went to show the true dimensions of this campaign which the defendants had spoken of as a monstrous campaign. I think it is right to say that, because of the suggestion which might otherwise be thought to be conveyed. From beginning to end there was no attack upon the good faith and honesty of purpose of the plaintiff."

The judge might have added that whether the whole of what Dr. Stopes had earned had or had not been spent on the clinic and on other phases of her work, the judgment he was about to pronounce would not merely deprive her of

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the hundred pounds the jury had awarded her, but would also saddle her with costs to the extent of several thousand pounds.

The trial had lasted five days and had involved a formidable array of solicitors, counsel, and specialist witnesses, so that the expenses of this initial action were very heavy apart from the further expense of the subsequent trials.

Dr. Stopes appealed against this judgment, and the Court of Appeal, on July 20th, 1923, found in her favour, Lord Justices Bankes and Scrutton holding that the findings of the jury amounted to a verdict in Dr. Stopes's favour for one hundred pounds, and awarding her half costs of the first action and the whole costs of the appeal.

When delivering judgment, Lord Justice Bankes, having mentioned the four questions submitted by the Lord Chief Justice to the jury at the first trial, remarked that : " No objection was taken by anyone to these proposed questions, though they are not happily framed—without considerable explanation of what they were intended to cover they were likely to lead, as they have in fact done, to considerable difficulty." And referring to the speech of Serjeant Sullivan, one of the counsel who had appeared for the defence, he remarked that : " the jury could have no doubt, after hearing this part of his speech, that a great deal of the libel might be treated as consisting of comment,"

He also said : "I am not able to agree with the view taken by the Lord Chief Justice that this is a case in which the rule applies that the plea of fair comment does not arise if the plea of justification is made good." And further : " Under these circumstances the only courses open to the Court, in my opinion, are either to order a new trial upon the ground that the jury have by their answers indicated that they did not understand the question which the parties had elected to fight, and from that point of view to treat the summing up of the Lord Chief Justice as a misdirection for not having clearly explained to them what the issue was ; or to direct judgment for the appellant [Dr. Stopes] upon the issue of fair comment, upon the ground that that issue was left to the jury as a separate issue, and they found in favour of the appellant on it."

A " Sutherland Committee " collected funds to defray the expenses of Dr. Sutherland's defence, towards which the *Catholic Times* reported that Cardinal Bourne himself contributed four hundred pounds.

Mr. Braby, Dr. Stopes's solicitor, understood from the other side that there would be no appeal to the House of Lords, and only then did Dr. Marie Stopes allow herself to become pregnant with the child afterwards called Hairy Verdon Stopes-Roe whom she had passionately desired but had not dared to initiate until she

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thought she was safely through the anxiety and fatigue of the legal contest. But after she was to become a mother her opponents, almost at the end of the term available for doing so, lodged an appeal to the House of Lords and she had to bear the strain of preparing to defend the case during her pregnancy.

Her solicitor, the late Mr. Percy Braby, felt confident of winning the appeal, being prepared to take unusual steps to present the evidence of members of the jury to show what their intention had been, but he went for a short holiday abroad before dealing with the important data, some of which he alone knew, and a few days later he died after an operation, in Finland.

In the House of Lords in October, 1924, the case came before the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Finlay, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, Lord Wrenbury, and Lord Carson, and by a majority of three to one they allowed the appeal from the order of the Court of Appeal, and gave judgment for Dr. Sutherland, with costs of all three actions.

Lord Wrenbury differed. In the course of his remarks he said that : " Imputations of victimisation of the helpless poor and of criminality deserving of imprisonment were not matters *to* be lightly regarded. They might well cut deep, and the more so in the case of a lady who was giving her time and her money to afford as she thought (and as her opponents admitted *bona fide* thought) assistance to her

poorer sisters. In his opinion the majority of the Court of Appeal were right in upholding the verdict in the third answer, and giving judgment for the plaintiff in accordance with the finding of the jury upon the third question left to them."

" This action he had no doubt was brought not so much to recover money as to re-establish a reputation damaged by libel. As a result of the judgment of this House the plaintiff would fail to recover the damages which the jury awarded. But it remained that a jury had found that the defendant's comment in the matter was not fair and that their finding in that respect failed to find its proper conclusion in damages by reason only of the fact that their lordships were of opinion that after their answer to the second question was given the third question was, for the reasons which their lordships had assigned, not open to them."

" He ought to add that if he was wrong in the view which he had expressed as to the summing up, and if the finding to the third question was not to have effect, then the plaintiff was, he thought, entitled to a new trial. For in such case there would have been by reason of misdirection no proper trial of the issue of fair comment. In this view of the case, he had to take it that the learned Lord Chief Justice did not properly direct the jury to discriminate between fact and opinion."

The pecuniary loss to Dr. Stopes was exceedingly heavy, but the birth-control movement benefited enormously by the wide publicity the three trials received in the press and by the consequent public discussion of a subject which had previously been very generally tabooed. Had the opponents of birth control been able to substantiate their assertions that all preventives are harmful, or to show any sound reason for regarding the limitation of the size of a family as an immoral practice, or even to show that the Bible or the Church of England denounced it as such—the result might have been very different. But the more the matter was looked into the more evident it became that, with an increasing population, people who use their intelligence to prevent disease and war must use their intelligence also in regard to the regularisation of population. The issue was fairly set when the reproach : " It is against nature ! " was met by the reply : " What is really against nature is to fail to use one's intelligence to secure one's own welfare and the welfare of one's posterity."

In the course of this case Dr. Stopes had occasion to apply for a writ of attachment for contempt of court against the publishers and editors of the *Tablet* and the *Universe* for publishing comments on the case in the newspapers, and when this came up before Mr. Justice Roche he said that, " it was apparent to the Court . . .

that the advertisement was open to grave objection . . . but as the assurances tendered by the respondents prevented the possibility of any repetition of the matter complained of, the Court accepted those assurances, and discharged the rules on that understanding."

The next lawsuit in which Dr. Stopes was involved arose in 1928 in the following manner. The *Morning Post* had for some six years published an advertisement of the Society for Constructive Birth Control,* but in the latter part of 1927 the advertisement manager stopped its publication and in reply to a protest from Dr. Stopes informed her that : " We find that advertisements of a controversial character give rise to considerable criticism, and we have decided not to accept such advertisements in future."

Being slightly acquainted with the Duke of Northumberland, the chairman of directors controlling the *Morning Post*, she wrote him a letter.

It was forwarded by the Duke to Mr. Gwynnc, the editor, who brought an action for libel against Dr. Stopes, and the case was tried by Mr. Justice Avory. He ruled that the letter was written on a privileged occasion, and the only question for the jury was whether it was written " with malice in the legal sense of that

* The advertisement was worded as follows: " Birth Control Society and Pioneer Clinic. Founded by Dr. Maie Stopes, 108, Whitfield Street, London, W.i. Telephone Museum 9528."

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word." Dr. Stopes, in evidence, said that when she wrote the letter she was not acquainted with Mr. Gwynne and did not know that he was editor of the *Morning Post*. Her belief was that a body of Roman Catholics had succeeded, by indirect means, in influencing the minds of some person or persons unknown at the *Morning Post* office. In her evidence she said that there was a clever plot devised by Roman Catholics to muzzle the freedom of the British press. Mr. Justice Avory in his summing up said : " Without meaning any disrespect to her, I can only describe as a rigmarole her story about a Roman Catholic plot."

The jury awarded Mr. Gwynne two hundred pounds damages and judgment was entered accordingly with costs.

Dr. Stopes took the case to the Appeal Court, and as the cost of these actions was heavy and she had not been too well satisfied with the way counsel had conducted her previous cases, she resolved to argue the case personally.

It came before Lord Justice Scrutton, Lord Justice Greer, and Lord Justice Sankey, who treated her with consideration and courtesy though they did not see their way to reverse the decision of the lower court. When delivering his judgment Lord Justice Scrutton said :

" The plaintiff, Mr. Gwynne, is the editor of the *Morning Post*, and he is under the impression that he is responsible for the advertisements in

the *Morning Post*, Whether or not he knew of this advertisement during the six years it had been published, I do not know ; it does not appear. If he did not know, his control of the advertisements is not very serious. If he did know, he contrived to get along quite happily for six years publishing the advertisement. But apparently when the advertising manager did stop the advertisement, his action was communicated to Mr. Gwynne at some time, and Mr. Gwynne approved of it.

" The defendant, who was the president of the Society whose advertisement was stopped, not unnaturally resented the stopping of an advertisement which the *Morning Post* had published for six years without objection. The Duke of Northumberland appears to be the chairman of the directors of the company who control the *Morning Post*, and the defendant, as president of the Society which was inserting the advertisement, wrote a letter to the Duke of Northumberland which is the libel now complained of in this action.

" That letter was sent by the Duke of Northumberland to Mr. Gwynne, and Mr. Gwynne thought, rightly or wrongly, that it was worth while bringing an action for libel about it. If most people who thought of bringing actions for libel put their pride in their pockets and the letter into the waste-paper basket, the world would be happier world ; but this

letter did not go into the waste-paper basket. After a letter had been written asking for an apology, which was met by an answer that the lady did not intend to refer to Mr. Gwynne and had never heard of him—which I hope did not hurt Mr. Gwynne's feelings too much—the action for libel is brought.

"The Statement of Claim alleges that a statement that a handful of Catholics are manipulating the paper is defamatory of the editor who is responsible for the paper and who has allowed himself to be manipulated or has not seen through the fact that he is being manipulated by some outside agents. The defences pleaded are that the letter was not published with regard to or in respect of Mr. Gwynne, the editor ; that the words are incapable of a defamatory meaning and are no libel ; and that the words were published on a privileged occasion and without malice—the Statement of Claim, of course, having alleged that they were published maliciously."

After mentioning the course of the case in the lower court, he added :

"The learned judge ruled, and ruled, I think, quite rightly, that the occasion was a privileged occasion ; that a complaint to the proprietors of a newspaper that an advertisement which they had agreed to insert for money was not being inserted, was a privileged occasion on which the person complaining had a right

and duty to write freely to the proprietor of the newspaper.

" Then came the question which is really the question in this case : did the plaintiff prove that the defendant in writing the letter wrote it with malice, as that term is understood in the English law of libel ? Mr. Justice Avory directed the jury in the words of a very well-known case decided some thirty-six years ago, which each of the members of this Court has repeatedly used to direct juries in matters of libel, which has never been questioned in the House of Lords, and which has formed since it was first decided in 1892 a substantial part of the law of libel. It is the case of the *Royal Aquarium v. Parkinson*, a case about which I shall say a word or two later. . . .

" The case of *Parkinson* undoubtedly covers a state of facts which popularly would not be described as malice. One would ordinarily understand ' malice ' as being personal spite by the person speaking the words against the person complaining of them. . . . But in the case of the *Royal Aquarium Society v. Parkinson*—another kind of malice—and I am again using the phrase as the technical phrase which covers the matter which takes the case out of a privileged occasion—was laid down by the Court of Appeal, whose decision is binding upon this Court. That was this : that the defendant who was being sued for libel might have used the

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words complained of honestly believing them to be true, and in fact with an excess of honesty.

" This is a case where Mrs. Stopes is apparently under the perfectly honest belief that everything that gets in the way of her Society's mission is part of the cunning tactics of a small band of Roman Catholics. . . . If, under that belief, she makes statements which affect an innocent third party who is not a member of the small band, but has been, to use her own language, manipulated by them, that third party has an equal right to say : You were making this statement which affects me because of your obsession affecting a third party. . . .

" Was there evidence on which a jury could find that the defendant was under such an obsession ?—because it must be borne in mind that what the judges of this Court would have found is absolutely immaterial if there was evidence on which the jury could come to their finding. The fact that the members of this Court might have come to an opposite conclusion is immaterial, because they are not the parties whom the English Constitution puts to make such a finding. . . .

" I have turned to see what materials the jury had in the answers of Mrs. Stopes in the box, either in chief or in cross-examination.

" She said : ' My belief that this refusal of the *Morning Post* advertisement is part of a definite plot to attack the freedom of the British press

is supportable by documents.' Then the lady refers to an international congress at which various countries tried to get an agreement to stop advertisements of this sort, or publicity of this sort, and England opposed it. Sir Archibald Bodkin, the Public Prosecutor, was the representative of England, and the lady says : ' He withstood this proposition . . . he opposed it. . . . Because the British press is a free press. The Catholics foiled internationally, then devised the extremely clever plot of wagging the dog through its tail, getting that revision in Ireland, and thus coercing the British press through Ireland. This journal here, the *Ecclesiastical Record*, is a journal which circulates among Irish priests. The author, the Rev. Father Devane, Society of Jesus, outlines the plan by which the English press shall be coerced through Ireland.' About this time apparently, from what the lady said, some of the jury were guilty of smiling. . . . After going on for a little time about the Irish plot, in which the Irish tail was to wag the body of the dog in England, a juror remarked : ' My lord, I do 'not think the jury is impressed by this.'

" Now it is quite impossible to say that the jury, who heard the lady give utterance to the series of remarks that I have said, could not come to the decision to which they did come. . . .

" In my opinion, therefore, as I say, without expressing the slightest opinion whether I should

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have come to the same conclusion, there was material upon which the jury could find that the defendant was in the state of mind which the Court of Appeal in the Parkinson case have said destroyed the privileged occasion, that she was therefore in the view of the jury abusing the occasion and not using it."

After some further remarks by Lord Justice Scrutton, Lord Justice Greer said :

" I am of the same opinion, though I cannot help thinking that somewhat hard measure has been dealt out by the jury to the appellant in awarding two hundred pounds damages for the letter which she wrote to the Duke of Northumberland, which, as a matter of fact, one can readily see did not do Mr. Gwynne one half-pennyworth of harm. However, that is not the question we have to decide. . . .

" The appellant's forcible and intelligent argument might have carried great weight if she had in the course of nature and of circumstances been able to present it to the Court of Appeal before the year 1892, because up to that time it was usually considered that the word ' malice ' in the law of libel meant the same as it did in ordinary conversation taking place among people using the English language. The Court of Appeal had to consider the question in 1892 in the case of the Royal Aquarium Society v. Parkinson, as to whether or not the word ' malice ' had not in the law of libel a wider

signification, and they came to the conclusion that it had. . . .

" I am not saying whether I should have come to the same conclusion, but I cannot say there was nothing in the evidence which justified the jury in taking the view they did."

After agreeing with what had been said by Lord Justices Scrutton and Greer, Lord Justice Sankey concluded with the words :

" I think there was abundant evidence upon which the jury could act ; I think the summing up was a good one in law, and put the law and the facts clearly before the jury. Whatever my personal views may be, as to which I desire to express no opinion at all, I think the jury were entitled to do what they did, and I think this appeal must be dismissed with costs."

It had been plain enough in the lower court that neither the jury nor Mr. Justice Avory were at all impressed by Dr. Stopes's assurance that there was a Roman Catholic scheme to coerce the British press through Ireland, in fact, it had the effect of causing them to believe that her action had been induced by " malice " as that term is understood in the English law of libel. Since the days of Titus Oates, Englishmen have generally nursed a sturdy reluctance to believe in Popish plots, and that feeling no doubt played its part in influencing the jury on this occasion.

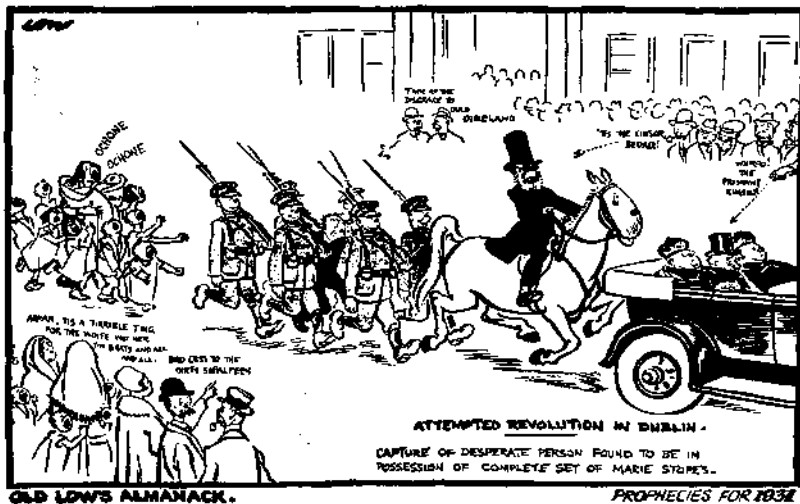
It is therefore interesting to see what actually

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happened in the first half of 1929—not so very long after the *Morning Post* trial was over. An Irish Censorship Bill was then passed by the Free State Senate which made *all* advocacy of birth control illegal and criminal and prohibited the importation of any book or newspaper mentioning the subject or containing any advertisement of books relating to it. Many leading English newspapers have, or desire to have, a circulation in the Irish Free State, and such papers now have to risk that part of their circulation or to avoid any mention of birth control and the insertion of any advertisements relating to it. In other words, an indirect censorship of the English press has actually been effected just on the lines Dr. Stopes had in view when she incurred ridicule by mentioning the matter at the above trial.

What is, moreover, very significant is that the English press generally has submitted to this curtailment of its liberty so meekly that even to-day I doubt whether most people in this country know what has happened. There was however one notable exception to this show of indifference, for Low, in the *Evening Standard* of December 6th, 1930, had the cartoon of which a reproduction is here shown.

This he followed up on December nth by another cartoon, the theme of which was the Trial of Old Low for his cartoon of December 6th and was entitled, " Trial at the Dublin O Gpu—



This famous cartoon by David Low is reproduced by permission of the *Evening Standard*.

Accused makes full Confession." Inset was a picture of President Cosgrave sitting by himself in a carriage, and the text included the statement that Old Low " admitted that President Cosgrave never in his life sat, as depicted, in a car with two Bishops. It would be a foul libel to say that President Cosgrave sat anywhere with two Bishops." The trial took place for showing " the alleged arrest by alleged Free State authorities of an alleged Irishman, alleged to be in possession of a complete set of Marie Stopes," and the culprit (Low) " withdrew unreservedly the chief implication that Free State authorities would discourage their citizens from possessing copies of ' listed ' books, and he agreed that the censorship was an advertising organisation aiming at the sale and distribution of such listed books throughout the Free State."

Dr. Stopes having been well-informed of the schemes for indirectly muzzling the English press, it may be in place to mention that she is now convinced that preparations are being made to attempt to induce Parliament to pass measures for the suppression of the publication of information, or the discussion, of this subject, and that these measures are likely to be as skilfully prepared if not as cleverly manoeuvred as those that have already achieved the partial success above mentioned.

A case of a different type with which Dr.

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Stopes was concerned in 1928 was the Crown prosecution of the Rev. Francis Bacon, the Vicar of All Saints' Church, Buxton Street, Mile End, who had formerly been known as the Right Reverend Francis Bacon, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Old Catholic Church for the Eastern District of England and Bishop-Auxiliary for London. He preached against birth control on Sundays, but on week-days, as " Dr. Hannah Brown," carried on a business in abortifacient drugs. Dr. Stopes supplied information about him to the Home Office and was in close touch with the Crown throughout the case.

He was tried at the Old Bailey in February, 1928. The Recorder denounced him as a man who had concealed a pernicious secret traffic under a cloak of religious hypocrisy, and he was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. His accomplice, Annie Bolton, who had been in the business since she was seventeen, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

On July 15th, 1929, Dr. Stopes was involved in another action with the same Dr. Sutherland, who sued her for libel. His action against Dr. Stopes and others came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Shearman. The claim was that in *The Birth Control News* Dr. Stopes had libelled Dr. Sutherland by the headlines : " Arson replaces Argument. Roman Catholic Opponents tire of Argument. Use Arson Instead. Traveling Clinic in Bradford twice set on Fire." The

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article under these headings contained the words :

" The chief current event, however, is the resort to the good old medieval practice of burning instead of enlightening the enemy. The poor dupe who acted as catspaw for the gang, the unmarried woman Ellis, has to take her punishment alone. There is little doubt, however, that she is not the only one who should have stood in the dock for the crime of burning the travelling clinic of the C.B.C."

Dr. Stopes conducted her own case in court. In the course of his cross-examination Dr. Sutherland emphasised the fact that in controversy he never referred to Dr. Marie Stopes by name, a matter upon which he appeared to congratulate himself, but which drew from Mr. Justice Shearman the comment : " That is the trouble ; when you describe a propaganda as immoral, and one person is known by the whole world to represent and to be the head of it, where are you ? " The jury found for Dr. Stopes and judgment was entered accordingly, with costs against Dr. Sutherland.

Even when costs are awarded, however, such a case involves a heavy drain on the finances of the successful defendant, for the preparation for the trial involves much detailed work, many conferences with solicitors and counsel, and the " taxed costs " allowed by the court never cover the heavy out-of-pocket expenses incurred.

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The next month, August, 1929, an attempt to prosecute a bookseller in Australia for selling Dr. Stopes's book, *Enduring Passion*, which was alleged to be indecent, was dismissed, the magistrate, Mr. E. Page, S.M., when delivering judgment, remarking that : " Read by those to whom it is addressed and for whom it is written it would, I think, prove in many cases a help, and tend to promote happiness in their relations with one another."

Unfortunately for Dr. Stopes a number of social pests—dirty, unhygienic, greedy, commercial abortionists—employ her name in attempts to reap an illicit harvest. An illuminating case of this description was that of W. A. Carpenter, who at 1, Farmer Street, Notting Hill Gate, ran a so-called birth-control clinic with Dr. Marie Stopes's name in large letters over his door.

When this fact came to Dr. Stopes's ears in 1930, she went to the place and went in with her husband and asked for " Dr. Stopes's remedies " (which was a name she had heard was being used by him) and got a few white pills at the price of £2 2s. She at once went to the police and asked for his immediate arrest, but there was a technical difficulty, as she herself—since she of course knew that nothing of the sort really existed—had not been deceived, so he could only be charged under the indictment of *attempting*

to obtain money by false pretences. It was arranged that she should return to the shop a week later and say the pills had " done no good " and ask for " Dr. Marie Stopes's strongest pills." This she did, followed by Detective-Sergeant Dennis. When Carpenter charged £3 3s. for these and the money was in Dr. Stopes's hand, the detective arrested him.

This arrest enabled the police to close the premises and search his papers, etc., and yielded abundant evidence of the various complaints brought by Dr. Stopes. The police very cleverly got the necessary witnesses from among those who returned to Carpenter's place.

When the case came up at the Old Bailey there were fifteen counts on the indictments against Carpenter, including rape, the supplying of noxious things with the intent to procure miscarriage, indecent assault, and the obtaining and attempting to obtain money by false pretences.

The sentence passed on Carpenter by Mr. Justice Talbot was one of penal servitude for five years.

In the course of the trial, Mr. Percival Clarke, appearing for the prosecution, said :

" It should be publicly stated for Dr. Marie Stopes that she does not advocate anything of that kind, and she has complained here that this man was pretending to sell infallible remedies of hers of which there are none, so he was obtaining money under false pretences, and she

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went in, and in fact she has had the responsibility
for the prosecution."

Mr. Eastwood, appearing for Dr. Stopes, said :

" Subject to your approval I should like to
say (your lordship has seen the photograph put
in, and the most prominent thing in that
photograph is the name of ^c Stopes ') that it is
an abominable thing that a man of this type, a
stoker, who has been forced to plead guilty to
supplying drugs for the purpose of procuring
abortion, should be allowed to use her name,
and it is an abominable thing that he should
be able to placard his shop with the name of
' Stopes.'

" I want to say I consider it is desirable it
should be known that people who are going to
sell these various drugs and things, and do that
under the name of ^c Dr. Stopes' when she has
nothing to do with them at all, do so at their
peril and run the risk of a civil prosecution,
exactly as this man would have done had he
not pleaded guilty to the other charges."

Mr. Justice Talbot, when passing sentence,
referred to the charge of obtaining money by
false pretence by the use of Dr. Stopes's name,
remarking that : " It is quite clear that this was
a most impudent proceeding on your part and
that Dr. Marie Stopes has nothing to do with
the nefarious business you carried on."

Anyone passing his shop might have seen in
it "absolute proof" of the cruel lie sometimes

circulated that she is " making pots of money " out of the movement.

Unfortunately it is by no means always possible to bring such gentry as Carpenter to book. So long as they confine themselves to *suggesting* to their ignorant, credulous and frightened customers that they are supplying abortifacients, but actually supply them with drugs which—though often harmful—do not produce that effect, it seems that, in the present state of the law, they cannot be convicted. The police know of many objectionable businesses which trade on the distress of women who want to procure abortion, but are so warily conducted that it is useless to prosecute them.

In America it took thirteen years to secure permission to sell *Married Love*, but at last on April 6th, 1931, John M. Woolsey, United States District Judge, in delivering judgment on the matter, said :

" The book, *Married Love*, does not, in my opinion, fall within these definitions of the words 'obscene' or 'immoral' in any respect. . . .

" *Married Love* is a considered attempt to explain to married people how their mutual sex life may be made happier.

"I do not find anything exceptionable anywhere in the book, and I cannot imagine a normal mind to which this book would seem to

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be obscene or immoral within the proper definition of those words, or whose sex impulses would be stirred by reading it.

" Whether or not the book is scientific in some of its theses is unimportant. It is informative and instructive and I think that any married folk who read it cannot fail to be benefited by its counsels of perfection and its frank discussion of the frequent difficulties which necessarily arise in the more intimate aspects of married life."

On July 16th, 1931, the same judge decided another case, brought by the Commissioner of Customs, " to test the admissibility of a book called *Contraception* by Marie C. Stopes, for importation into the United States." He said :

" *Contraception* is written primarily for the medical profession. It is stated, in an introduction written by an eminent English doctor, to be the first book dealing fully with its subject matter—the theory, history, and practice of birth control. It is a scientific book written with obvious seriousness and with great decency, and it gives information to the medical profession regarding the operation of birth-control clinics and the instruction necessary to be given at such clinics to women who resort thereto. It tells of the devices, used now and in the past, to prevent conception, and expresses opinions as to those which are preferable from the point of view of efficiency and of the health of the user.

" The emotions aroused by the book are

merely feelings of sympathy and pity, evoked by the many cases instanced in it of the sufferings of married women due to ignorance of its teachings. This, I believe, will be the inevitable effect of reading it on all persons of sensibility unless by their prejudices the information it contains is tabooed.

" It may be imported into the United States.¹⁵

A writ was served in April, 1931, by Dr. Stopes on Cardinal Bourne, as a proprietor of the *Tablet*. This caused a flutter in the dovecots of Catholicism, and the case was settled out of court on the suggestion of counsel for the Cardinal, and on the publication on January 2nd, 1932, in the *Tablet* of the following disclaimer :

" FATHER DAVIS, S.J., ON BIRTH CONTROL.

" Under the above heading, the issue of the *Tablet* dated November 15th, 1930, reprinted, with some comments of our own, a letter which Father Henry Davis, S.J., had contributed to the *Saturday Review* of November 8th. It appears that some readers have interpreted passages in the latter as implying that Father Davis accused Dr. Marie Stopes of intentionally seeking to misconstrue the views of her opponents. While we strongly disapprove this lady's teaching on Birth Control, it is always our wish to do her justice ; and therefore we gladly give prominence to Father Davis's assurance that he had no intention of accusing Dr. Marie Stopes of deliberate misrepresentation."

What had led up to that legal encounter is told in the *Birth Control News* (Dr. Stopes's paper) of November, 1930, which under the headlines : " Cardinal Bourne insults our Anglican Bishops,"⁵ said : " In the *Tablet* (the recognised mouthpiece of Cardinal Bourne) of October nth we read : ' It will be remembered that the Lambeth Reporters . . . tried to fortify their evil teaching on Birth Prevention by what our Cardinal justly calls " a vague and veiled reference " to our own teaching. They more than hinted that, by some kind of crooked ingenuity, we virtually permit what we pretend to denounce.' This led to comments in the *Saturday Review*, to which journal Dr. Stopes addressed the following letter which appeared on October 18th of that year :

" CARDINAL BOURNE AND BIRTH CONTROL.

" * SIR,—Your paragraphist says that the Cardinal " stated the position of Rome with clarity and precision " when he takes the line that Romish opposition is based " simply on the absolute law of God " and that this " defines the difference between Rome and Canterbury." I fear he takes Cardinal Bourne's statements in the way the Cardinal intended and not in the way the true facts would necessitate.

" ' The facts about Rome include the following : that birth control has never been officially denounced by any Pope ; in the eighteen-forties a Cardinal advised the then Pope to leave the

subject alone as the practice was already so prevalent : that various methods of birth control are not only established in the Roman community but even condoned and approved by leading Roman theologians.

" ' Our Bishops quite correctly pointed out at Lambeth that there is nothing in the teaching of Christ or in the New Testament to justify the current tradition against the control of conception.

" ' I am, etc.,

" ' MARIE C. STOPES.⁵

" This called forth a letter from Father Davis, of the Society of Jesus, in which he said that she was " guilty of an equivocation " for the sake of scoring a point against the Roman Catholic Church.

" His letter was reprinted in the *Tablet*, Cardinal Bourne's publication, and was followed by these words in italics :

" ' *The Bishops of the Lambeth Conference, preferring innuendo to precise statement, meanly associated themselves with a false charge against the Catholic Church ; so this matter will often crop up. Catholics, therefore, should keep Father Davis's letter handy for reference and citation'*

" In the course of the *Saturday Review* correspondence Dr. Stopes had said that birth control had never been officially denounced by any Pope of Rome, a point previously conceded by

Father Davis in private correspondence. With the Encyclical by the Pope, issued December 31st, 1931, we therefore get the first official and explicit Papal pronouncement against birth control. It took the Popes until the end of 1931 to make such official pronouncement !

" Now in the course of this Encyclical a very curious point arises. The verbatim words as printed in the Roman Catholic *Universe* show that the Pope himself docs permit the very thing which our Anglican Bishops implied he did, namely the use of the so-called ' safe period ' ! These words of his arc as follows :

" ' Nor are those considered as acting against nature who in the married state use their right in the proper manner although on account of natural reasons either of time or of certain defects, new life cannot be brought forth.'

" This permission for the use of the birth control method of the ' safe period ' is so subtly veiled that ordinary men reading this Encyclical would fail to notice it, as apparently have almost all the newspaper press men of the world who all claimed that the Encyclical entirely condemns birth control.

" Nevertheless these words of the Pope corroborate the remark of our Bishops, and this Papal permission to use the ' safe period ' without sin places Cardinal Bourne in the position of having no justification for his insults to our Bishops. It should be remembered that the

' safe period ' has distinctly been permitted by Roman Catholic theologians for ages past and the Pope would have been in an extremely awkward position had he denounced or denied it. His position now seems not less difficult in permitting it ! Hence the subtlety of his terminology, and the ingenuity with which his permission is veiled."

The Pope's Encyclical is one of the most important pronouncements made on birth control since Dr. Stopes's activities commenced.

CHAPTER XII

Inner Life

IN any life that is worth writing at all the outward events have but a superficial interest in comparison with the landmarks in the development of consciousness and the soul. This was pre-eminently so in the life of Tolstoy, whose biography I wrote chiefly because it was in so marked a degree a spiritual adventure.

My many years' acquaintance with Dr. Marie Stopes have made me in some small degree acquainted with the landmarks in the development of her inner life, but, as in the case of Tolstoy, the data carrying conviction are those afforded by autobiographical evidence. So I feel in the present instance that we must await an autobiography fully to understand the character whose life I have here sketched in outline.

A certain amount of autobiographical detail is given in the volume of travels already referred to, the *Journal from Japan*, as also in the preface to *Man, Other Poems, and a Preface* ; on these I have drawn, but for the main outline of her spiritual growth I depend on the following personal notes which I asked Dr. Stopes to write in 1923.

" From my earliest childhood religion, not in its narrowest sense of outward performance, but in the inner sense of absolute reality, has been a matter of the very greatest concern to me. My mother was Scottish of almost Calvinistic tendencies, and my father a Quaker, but one who felt that the religious education of a little girl should be left absolutely to the mother. I was brought up in the rigours of the stern Scottish old-fashioned Presbyterianism, in which hell was presented as an absolute reality which I stood in imminent danger of inheriting ; special books were kept for Sunday reading ; no toys were allowed on Sundays, when Bible chapters and texts had to be learnt as well as church attendances fulfilled. All this I took with child-like literalness, which was rendered all the more intense by a feeling of guilt at being unable to see Christ and the angels, which I felt, somehow, was my own fault. In spite of my father's lack of interference I used, even in the very earliest days, to feel that he was wiser than mother, and that his aloofness from our religious observances was not hostile, but something superior ; that in fact he dwelt in more direct communion with God than we, who had to make an outward office of it. This, I think, shows how through all the early years of my childhood he must have exercised the greatest care not to interfere in any way with my mother's more specific instructions.

" One of the earliest religious landmarks that I remember was when, at the age of six or seven, my manifold sins had been made very evident to me and I felt that if only I were a better girl I should *feel* the actual floods of the Blood of Jesus which would purify me. I felt I must try to be converted in such a way that I really could see and feel these things. I remember placing myself at the foot of a long flight of stairs at the bottom of which was a sheepskin mat, dyed crimson, and I rubbed myself in the crimson wool of the mat and shut my eyes and tried to picture the stream of the Blood of the Lamb cascading down the stairs and over me, purifying me and taking away my manifold sins. I was discovered by my nurse before this process had completed itself, and was led away, but I remember to this day the feeling that the only barrier between me and an actual sensation of the Blood of the Lamb was my manifold crimes of omission and commission, and that I stood in imminent danger of hell-fire if I did not succeed in persuading my senses really to feel the Blood of Jesus.

" Childhood's memory fades concerning the resolution of that problem ; and next I remember clearly, at the age of about eight, getting into very profound religious difficulties over the conflict between the existence of hell-fire, in which human beings and even children were burnt eternally, and an all-loving and all-kind

God. These difficulties worried me to the extent of keeping me awake at night. The problem was not one that I could take to my mother, because when I was seven years old I had one day observed her sewing in her bedroom on a Sunday and had hence come to the conclusion that she was 'not truly religious.' My grandmother, however, who read the Bible every day and was always spoken of as a very saintly woman, seemed to me to be in immediate communication with God, and to be the person to whom I should take this very profound difficulty. I well remember going into her room with her breakfast tray, finding her reading her Bible as usual in bed. Sitting down near her, I began to ask her about the problem of hell and a loving God. She laughed ; I suppose I must have sounded absurd, but it shut me up so completely that I do not think I ever spoke of the difficulty to anyone for years. But I remember, most clearly, thinking it out for myself and in the course of a few months evolving in elaborate detail something that resembled the Roman Catholic faith, with the exception that I omitted, of course, any idea of the Pope. No Roman Catholic was in contact with me, and my home, as I have explained, was a Calvinistic and Quaker establishment, and yet I came to the conclusion that the only possible God, that was the true God, must be one who did not entirely burn people up in hell, but only allowed them to

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burn so far as to burn the badness out of them, and that the goodness was then allowed to go into heaven as a very tiny baby and grow there big enough to be a grown-up soul in heaven ; in short, the theory of purgatory. I evolved also, in my inner consciousness, the theory of saints, and I remember most clearly, night after night through the winter, lying on my side, taking up the least possible room at the edge of my bed, and spreading the bedclothes comfortably across the part of the bed that I did not inhabit, so as to allow the saints, whom I fancied were there guarding and talking to me, to be comfortable and warm while they were there. I was convinced that they were there, and felt that it was my own wickedness which prevented my feeling their presence.

" This phase, of course, also passed, although I do not remember when. Then I clearly remember, from the age of about eight to ten, or nine to ten, reading the whole of the Bible through, including all the enormously long and dreary chapters in the Old Testament. I was still ignorant of the Roman numerals and could not understand them, and I remember going through the Bible with a pencil and counting up on my fingers the numbers of the chapters as I read them and writing them in ordinary numerals, so that I should know how far I had got. The thin pages adhering here and there, naturally the sequence of the Roman numerals

was transcribed quite wrongly, a thing I only discovered a good many years after, when I came to look through the same Bible again. At the time I felt that perhaps, if I were good enough to read the whole Bible without skipping a word, I might understand the religious puzzles which still haunted me. At the age of eleven I was still so much a believer in the literal understanding of the Bible that when I was asked by one of my aunts what I wanted for a birthday present, I asked for a New Testament small enough to put in my little pocket, so that I could continue to study it and try to learn the whole of the New Testament by heart.

" At the age of eleven I remember most vividly another experience which was perhaps rather remarkable for a young child. My grandmother was then apparently in good health, living in Edinburgh, and my mother and we children were staying a night or two in Edinburgh. No anxiety had warned us of my grandmother's condition, but one evening, after being put to bed, I could not sleep for a terrible feeling of icy coldness and death. I had never thought of death before, and my sister and I were sharing a large bed, and all night through I kept putting my hand across, quietly, to see if she were cold, or if it was only I who was cold, and wondering who was dead and what death meant, feeling that it was very, very near. The next day my grandmother was found, quietly sleeping after

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her afternoon nap, dead in her bed. I may say that quite a number of times during my life similar premonitions of events before they have happened have come to me, but not with a sufficient regularity to allow me to plan my life on the assurance that they will come. Such foreknowledge is always scrappy and incompletely conveyed.

" A few days before I was twelve I was sent (o school in Edinburgh, living with a family and attending St. George's School. The family with whom I stayed were also old-fashioned, extremely Protestant, Scottish people, and I remember being shown, with such strong expressions of disapproval that I looked upon the whole surrounding atmosphere as contaminated by it, an Anglican church near Alva Street in which the people were wicked enough to have an organ to sing with. I remember my young indignation at such 'Popery,' a word that by that time I had learnt, though I still did not realise its meaning. At that age, too, the sense of responsibility, which I felt very early, became intensely oppressive. I think it was due to the fact that my parents had admonished me so very much to take care of my younger sister, but it was deeper in origin and seemed to embrace the whole world. It developed about that age into a feeling that I was so terribly guilty that I corresponded to a 'Jonah,' like the one whose presence endangered the lives of all his fellow-

travellers in the ship, and that my guilty presence in the world was responsible for disasters to others. I remember clearly one day the lady with whom we stayed reading some paragraph from a paper about a great calamity abroad—I think an earthquake—when I burst out crying, and said : ' Oh, but I can't help it ; I can't help it. It is really not my fault.' I have never entirely lost this sense of *burden*, and I still do my birth-control work because I feel that the responsibility for the unborn whom I had not helped would be unbearable if I were not to carry it on.

" Life in the more mellowed atmosphere of Kent, where the only church possible for us to attend at Swanscombe was the English parish church, removed some of the childish super-sensitive feeling of guilt, arid life became a little easier, more normal, and less narrow. I remember, however, always feeling on my guard against the errors of the Anglican Church, and although I became a communicant, there were certain words and phrases in the creeds and hymns that would cause me to close my mouth firmly and that nothing could induce me to say. My father still held aloof from religious discussion, but I had a feeling that when I grew up to him, there within him was wisdom that would understand me and that I could meet. Looking back on the extraordinary intimacy and quite exceptionally profound affection between my father and myself, I feel it very

curious that I did not go to him with my religious puzzles. I think possibly I may have done so, and that he may have said that I must do what my mother told me in these things till I was older. Certainly about the age of fifteen or sixteen I began to realise the difference between a Friend, that is, a member of the Quaker Society of Friends, and members of other religions, and to feel all my sympathies with the Friends.

" When at the age of sixteen I was away at the seaside, somewhere near Folkestone, in a little village (I do not know what was its name), I used to take long rambles by myself, and I remember one Sunday attending a Quaker meeting on an explorative expedition of my own. At that Quakers' meeting a very remarkable incident occurred which made the profoundest impression upon me, and which I have narrated literally in a poem called 'The Brother' in *Man, Other Poems, and a Preface*. This incident coloured my life for many years and inhibited all further desire openly to become a Quaker. So deep was my affection for my father and our mutual understanding, that I always felt that if I could find the proper, old-fashioned type of Quaker community, there would be my spiritual home.

" About this time we gave up the Swanscombe home and moved to Hampstead. In this house I had a little study in which I prepared my

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ordinary school work and, in addition, read unobserved and without even the companionship of my sister. This was a great pleasure, for by this time I had developed a characteristic which has remained with me, that is, intensely to desire as much solitude as is possible and to feel certain powers and the capacity to understand what I am reading very much reduced by the presence of any other person in the room. From the age of sixteen to eighteen I read voraciously. The Hampstead Lending Library was an exceptionally good one, and I tapped its uttermost resources. I also had access to a number of other supplies of books. I read all sort of things, but particularly comparative theology, and a number of works seldom read even by adults to-day ; for instance, in these years I read pretty nearly everything that I could get in English by Swedenborg, all Kant's voluminous philosophy, and a number of old-fashioned and curiously abstruse books, such as the early histories of the Rosicrucians, translations of the Vedas, books of Buddhistic philosophy, Confucius's writings, and many theological works. Walter Pater and George Meredith were my favourite authors of a lighter kind. I also read all Darwin's published books, and can well remember one Sunday, when about sixteen or seventeen, my mother's sister, a very religious Scottish woman, being shocked by some chance phrase of my father, who was speaking of his collection of flint implements.

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This aunt was shocked to learn that my father read Darwin and took his work seriously, and still more shocked that mention of such a man should be made in the presence of an innocent young girl. I, naturally enough, championed the cause for which my father stood, and proudly boasted that I also had read Darwin. I remember my aunt said no more, but followed me up to my little study to demand my repentance and recantation. When she could not obtain these, she solemnly committed me to hell. I was still young enough, and the childish memories of hell were still sufficiently easily revived, for this to make a great impression upon me, but, of course, not in the least to alter my loyalty to my father or to affect the scientific attitude of mind which was growing in me. I remember not very long after that, I think when I was sixteen and a half, being taken for our spring vacation to Jersey, and there delighting in the stretches of rock and solitude into which it was possible to escape owing to the fact that my sister had caught a cold on the voyage and was laid up, and, my mother taking care of her, I was sent out for walks by myself. Here then I found sunny corners and enjoyed what had already become, and has remained through life, one of my deepest enjoyments as well as my greatest restorative—lying flat on my back without moving for hours. In Jersey a spiritual renaissance, one might call it, took place after a

succession of such happy days, and that experience is also published in *Man*, in a form written at the time, 'Revelation.'

" I was always very sensitive to the marital relations of those with whom I came in contact, and I remember, as a very young girl, being shocked and hurt by matrimonial bickering. We met Mr. and Mrs. James Huddart (the Huddart who originally planned, many years before, the All Red Route *via* Canada and Australia), and I was enchanted by something exceptionally feminine and sweet in Mrs. Huddart, and also by the beautiful devotion of her husband and sons. She reciprocated to some extent the feeling I had for her and became one of my warmest friends, and as a girl I was often invited to stay at her house and there learnt many things that only an older woman of sweet disposition could teach a girl, and which I should never have learnt but for her. Certainly chief among the lessons she taught me was the recognition of the vital importance of the relationship between the two who are the centre of any home life, and how far-reaching may be the influence of any home. I think I may say that here were sown the first seeds of a desire to do the work which ultimately resulted in *Married Love*.

" The religious phases of my early childhood having been lived through, I naturally enough entered into a phase of scientific materialism, but had already outgrown it by the time I was

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commencing my college studies, and I remember the keen sense of appreciation and delight with which I listened to Professor Sir William Ramsay, whose classes I attended, once speaking to his large chemistry class, when dealing with the waves of light in vacuum tubes, of the mysticism which is compatible with a profound knowledge of science. I cannot remember his exact words, but they were to the effect that atheism and hostility to religion were no longer in keeping with a really profound knowledge of the wonders of natural science, and that whenever one knew more deeply the details of any subject, it led always to an ultimate mystery in which one might well maintain that the truths of religion could reside. So far as I can remember that was the only reference of any sort at all that I heard either to religion or the deeper philosophy of life in the whole of my time as a student at the University, and his few words, passed over so swiftly in his physical chemistry lecture, left me with a sense of tremendous respect for Sir William Ramsay.

" Before my first term at college I had reached the phase in my inner development that included a great deal of reading on psychological and psychic themes, and so, naturally enough, I wanted to see if I had any psychic powers. At first I spoke to no one about these subjects. No one at all, neither my teacher, nor my college friends ; only my school friend, Olga Kaptein,

was in the least degree in my confidence, and she not very completely, as by this time she was staying once more in Amsterdam. I tested in one or two ways at the University whether I had power to hypnotise and perform some of the various semi-psychic tricks made much of in some of the books I was then reading. Under the influence of a member of the Theosophical Society I found I undoubtedly had such powers, but I very sanely came to the conclusion that their use was mean—not quite playing the game—and also that I should undoubtedly be in danger of becoming nervous and 'queer,' as I observed the people who claimed such powers generally were. Hence I, to myself, formally, definitely and specifically renounced their use, and decided for the next few years, at any rate, to lead my life in accordance with the revelation in Jersey. I have never again attempted to use those powers.

" Now, many years later, I still think it most important not to hasten the human acquisition of what we call supernatural or supernormal powers. I feel that having taken so long a time to become human, and being now in the present imperfect link between the past and the future, we serve the race and whatever cosmic design there may be behind our existence best by being the best kind of human beings we can ; by starving neither our bodies nor our minds, nor wearing out one aspect of ourselves at the expense of

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normality. The neurotic, half-starved, highly-abnormal ascetic, the psychic, the 'spiritual' healer, and other cranks generally fill me with a slight feeling of repugnance and a profound feeling of regret that they took on a job for which they are so obviously unfitted. Even as a young girl I did not wish to become like that. My ambition is to be as normal, healthy, and wholesome a human being as I can be while I am a human being ; it will not be very long in any event, even if one outlives the Biblical three-score years and ten.

" I have always had a peculiar sympathy with stones, undoubtedly inherited, for my father's delight in fossils and flint implements is traceable to his earliest childhood, and I have a sympathy with them which, curiously enough, often includes a knowledge of where they are, almost as if I were a stone-diviner, like water-diviners. Their smell delights me. Of course not all stones have a very noticeable smell, but to me, in quarries, almost every freshly chipped stone has a peculiar, and most have a pleasing, smell. The consciousness of fossils, even at a distance from them, has often manifested itself most usefully in my expeditions, and I may give just one example of this. I remember Dr. D. H. Scott, the leading English palaeobotanist, in a discussion at the Linnean Society, speaking of a classical find of a well-preserved fossil in the Isle of Wight, saying that in this deposit, which he

had himself examined, there remained no more petrifications. Like a sudden flash of light a queer, intense feeling came to me that there were lots of petrifications there calling to me and waiting to be found. Within a few weeks I was able to take my vacation in that locality, at Luccomb Chine in the Isle of Wight, and spent the first day lying comfortably on the shore in hot sunshine gazing up at the cliffs. By the afternoon I had come to the conclusion that at a certain point up the cliffs I should find these specimens, and the next day I went there and found enough to enable me to bring away nearly a bushel, many of which were *new* to science, and some of which are described and illustrated in my volume on the palaeontology of this horizon, published by the Trustees of the British Museum (Appendix B, p. 285).

" Useful in another way is this sympathy with stones, and I remember on one occasion my sister and I had spent a whole holiday together camping in a cave on the coast of Devonshire. She and I had played at Robinson Crusoe and Man Friday for five or six weeks, sleeping in this cave by the sea with a sense of perfect security and peace, when one night I suddenly felt that I must not allow her to stop there, for it would be most dangerous for us to sleep there, and we must go into the open. We shifted our sleeping bags along the pebbles of the beach, right into the open and away from the cave,

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leaving however all our little cooking utensils and other camp equipment in the cave. When I went back next morning I found part of the roof had fallen in, with a large slab of stone just where my head would have been. The next night we were quite calmly and happily sleeping in the cave again, probably most foolishly, but nothing happened.

" Possibly correlated with this feeling for stones is the consciousness I have since early childhood in my spine of the direction of the north. It is as though I were a magnet, and I shall never forget my delight, when I was a girl, at discovering Du Maurier's book, *Peter Ibbetson*, in which one of the characters is conscious of the position of the north, for I thought I alone was peculiar in this, and was greatly pleased to find that someone else shared that sensitiveness. In childhood it took the curious form of making me twist round and wake with a dazed feeling in bed if my bed was placed wrongly. And still, unless I sleep either north and south or south and north, I tend to twist round in the night and lie in the direction of the magnetic field, sometimes waking up to find myself lying right across the bed if I am staying in a house where the bed cannot be placed correctly before I go to sleep.

" I now (1932) may add that I noticed by the time he was two years old, that my little son has inherited this faculty. A long illness, or a

number of nights in London or a big city, tend to reduce this sensitiveness, but when I have been long alone or in the country it becomes intensely strong, and I remember being tested once in a thick fog—a fog so blanket-like that one could not see a yard before one's face, when I was being trained by Mr. W. H. Dalton, F.G.S., a member of the Geological Survey. At first he laughed at my saying that I could feel the north, and led me zigzags and twists and turns, and then tested me with his compass. Every time I was dead right. Since I have had an operation however this capacity is much reduced, and I only feel it intermittently, depending, I fancy, on some electrical condition of the atmosphere.

" My passion for solitude resulted in a very curious initiation for me at the beginning of the war. I had, when staying earlier as a guest of Lord and Lady Grey at Howick Castle, been greatly attracted by the long stretches of sandy bays and quiet rocks in the neighbourhood, absolutely out of reach of the tripper, and longed to pitch my tent there, which I did, through their kindness, in the summer of 1914. This time I had not even my sister with me, desiring to be absolutely alone, because I felt within me ripe for birth a very long poem which, at the time, seemed important. Life in my tiny tent, weighing only two pounds, had for years been one of my principal enjoyments, and I fixed my tent

on psamma grass at the corner of a rocky bay with wide stretches of sand between me and the sunsets. There I deliberately cut myself off from everyone, only going into a neighbouring farmhouse now and then to get fresh scones and bread, and having milk brought to me by one of the farmer's bonny children. I deliberately refused to read newspapers, and the result was that I had no conception that even a cloud or rumour of war had settled on Europe. I had not heard of the murders at Sarajevo. One evening however I suddenly felt that the long poem I had come to write had died within me. In the dusk I felt, literally, that I suddenly saw, green and horrible, the corpse of a young man and another standing over him smiting at his dead body. The impression was most vivid, and for two days afterwards I was restless, and could not concentrate in the least on the work I had intended to do. The third night after this, still unconscious that anything in the way of war was affecting Europe, I tucked myself into my sleeping-bag, lying with my head and shoulders outside my tent, as I generally slept, and went off into a sound sleep, to be awakened most startlingly by a young man with a bayonet shouting to me, 'Halt ! Who goes there ?' Wakened out of sleep, I replied rather absurdly, 'Halt yourself; I am lying down.' I had not succeeded in explaining my existence to the young man before another young man with a

fixed bayonet rushed up to him and the bayonets clashed. I thought the two were going to fight each other, both contending that I was their prisoner. Thinking it was some absurd joke and that an appeal to Lord Grey would straighten matters out, I explained that I was there, although not in the house, in a sense as the guest and under the protection of the Greys, and they might leave me in peace until the morning and then decide whose prisoner I really was. Their story that a war was on I took as nonsense. They allowed me to sleep, and by six o'clock in the morning, after some hours of cold wet mists, both of them were very thankful, rancour ended, to creep to my tent for a cup of hot cocoa. One, a young fellow from Manchester, had not weathered a night on a solitary coast before, and his teeth were literally chattering. I got out my maps and directed them to the nearest place where they could get a square meal, and that was the last I heard of being anybody's prisoner. I went however into the village to buy newspapers and, running across Viscount Howick (now Lord Grey), was reassured by his telling me that his uncle, Sir Edward, was at the helm, and doing everything possible to maintain peace. He asked me to hop into his car, and went round villages and outlying districts reassuring and calming the people. Soon warships were stationed directly opposite us and rushed up and down, because a landing

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was actually expected within a mile or two of where I was camping, and the Greys were hurriedly turning Howick Castle into a potential hospital. I think no one who was plunged into the horror of the war thus with no preparation can ever get over the shock of the first few days and of the news of what was done in Belgium. Perhaps the next generation may again feel the ease and security that we all felt before this war but shall never feel again. Since that poem was slain on Howick shore I have never really been able to do the things that I have personally wanted most to do, always being impelled to expend what power I had on things that seem urgently necessary, either in connection with scientific research on coal and fuel, or in connection with the sex and birth-control work. Since the publication of *Married Love* early in 1918, nearly the whole of my time has been spent in a very inadequate response to the anguished cries of poor mothers and their potential babies for the knowledge and help which is available if it can but be brought to them.

" 1918 was an important year ; I published *Married Love*, *Wise Parenthood*, and, in conjunction with Dr. R. V. Wheeler, *The Constitution of Coal*, and I met and married my husband, Humphrey Verdon-Roe.

" In 1920 I was impelled, against my worldly judgment, to publish a brief piece of writing

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called *The New Gospel to All Peoples*. In its preface I explained how and why it was written and sent to each of the bishops in conference at Lambeth in that year. About sending it to the bishops I had no hesitation, my orders were so explicit, but my mundane intelligence was perfectly aware that from a purely worldly point of view I was doing a foolish thing in *publishing* it. The matter was simply taken out of my hands however and my inner life rendered unlivable until I decided to do what was necessary to get it published. When I say that I was unwilling to publish it, I do not mean to imply that I in any way shirk what is said therein ; but knowing the materialistic spirit which rules the greater part of the intellectual world at present, I knew very well that I was, to some extent, jeopardising the approval of those whose opinion I valued. Beyond a little chaff however and the antagonism of a few materialists, I have suffered nothing to weigh in the balance against the wonderful adherence of other souls and the joy of seeing my message spreading in the whole Empire, now often from the lips of others. For instance, that great heroine. Lady Constance Lytton, wrote to me : ' I cannot say how much I thank you for sending me your beautiful *A New Gospel*. It is so reverently given forth, so beautiful in the way it is given. I have promised to write a little article on Constructive Birth Control. I hope you will approve of it, for all I

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know of constructive birth control is through
you.'

" The work for birth control and a reformation in the sex life of the people has for years been a consciously performed task—but all the time I realise that the need for it is a phase in human progress, and my immortal soul has other interests—and a desire ^c to paint the things as I see them for the God of things as they are.' And among the things I have always desired to do is to write a volume of fairy tales. In my opinion, fairy tales rank among the very highest form of literature. I remember Professor Alexander, the Professor of Philosophy, once saying that all our scientific discoveries were ephemeral and bound to be swept away, and that the only really lasting thing anyone could do is to write a poem. I incline now to agree with him, although then I hotly disputed his conclusion. A good fairy tale, being essentially a poem though in prose, might have wellnigh as long a life as a poem. But in the press of work of recent years I have not had time to write the tales I so much desire, and though some have appeared the rest have either been slaughtered unborn, or await the leisure I am always longing once more to have, to do the things that / *want to do* instead of those I am impelled to do by the present crisis in human affairs.

" What am I? An immortal soul, having lived previously to this particular life on earth,

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and destined to live again after my body wears out ; of that I am as certain as that I am in the world at present. *Nothing* can remove me from the universe ; one plays at being human for a while, and it is great fun. *Why* one is given such hard jobs and has to encounter such difficulties on one's own behalf and on behalf of others I don't know, but I still feel as I felt at the age of sixteen and a half when I wrote the poem ' Revelation ' (subsequently published in *Man, Other Poems, and a Preface*), that one should ' be tranquil at the same time that you strive . . . *fox joyous* life alone is perfected.⁵ "

Dr. Stopes is an example of the truth of John Stuart Mill's forecast that as soon as the obstacles that hampered the exercise of women's powers were removed they would prove themselves the equals of the best men in fields where they had heretofore always been regarded as inferior. Though she is a very modern woman, Dr. Stopes, in another aspect, reminds one by the variety of her achievements of those artist-scientists of the Renaissance who, before specialisation had become as customary as it is to-day, claimed all science and all art as their province.

The following chapter supplies a view of her from another angle.

CHAPTER XIII

*Seen by " The Gentleman with a Duster " [Harold Begbie), Who Writes the Following on Dr. Slopes's Mission and Her Personality **

AT the outset of the Great War certain popular newspapers in England opened a campaign of derision against the German soldier. He was represented as a pale and shivering slave of tyranny who had to be chained to his guns and driven forward to attack by officers armed with dog-whips and revolvers.

This campaign, which may have comforted anxious or unbalanced people at home, greatly angered the British Armies in France. They argued that to belittle the courage and discipline of the Prussian soldiery was to cover the British Armies with ridicule. Only by realising the intense devotion and the unquestioning iron discipline of the Prussian hosts, they contended, could people at home comprehend the demands which were being made on the physical endurance and the moral courage of the British soldier.

If these English newspapers created a false impression concerning the British Armies by

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misrepresenting the qualities of the German Armies, those champions and disciples of Dr. Marie Stopes who lightly and derisively dismiss this lady's opponents are in my opinion also, and for a like reason, creating a false and dangerous impression. For to waive contemptuously on one side the opposition with which she has to deal is to minimise the importance of her work ; and to treat as mere hysteria the protests raised against her is to reduce the revolution with which she is concerned to the dimensions of a fad.

In other words, by realising the strength, power, intelligence, and sincerity of her opponents, we are enabled to form a true idea of the nature and extent of her new gospel.

Let us, then, contemplate the condition of things which she first challenged with a rare courage in 1918, and against which ever since she has fought with an admirable tenacity.

It has been held for many centuries that there are certain functions of human nature which should be discussed only in private, as between doctor and patient, or between priest and penitent, or, if discussed publicly, then only in scientific treatises couched in language entirely above the heads of simple people.

This notion was not dictated by prudishness. There are still functions of human nature which no one, however robust and forthright, dreams of discussing in public, and which even the novelist most zealous to attract attention to

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himself does not employ among his startling effects. It is not prudishness at all, but a fine and beautiful sense of fitness which has silently voted these matters out of the arena of public discussion. And behind this aesthetic instinct there has ever been a psychological knowledge which is as true and unchallenged to-day as when it first influenced human conduct—the knowledge that it is healthy to attend to what is beautiful, noble, and pure : and unhealthy to attend to what is base and depraving, or what may become base and depraving.

For example, I believe that an overwhelming majority of experienced schoolmasters still holds that it is far better to awaken in boys at the age of puberty an enthusiasm for athleticism than to set their thoughts wandering into dangerous channels by lectures or conversations on the disturbances of sex.

In the same way, an overwhelming majority of religious guides and instructors believes with absolute honesty that the cure for immorality is not physiological information, however beautifully expressed or spiritually given, but "the expulsive power of a new affection," namely, an impassioned devotion to a life of charity and service.

Marie Stopes, then, has not challenged prudery, nor drawn her sword against a dwindling cohort of religious bigots ; she has challenged a very ancient instinct of the human mind, and drawn

her sword against an overwhelming majority of the human race. Against her is arrayed, not merely the drilled regiments of clericalism, nor the flustered contingents of Mrs. Grundy, though these in the eyes of some people appear to be her only attackers, but rather those unnumbered multitudes of mankind who live by instinct and build their citadels of defence against innovation upon the rock of human experience.

Now, it is not easy to understand why she has thus set herself up against the whole world unless one goes to her and questions her on the deepest and most forceful energy in her soul—the impulse which has moved her to face the scorn and obloquy of the righteous, and to dare the grins and cackles of the impure. She tells one, when she is questioned on this matter, that she feels herself to be a prophet. She believes, whatever we may choose to think of her or of her crusade, that she has been called by a divine Providence to this difficult and almost heart-breaking work. She has no doubt in her mind that she is leading a revolution, and she never questions for a moment that in the centuries to come a purer and a greatly ennobled race will look back to this time of transition and call her blessed.

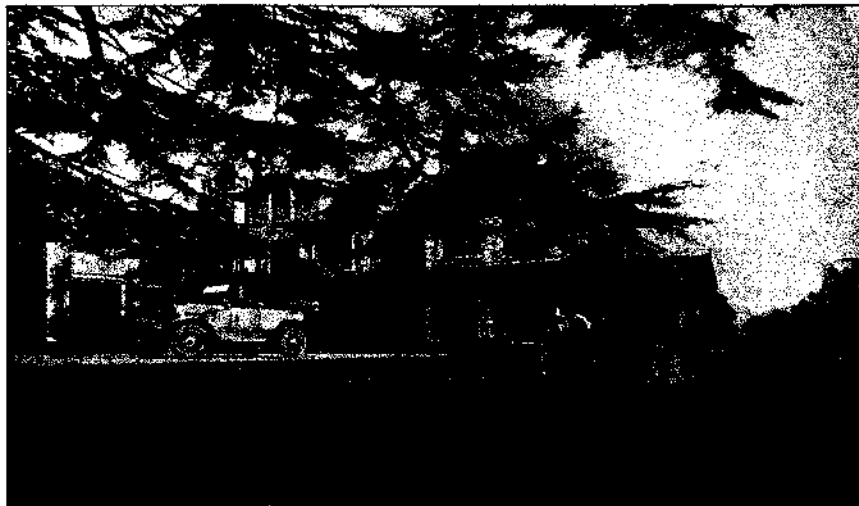
It is permissible, of course, to say that she is suffering from the distorting disease of egomania, and that she is clearly as neurotic as Joan of Arc, Joanna Southcott, or Mrs. Eddy ; but, even

if we are right, before we can justly dismiss her as a person no more likely to help the human race than any other woman whose self-centred mentality has been overwhelmed by the tremendous impulse of religion, it is surely clear that we must closely examine the end to which she is working, and inquire into the condition of things which she would overthrow.

Her aim may be defined in the simple words *human happiness*. The condition of things she would abolish may be defined in the equally simple words, *human misery*. And the one weapon she employs for both purposes is *knowledge*.

She believes that the great flood of misery which spreads its dark tide over the sphere of civilisation can be traced back to the headwaters of ignorance ; and she believes that human happiness can be attained in this difficult and hostile world only by that knowledge which gives men mastery over themselves and their environment.

She is out of love with the patchers and tinkers of politics, and out of love, too, with the pathetic disciples of organised philanthropy ; indeed, she is so consumed by her mission that she will not readily lend a patient ear to any reformer or idealist whose starting-point is not the fountain of life. For example, she sees that it is of little use to abolish slums and build garden cities, and little use to employ the pomp and ceremony of the altar for obtaining heaven's



: Dr. Stopes as gardener, and her husband wi

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mercy and assistance, and little use to run industriously about the world collecting subscriptions for hospitals, prisoners' aid societies, slum missions, and seaside holidays for children, while the fount of life itself, the source of all misery and ruin, is left entirely to those two forces which science most sternly condemns, ignorance and chance.

If we are to wipe away from this beautiful earth the great shame of human misery, and if we are to save our imperilled civilisation from destruction at the hands of violence and brutality, or at the hands of political pedagogues and shallow-pated economists, it is essential, so she tells us, that we must bring into existence a generation of men and women capable of happiness, and essential that we should cease to bring into existence a swarming mass of men and women tainted from their birth by depravity and disease.

Her whole gospel, so unfairly misrepresented, distorted, and crudely caricatured, by those of her opponents who are timorous and therefore cowardly, is creative. It aims, not at depopulating the world, but at populating the earth with only those children of men capable of feeling gratitude for the gift of existence, and capable, too, of enjoying with the highest sense of delight those great and gracious things which make the full life of man a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. Because in her view this consummation

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is inconceivable without widespread knowledge concerning the mysteries of human birth, and because until that saving knowledge is spread widely abroad, civilisation must stand in the utmost peril, she, the prophet, the inspired person, the apostle trembling with joy at the greatness of her gospel, has paused on her way to the future to speak openly to men and women of physiological things hitherto hidden and secret ; but this duty has never seemed to her the heart and soul of her message, and often she has been roused to anger by the apparent determination of so many people to treat her only as a sort of poetical midwife obsessed by a few physical details of the marriage union. Her mission, she insists, is something much more than this ; it is a higher human creature, and a civilisation safe from the destroying power of ignorance and depravity.

Marie Stopes is in love with the perfect child, the child perfect in form, perfect in health, perfect in the joy of an intelligent mind. Always before her eyes there is this vision of the perfect child, laughing into the eyes of its mother as it lies in her lap ; and questioning all things in nature with intelligent delight as it takes the hand of its father and goes forward to its own manhood and the future of the world.

This child, she declares, cannot be born of a diseased father and a worn-out mother. God's law is against so beautiful a consequence from

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causes so unnatural. The father must be healthy, the mother must be healthy, and both father and mother must love each other as one flesh, and both must ardently desire the birth of this perfect child. And the perfect child, in her eyes, is always the future citizen of an ennobled civilisation in which science and art, virtue and religion, happiness and "joy in widest commonalty spread," will flourish as they have never yet flourished in the history of mankind.

This is the gospel that Marie Stopes has proclaimed to the great scandal of the world, and it is a gospel which science endorses, and which no man in his right senses can justly question. It is the gospel of natural law, the gospel of cause and effect, and until it is accepted by the world there can be no subsidence of the flood of misery, no emergence of a safe, vigorous, and heaven-approved civilisation.

As I understand Marie Stopes, vice could not have an enemy stronger or more implacable than she, nor sexual levity a critic more contemptuous or rebukeful. It is not to lower the ancient standards of morality, but infinitely to exalt them that she has faced the world with a drawn sword and the unconquerable faith of one who feels that she is obeying the beck of the Spirit. Not to make flirtation an amusement, and marriage a drowning-party, and parentage a wearing accident, does she proclaim the rewards of love with a lyrical rapture, but rather to dignify

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the whole drama of the affections, and to elevate the entire epic of the human heart. She would have men turn from the vanity of philandering, and women from the folly of flirtation, each to look about them, with eyes of intelligence and a mind that cannot be deceived, for the mate who alone can fulfil the dream of love. Love with her is among the virtues ; whenever it moves towards the vices it loses its nature and ceases to be love.

Why, then, is she opposed ? It is because many sincere and intelligent people feel that she is seeking this end, of which they entirely approve, by methods which are disgusting and repellent. These people say that restraint is of the very essence of life, as of art, and that Marie Stopes has thrown restraint to the winds, has written with an intolerable freedom of things only to be decently discussed in the language of medical science, and has violently torn down the immemorial veil of modesty which once hung between individual love and the general question. Could she not have worked for her revolution, say these critics, without laying such violent hands on this ancient and sacred veil of modesty ?

I confess that there are a few phrases and terms in one or two of her books which I could wish away, phrases and terms which trouble me ; but this, I recognise, is rather a temperamental recoil than a reasoned criticism.

Moreover, her books are singularly free from a terminology which most writers on sex questions have either uncritically adopted from crude authors of the past, or employed out of a degraded pleasure in forbidden words. Dr. Marie Stopes has indeed almost invented a sex language of her own, and has, I know, exercised an infinite care to avoid giving offence to the most sensitive temperament ; but here and there I find a phrase or a term which strikes a jarring note, and which may, I think, slightly embarrass readers even less susceptible to such shocks than I am. Moreover, I feel that she is sometimes so completely under the power of her own self-persuading eloquence that her critical faculty is for the moment arrested, and she is more concerned to smite her enemies hip and thigh than to make proselytes among the hesitant and fearful multitudes. But, surely, these are small blemishes in works which deal intimately with the most delicate of all subjects open to human discussion, and works, too, which are mainly characterised by an admirable taste in words and inspired by a most effective rhythm of language.

But on the general question of restraint and modesty, I feel that her case is unanswerable. She would not, I am sure, tear down the veil which is so sacred to many people if she were not entirely assured, and with the most compelling good reason for that assurance, that this

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veil is no longer to be called the veil of beautiful restraint, but rather the veil of most dangerous ignorance. In other words, if the world were more perfect than it now is, and civilisation safer, she would be among those who hold modesty and restraint to be sacred things : but now that modesty and restraint in this matter have become only synonyms for darkness and ignorance, she declares that anyone who really loves the human race, and who truly cares for the future of civilisation, will not scruple to tear down all obstacles in the way of truth, and to uncover everything hidden which has become, because of its covering, a menace to the happiness and health of the human race.

If the reader considers that there is really no need for knowledge on this subject, and that humanity can be trusted to find its way to millennium, I would invite him to pay a visit to our hospitals, to study the reports issued by the Ministry of Health, and to ponder this observation on the London populace written by a very careful and trained observer : " . . . the people who bear the distinctive stamp of that physical and mental degradation which comes from the slums and purlieus of this duskiest of modern Babylons—the pallid, stunted, misbegotten and in every way miserable figures. These people swarm in every London crowd, and I know of none in any other place that suggest an equal depth of degradation." (*English Hours*,

by Henry James.) And let this reader also bear in mind that in addition to the visible degradation of our swarming multitudes there is an equal depth of suffering, physical and mental, among these pallid, stunted, misbegotten, and in every way miserable figures. It is not possible, I feel confident, for any man who really knows the terrible condition of our English humanity, a condition which seems to defy all the unsleeping skill and incomparable devotion of our greatly improved medical service, to say that Marie Stopes is not standing on the firmest conceivable ground when she claims that modesty and restraint in this matter of birth have become synonyms for darkness and ignorance, and that knowledge, fearless as the love of God, is essential to save us from degeneration and decay.

In person this revolutionist of human life is so altogether unlike a revolutionist that one is a little staggered at first by her announcement of a mission. She is small, and slight, with smiling large eyes in a face a little overlong, the complexion fresh as a girl's, the lips charming with gaiety and amusement, the manner engagingly demure. Her taste in dress is on the bright side of things, and faring forth to a London garden-party, and arrayed in a frock of several joyous colours, she makes rather an unusual picture in the streets—the picture, as it were, of a country girl letting herself go with a cheerful complacency in the adoration of the

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swain who is hurrying to meet her with all his fervent might. Whatever she may be wearing, however, the chief attraction of her appearance dwells in eyes so large and luminous, so happy and gay, that one is conscious in her of a quality which Mrs. Langtry once told me was her own claim to beauty, the quality of radiance. From Marie Stopes there comes a light and a warmth which seems to be rather the glow of her personality than the colouring and texture of her skin. A creature so bright and quiet, so evidently in love with life and amused by its comedy, is singularly attractive in a dull world, and some people may even regret that she has put her hand to a work which might so easily depress and sadden her.

In conversation she is at first disposed to a little demure fencing, playing with her visitor's mind, stealing glances into the thoughts at the back of that mind, uttering now a simple girl's hesitating inquiry, with a very innocent expression in her eyes, now the extremely shrewd remark of a very penetrating and lucid intelligence, accompanied by a challenging glance, and perhaps a laugh of amusement. Behind the primness of her manner, and the slightly mischievous character of these early remarks, the visitor is always aware, however, of an unmistakable self-possession in this little lady who is so great a revolutionist.

But when her confidence is won, and sympathy

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firmly established, she becomes a very different person. In a voice low and gentle, sitting very still, with her hands in her lap, her large eyes, almost childlike in their expression of wonder and eagerness, she will speak of the thing which is most sacred in her life, the divine impulse, as she calls it, which has impelled her to this crusade for a nobler creature and a greater civilisation.

Then one feels in her an unmistakable power, not strident and trampling, but restrained and tense, a power that gives dignity to her prettiness and magic to her utterance, so that one listens with a new attention in the mind, anxious to understand something unusual and very impressive, rather than to cross-examine and criticise.

According to her, she has been directly conscious of spiritual inspiration in this crusade for a safer and nobler civilisation, and can take her visitor to places in a garden or a wood where suddenly she found herself possessed by a driving power which declared, " This you shall write," or " Thus you shall act."

All through her life, which has been from childhood a life of great simplicity and peace, characterised by academic interests, she has been conscious from time to time of strange movements in her mind, sudden and inexplicable, which informed her of things to come, often quite trivial things, but things which she could not

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have known by other means. And I think that in spite of strenuous work in science, of brilliant successes as a teacher and thinker, and of more than one great tragedy in her life, she has preserved to this day something of the open mind of a child to influences outside our human ken. She has never made upon me the impression of a great reformer or a brilliant scientific authority, but always and only the impression of a person really conscious of inspiration. There have been times when I have felt that her inspiration is almost too much for her, moments when it has seemed to me that she has been carried dangerously far by the sense of her relation to invisible forces ; but the total impression she has made upon me, and the memory of her now clearest in my mind, is that of a very sincere and childlike person, demure in manner, gentle in spirit, kindly in disposition, and extraordinarily happy.

That she is ambitious, impetuous, and capable of handling her affairs with force and shrewd judgment, I have little doubt; but I shall believe that at the heart and centre of her eventful life there is the spirit of a child, a child sometimes mischievous, sometimes overawed by mystery, sometimes very solemn and sedate, and sometimes overflowing with a rich and delightful playfulness, but always perfectly sincere and entirely unaffected.

Her crusade has exposed her to calumny and

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contempt, but it still thrills her with the conviction that it is part of God's providence, which in its ultimate triumph will give this beautiful earth a worthier humanity. Here I have ventured only to explain as best I can to those thoughtful and serious people who instinctively turn from a crusade of this nature, that the thesis of Marie Stopes is a rational one, that her crusade is a necessary one, and that she herself is worthy not only of this generation's respect but of its gratitude.

CHAPTER XIV

Thoroughness and its Consequences

IN so long a struggle arousing such strong feeling, and with a powerful organisation systematically opposed to her, Dr. Stopes would assuredly have been discredited and broken had she not been standing on firm ground and working with a thoroughness which again and again enabled her to revindicate her principles amid apparent defeat.

That thoroughness has lifted the subject she dealt with from the gutter, rescued it from the confused, conflicting, and often unscientific *dicta* of the old Malthusian leagues, and made the subject, that fifteen years ago was a " controversial " outcast, the theme of a course of lectures at the Royal Institute of Public Health for the technical instruction of members of the medical profession.

There, in 1930, she assisted in arranging the first course of medical instructional lectures on contraceptive technique ever delivered.

The syllabus of that course, here reproduced, shows the position the subject now occupies in the medical world.

The first Technical Course of Lectures on this subject.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

Patron : His MAJESTY THE KING.

A Course of Lectures on

" CONTRACEPTION AND ALLIED QUESTIONS "

will be delivered in the

Lecture Hall of the Institute, 37, Russell Square, London, W.C.i.

IN the interests of Public and Personal Health the Council of The Royal Institute of Public Health have arranged for the following course of lectures.

C)
to

The subjects dealt with are of special importance at the present time, particularly in view of the Memorandum recently prepared by the Ministry of Health for the guidance of Local Authorities ; and also the fact that the Medical Schools in this country do not provide courses of instruction on the subjects. The Course has been specially planned to meet the needs of Medical Practitioners and Senior Medical Students.

Date and Time, 1 1930-	Subject	Lecturer.	j	Chairman.
Thursday, October 9, 4 p.m. j I	\ Christian Civilisation and Contraception.	Rev. A Herbert Gray, D D.	The Right Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, D.D. Formerly Lord Bishop of Birmingham.	

Date and Time, 1930.	Subject.	Lecturer.	Chairman.	MARIE STOPES : HER WORK AND PLAY
Thursday, October 16, 4 p m .	Contraception and the Medical Officer of Health.	C. Killick Millard, M D ,D Se Medical Officer of Health, City of Leicester.	C J. Bond, C.M.G., F.R.C S. Hon. Consulting Surgeon, Leicester Royal Infirmary.	
Thursday, October 23, 4 p m .	Some Medico-Legal Aspects of Contraception.	Alfred Goodman, Barnster-at-Law.	Colonel Sir William R. Smith, MD., J.P., D.L.	
Thursday, October 30, 4 p m .	Sterilisation of the Unfit	C P Blacker, M C , M A . , M.R.C.P. Secretary of Special Steri- lisation Committee, The Eugemics Society.	R.A Gibbons, M.D., F.R C.S., M R.C.P. Gynaecologist, Grosvenor Hospital for Women.	
Thursday, November 6, 4 p m .	History and Theory of Con- traceptive Technique.	Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L S., etc. Fellow, University College, London.	Sir Arbuthnot Lane, Bart. C.B.. M.B., M.S.	
Thursday, November 13, 4 p.m.	Present-Day Technique and Clinical Results in Contra- ception.	ManeC. Stopes, D.Sc, Ph D., F.L S., etc. Fellow, University College, London.	The Right Hon. Earl Russell, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India.	
Thursday, November 20, 4 p.m.	Contraceptive Problems of Destitute or Injured Women.	Dr. Maude E. Kerslake.	Dr. Jane L. Hawthorne.	

Date and Time, 1930.	Subject.	Lecturer.	Chairman.
Thursday, November 27, 4 p.m.	Contraceptive Responsibilities of the Medical Practitioner.	Harold Chappie, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.S. Senior Obstetric Surgeon and Gynaecologist, Guy's Hospital.	E B Turner, F.R.C.S. Vice-President, British Social Hygiene Council.
Thursday, December 4, 4 p.m.	Medical Arguments against Contraception.	F. J. McCann, M.D., F.R.C.S. M.R.C.P. Consulting Surgeon, Samaritan Free Hospital for Women.	Harry Campbell, M.D., F.R.C.P. Consulting Physician, West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases.
Thursday, December 11, 4 p.m.	Positive and Negative Control of Conception. Various Technical Aspects.	Mane C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., etc. Fellow, University College, London.	Sir James Barr, C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.P. Vice-President, British Medical Association.

Admission to the Lectures is free, but is restricted to Members of the Medical Profession and to Senior Medical Students.

Further particulars may be obtained on application to the Secretary, The Royal Institute of Public Health, 37, Russell Square, London, W.G.i.

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This was followed, in 1931, by another course of lectures and practical technical demonstrations at the clinic on various types of women.

The first week of July, 1930, brought to achievement one of the most cherished purposes of Dr. Stopes's life. The object of the pioneer Birth-Control Clinic, as framed and hung up on its walls when it was first opened in 1921, was as follows :

"This, the first Birth Control Clinic in the British Empire, was opened on the 17th of March, 1921, by Humphrey Verdon Roe and his wife Marie Carmichael Stopes, in order to show by actual example what might be done for mothers and their children with no great difficulty, and what should be done all over the world when once the idea takes root in the public mind that motherhood should be voluntary and guided by the best scientific knowledge available.

" This Clinic is free to all, and is supported entirely by the two founders. Those who have benefited by its help are asked to hand on the knowledge of its existence to others and help to create a public opinion which will force the Ministry of Health to include a similar service in Ante-Natal and Welfare Centres already supported by the Government in every district."

The vital point of this was the purpose to " help to create a public opinion which will

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force the Ministry of Health to include a
similar service in Ante-Natal and Welfare
Centres.⁵⁵

At last, in July 1930, an Under Secretary of
State brought to Dr. Stopes at Hindhead a
personal message from the Cabinet that opposition
to her work would cease. Later that month the
" Permissive⁵⁵ memorandum of the Ministry
of Health was circulated from Whitehall in
typescript and published in the *Birth Control
Mews* in September, 1930, being published
officially later in printed form in March, 1931.
These facts and their sequence should be well
noted, for since these and other recent events
have made birth control ^{cc} respectable,⁵⁵ other
organisations and committees and groups of
people have appeared which, whatever they
may do to help or hinder the cause, should not
be allowed to rob Dr. Stopes of the credit due
to her for what her tireless, and often concealed,
work and influence accomplished when it was
difficult and dangerous to deal with the subject.

The Ministry of Health's memorandum referred
to above was as follows :

" G.R.

" *Memo. 153.*

" *M.C.W.*

" BIRTH CONTROL.

" (1) The Minister of Health is authorised
to state that the Government have had under
consideration the question of the use of
institutions which are controlled by Local

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Authorities for the purpose of giving advice to women on contraceptive methods.

" (2) So far as Maternity and Child Welfare Centres (including Ante-Natal Centres) are concerned, these Centres can properly deal only with expectant mothers, nursing mothers, and young children, and it is the view of the Government that it is not the function of the Centres to give advice in regard to birth control and that their use for such a purpose would be likely to damage the proper work of the Centres. At the same time the Government consider that, in cases where there are *medical grounds* for giving advice on contraceptive methods to married women in attendance at the Centres, it may be given, but that such advice should be limited to *cases where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health*, and should be given at a separate session and under conditions such as will not disturb the normal and primary work of the Centre. The Minister will accordingly be unable to sanction any proposal for the use of these Centres for giving birth control advice in other cases.

" (3) The Government are advised that Local Authorities have no general power to establish birth control clinics as such, but that under the Notifications of Births (Extension) Act, 1915, which enables Local Authorities to exercise the powers of the Public Health Acts for the purpose of the care of expectant mothers and nursing

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mothers, it may properly be held that birth control clinics can be provided for these limited classes of women. Having regard to the acute division of public opinion on the subject of birth control, the Government have decided that no Departmental sanction which may be necessary to the establishment of such clinics for expectant and nursing mothers shall be given except on condition that contraceptive advice will be given only in cases where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health.

" (4) Under the Public Health Acts, Local Authorities have power to provide clinics at which medical advice and treatment would be available for women suffering from gynaecological conditions. But the enactments governing the provision of such clinics limit their availability to sick persons, and the Government have decided that any Departmental sanction which may be necessary to the establishment of such clinics shall be given only on the following conditions : (1) That the clinics will be available only for women who are in need of medical advice and treatment for gynaecological conditions ; and (2) that advice on contraceptive methods will be given only to married women who attend the clinics for such medical advice or treatment, and in whose cases pregnancy would be detrimental to health.

" Ministry of Health,
"July, 1930"

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A striking example of Dr. Stopes's persistence in cases where she knows the public are being misled was that of Dr. McIlroy's pronouncement against the use of the check pessary. The matter has been alluded to in a previous chapter (page 195), but the following fuller account, written by Dr. Stopes herself, is worth keeping on record :

" However carefully prepared a lecture or an article may be, it seldom produces the effect of testimony given on oath under cross-examination. Consequently, the public and also more instructed persons, such as some of the members of the House of Lords, have repeatedly turned to certain medical evidence given in the witness box in the Birth Control Case of *Stopes v. Sutherland*, which was tried by the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury in 1923.

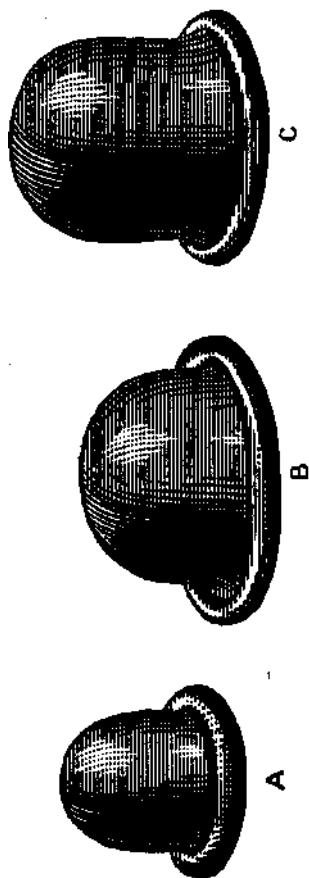
" Several distinguished medical practitioners gave evidence favourable, not only to birth control in general but explicitly to the methods used by the C.B.C. Clinic in particular, but I will here confine myself to consideration of the hostile evidence given by one well-known witness."

Dr. Stopes then quotes the evidence given at the trial and previously mentioned on pages 192-5, and continues as follows :

" That Professor McIlroy was totally ignorant of the practical use of vaginal caps before the trial her words spoken on oath testify, but some

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time after this she evidently altered her opinion of rubber caps, for it came to my knowledge from patients who attended the C.B.C. Clinic



A and C.—Vaginal rubber caps used at Dr. Stopes's Clinic.

B.—Vaginal rubber cap fitted by Prof. McIlroy in the circumstances described herewith.

(From one photograph of the three caps side by side.)

that she was using caps for her own patients at the Royal Free Hospital. This is, of course, a

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practical testimonial to the method for the advocacy of which I have suffered so much, and I welcomed Professor Mcllroy's conversion to the usefulness of the vaginal rubber cap, but asked myself why she did not make public her change of view if this report were true.

" Knowing how unreliable may be the reports of the poor patients, and how easily they are mistaken, I doubted whether Professor Mcllroy could be using vaginal caps without any open acknowledgment of her change of view, in face of the great injury she had done me before she became a convert to their use, and that I ought not to do her the injustice of assuming that this was so without irrefutable proof. Feeling that as the public is now so very widely converted to the usefulness of contraceptive practice and that the minority who hesitate are largely influenced by ' medical opinion ' supposed to be against, I felt that it was very important to sift the hostile medical evidence.

" Hence, when I heard that Professor Mcllroy was inserting rubber caps, instead of accepting hearsay evidence I thought that the most illuminating as well as the most interesting course to pursue would be to disguise myself as a poor woman, and submit myself to the out-patients' department of the Royal Free Hospital for instruction in Birth Control. This I did.

" First, I had to disguise myself, not as in the theatre merely to make up the face to carry

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conviction across the footlights to a distant audience, but for daylight scrutiny at close quarters—a much more difficult matter. This I effected, and ultimately presented the appearance of a work-grimed charwoman. Choosing the out-patients' day, I waited on a form in the ante-room of the reception-room. Three hours later I left the hospital with the vaginal rubber cap, which had been advised and inserted in me by Professor McIlroy."

That is an admirable example of the way that "medical evidence" (valid enough against certain undesirable methods of birth control) hostile to the well-tested methods in use at the C.B.C. clinics, crumples up as soon as it is exposed to thorough and searching examination. The difficulty is that such evidence is generally so vague, elusive, and protean in form, that it long continues to serve as a bogey. As soon as one head is cut off, fresh ones are stuck on to make it look as terrible as ever.

On coming away after those exhausting hours at the Royal Free Hospital—where the hard benches and long waiting had tired her body and the strain had tried her mind—Dr. Stopes was nearly dead beat, and as soon as she was well out of sight of the hospital she summoned a taxi, but was simply jeered at—the taxi would not stop. She hailed a second, a third, and a fourth, with like result—jocular retorts or silent scorn were all she could get from them, and

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she had to realise that her make-up as a char-woman was so good that the taxi men were taken in by it, as no doubt the police would have been had she stumbled or reeled, as she felt very much like doing. She feared to be arrested as a " drunk," or taken back to hospital as a " case," but had no option but to plod her weary way back to her nearest refuge. The velvet ankle-boots of old-fashioned make she was wearing were lined with flannel, and she had not realised how terribly hot they would be to walk in. Still she felt that the information she had gained was well worth what she had to suffer, for the " medical evidence " of Dr. McIlroy had been one of the best cards held by the opponents of birth control.

The Lambeth resolution, the Papal Encyclical, the Ministry of Health's memorandum, and the general attitude now adopted by prominent doctors and divines, indicate that the birth-control movement, which was despised and rejected as recently as fifteen years ago when Dr. Stopes began her work, is now recognised as an important and necessary factor in our national life. Being a personal friend of Dr. Stopes's and having myself been connected with the C.B.G. movement from its inception, it is hardly for me to eulogise her or her work more than I have done by incidental remarks in this volume, and it remains only to express the hope that all who realise the importance of her move-

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ment will spread the knowledge of what has been and is being done, and will uphold its leader's hands in such struggles as may yet be forthcoming.

Cunning attempts on the freedom of the press in this country are not improbable, following on the success that has been achieved in the Free State. Should it eventuate, may the friends of freedom be on the alert promptly to prove themselves not less numerous and influential than its foes.

APPENDIX A

List of Dr. Stopes's Publications

A. SOCIOLOGICAL WORKS

FOR GENERAL READERS

MARRIED LOVE. First published by Fifield, 1918, now in *10th Edition*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. xxi, 1-169. Price 6s. net. *Translated into Aafrikaans, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Polish, Hungarian, Czech, Rumanian.*

ENDURING PASSION: Continuation of "Married Love." First published by Putnam's, 1928. Pp. 216. Price 6s. net.

WISE PARENTHOOD. First published by Fifield, 1918, now in *18th Edition*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. Pp. xii, 1-62. Price 3s. 6d. net. *Translated into Danish, Swedish, German, Dutch, Czech, Spanish, Hungarian.*

A LETTER TO WORKING MOTHERS. Published by the Author, 1919, now by the Clinic. Pp. 1-16. Pricc31.net.

RADIANT MOTHERHOOD. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, now in *10th Edition*. Pp. ix, 1-236. Price 6s. net.

CONTRACEPTION—ITS THEORY, HISTORY, AND PRACTICE. First published by Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1923. Pp. xxiii, 1-418. Price 12s. 6d. net, now published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, *3rd Edition* 1931. Pp. xxvii, 1-487. *Translated into Spanish.*

TRUTH ABOUT VENEREAL DISEASE. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. Pp. vii, 1-52. Price 3s. 6d. net.

A NEW GOSPEL. Printed privately June, 1920. Published by A. L. Humphreys, 1922, then by Hatchards. Pp. 1-27. Price 2s. 6d. net, now by the Clinic.

MOTHER ENGLAND. Published by Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1929. Pp. vi, 1-206. *2nd Edition* 1930. Price 10s. 6d. net.

EARLY DAYS OF BIRTH CONTROL. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. Pp. 1-32. Price 9d. net. (Out of print.)

MOTHER, HOW WAS I BORN ? Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. Pp. 1-25. Price 6d. net.

THE CONTROL OF PARENTHOOD. By Bishop Russell-Wakefield and others. Edited by Rev. Sir James Marchant. *8th Impression.* (One chapter in this.) Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920.

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QUEEN'S HALL MEETING ON C.B.C. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. Pp. 1-48. (Contains verbatim report of Dr. Stopes's speech.) Price u. net.

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE TOWN HALL MEETING. Published by the Voluntary Parenthood League, New York City, 1921. Pp. 1-23. (Contains verbatim report of Dr. Stopes's speech.)

THE FIRST FIVE THOUSAND. Being the First Report of the First British Birth Control Clinic. Published by Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1925. Pp. 1-67. Price 2?. 6d. net.

THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS. Published by Gill, 1926. Pp. 221, 53 text figs. Pis. I-VII. Price, fkr. Gd. net. Putnam's cheap Edition 31. 6d.

SEX AND THE YOUNG. Published by Gill, 1926. Pp. 190. Price 6s. 6d. net. Putnam's cheap Edition 33. 6d.

TEN THOUSAND CASES. Preliminary notes on various technical aspects of the Control of Conception. Based on the Analysed Data from Ten Thousand Cases attending the Pioneer Mothers' Clinic, London. Pp. 44. Published by the Clinic. Price 6d.

COITAL INTERLOCKING. Published by The Mothers' Clinic for Constructive Birth Control, 1930. Pp. G. Price Also in *Clinical Medicine and Surgery*, vol. 38, No. 3, March, 1931, pp. 179-180.

EARLY VAGINAL CONTRACEPTIVES. Reprinted from *Clinical Medicine and Surgery*, vol. 38, No. 12, December, 1931, pp. 889-90.

THE FLIMSY FOUNDATIONS OF THE ANTICONTRACEPTIONISTS. Reprinted from the *Medical Journal and Record*, November 18th, 1931.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CONTROL OF CONCEPTION IN ITS VARIOUS TECHNICAL ASPECTS. Reprinted from *The Journal of State Medicine*, vol. 34, No. 6, June, 1931, PP- 354-360-

SOME FIGURES ON THE EFFECT OF UTERINE CROWDING BASED ON TEN THOUSAND CLINICAL CASES. Published by the Comitato Italiano Per lo Studio Dei Problemi Delia Popolazione, Rome, 1932. Pp. 6.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO CONTRACEPTION ANSWERED. First published as a chapter in "Contraception—its Theory, History and Practice," June 27th, 1932. Reprinted thus four times. Published as separate pamphlet, October, 1931. Bale, Sons & Danielsson. Pp.48. Price 6d.

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THE CAPTURE OF PROFESSOR MCILROY'S CAP. Published in *The Medical Times and Long Island Medical Journal*, vol. 59, No. 1, pp. 36.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VAGINALEN KONTRAZEPTION. Published in the *Sonderabdruck aus dem zentralblatU fur Gynakologie*, 1931. Nr. 34.

B. ELEMENTARY SCIENCE

ANCIENT PLANTS. Published by Blackie & Son, 1910. Pp. viii, 1-199- Price 4s. 6d. net.

THE STUDY OF PLANT LIFE. Published by Blackie & Son, 1906. Pp. xii, 1-202. Price 3s. 6d. net.

EXPLOITATION OF PLANTS. Edited by Professor Oliver. Published by Dent. (One chapter in this.)

SPORTOPHYTE, THE BOTANICAL PUNCH. Founded and Edited for the years 1911-1914.

C. PLAYS

PLAYS OF OLD JAPAN, THE N5. (With Professor J. Sakurai.) Published by Heinemann, 1913. Pp. 1-102 illustrated. Price 5s. net. Reprinted facsimile with paper covers, 1927, Eclipse Press. Price 3s. 6d.

A JAPANESE MEDLEVAL DRAMA. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 29 (separate), pp. 1-26. (Out of print.)

CONQUEST. A Three Act Play. Published by French. Pp. 1-94. Price is. net.

GOLD IN THE WOOD AND THE RACE. Two Plays published by Fifiield, 1918. Pp. 1-101. Price 2s. net.

OUR OSTRICHES. Produced at the Court Theatre. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. Pp. 1-105. [2J.net](#). 2nd Edition, 1930. Cloth. Price 3s. 6d. Pp. 106.

A BANNED PLAY AND A PREFACE ON THE CENSORSHIP. Published by Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1926. Pp. 1-144. Price 5s. net.

D. LITERARY AND TRAVEL

MAN, OTHER POEMS AND A PREFACE. Published by Heinemann, 1914. Pp. 1-76. Price 3s. 6d. net.

A JOURNAL FROM JAPAN. Published by Blackie, 1910. Pp. 1-250. [Price 7s.-6d.net](#). (Out of print.)

Also fairy stories in the *Fortnightly Review*, *English Review*; articles in *The Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Science Progress*; Reviews in the *Athenaeum*, etc.

A P P E N D I X A

FICTION

Under the name of *Marie Carmichael*. LOVE'S CREATION, a novel. Published by Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1928. Pp. 416.

Under the name *Erica Fay*. A ROAD TO FAIRYLAND. Published by Putnam, 1926. Pp. 219, with Frontispiece by A. Rackham. 2nd Edition 2s. 6d.

APPENDIX B

SCIENTIFIC MEMOIRS, Etc., EMBODYING HER NEW DISCOVERIES

FOR SCIENTIFIC EXPERTS

CONTRIBUTION PALEOBOTANIQUE A LA CONNAISSANCE DU CHARBON. Resume" of Communication to the Congress in Paris. Published in *Chaleur et Industrie*, Paris, 1923.

THE SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION OF COAL. (With Professor R. V. Wheeler.) Bulletin No. 1 of "Fuel." Published *Colliery Guardian*, London, 1923. Pp. 1-125, 2 plates and text figs.

TERMINOLOGY IN COAL RESEARCH. (With Professor R. V. Wheeler.) In "Fuel," London, 1923, pp. 5-9, 1 plate.

THE CONSTITUTION OF COAL, PALEOBOTANICAL ASPECTS. Lecture published (with those of others in pamphlet called "Coal"), *Colliery Guardian* Company, London, 1922, pp. 1-8, and text figs.

THE MISSING LINK IN OSMUNDITES. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 35, 1921, pp. 56-61, text fig. and plate.

Bennettites Scotii, Sp. Nov., A EUROPEAN PETRIFICATION WITH FOLIAGE. Extr. *Linnean Society's Journal*, 1920, vol. 44, pp. 483-496, plates xix and xx.

THE FOUR VISIBLE INGREDIENTS IN BANDED BITUMINOUS COAL : STUDIES IN THE COMPOSITION OF COAL. NO. I. *Proceedings Royal Society B*, vol. 90, 1919. Pp. 470-487, plates xi and xii.

NEW BENNETTITEAN CONES FROM THE BRITISH CRETACEOUS. *Phil. Transactions Royal Society B*, vol. 208, 1918, pp. 389-440, plates xix-xxiv.

THE CONSTITUTION OF GOAL. (With Dr. R. V. Wheeler.) Monograph, published by H.M. Stationery Office for the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, 1918, pp. 1-58, plates i-iii.

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- ROOTS IN BENNETTITES. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 31, 1917, No. 122, pp. 257-259, plate xiv.
- PLANTS AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL POWER in THE EXPLOITATION OF PLANTS. Edited by Professor F. W. Oliver. Published Dent, 1917. Pp. 155-170.
- AN EARLY TYPE OF THE ABIETINEÆ (?) FROM THE CRETACEOUS OF NEW ZEALAND. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 30, 1916, pp. 111-125, text figs. 1-7, plates iv.
- THE CRETACEOUS FLORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (NATURAL HISTORY), PART I: BIBLIOGRAPHY, ALGÆ AND FUNGI. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1913. Pp. i-xxiii, 1-285, plates i-xi, 25 text figs.
- THE CRETACEOUS FLORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (NATURAL HISTORY), PART II: LOWER GREENSAND (APTIAN) PLANTS OF BRITAIN. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1915, pp. i-xxxvi, 1-360, plates i-xxxii, 112 text figs.
- THE " FERNLEDGES " CARBONIFEROUS FLORA OF ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK. Published by the Geological Survey of Canada: Memoir 41, Ottawa, 1914. Pp. i-vi, 1-142, plates i-xxv, 21 text figs.
- A NEW CRETACEOUS PLANT FROM NIGERIA. *Geological Magazine*, December 5th, 1914, vol. 1, No. 604, pp. 433-435, plate xxxiii, text fig.
- A NEW ARAUCARIOXYLON FROM NEW ZEALAND. (Published by permission of the Director of the Geological Survey of New Zealand.) *Annals of Botany*, vol. 28, 1914, pp. 341-350, plates xx, text figs. 1-3.
- PALEOBOTANY: ITS PAST AND ITS FUTURE. *Knowledge*, vol. 37, 1914, pp. 15-24, figs. 24-30.
- PALEOBOTANY VERSUS STRATIGRAPHY IN NEW BRUNSWICK. *British Association Report*, 1912, Dundee.
- THE RED CRAG PORTRAIT. *Geological Magazine*, vol. 9, December 5th, 1912, pp. 285-6, text fig. 1.
- PETRIFACTIONS OF THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN ANGIOSPERMS. *Proceedings Royal Society B*, vol. 85, 1912. (Abstract.)
- PETRIFACTIONS OF THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN ANGIOSPERMS. *Transactions Royal Society B*, vol. 203, 1912, pp. 75-100, plates vi-viii.
- THE CORRECT NAME FOR THE DRAGON TREE OF THE KENTISH RAG. *Geological Magazine*, vol. 8, 1911, No. 568, pp. 467-9.
- THE DRAGON TREE OF THE KENTISH RAG. *Geological Magazine*, vol. 8, December 5th, 1911, pp. 55-59, text fig.

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- ON THE TRUE NATURE OF THE CRETACEOUS PLANT OPHIOGLOSSUM GRANULATUM, HEER. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 25, 1911, pp. 903-907> text figs. 1-2.
- A REPLY TO PROFESSOR JEFFREY'S ARTICLE ON YEZONIA AND CRYPTOMERIOPSIS. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 25, 1911, pp. 269-270.
- THE VALUE AND INTEREST OF JAPANESE FOSSILS. *Transactions Japan Society*, vol. 9, 1910, pp. 1-12, plates i-iii.
- FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOSSIL FLOWER, CRETOVARIVM. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 24, 1910, pp. 679-681, plates lvi-lvii.
- ADVENTITIOUS BUDDING AND BRANCHING IN CYCAS. *New Phytologist*, vol. 9, 1910, pp. 235-241, text figs. 8-14.
- THE ANATOMY OF CRETACEOUS PINE LEAVES. (With Miss Kershaw.) *Annals of Botany*, vol. 24, 1910, pp. 395-402, plates xxvii, xxviii.
- THE INTERNAL ANATOMY OF NILSSONIA ORIENTALIS. *Annals of Botany*, vol. 24, 1910, pp. 389-393, plate xxvi.
- STUDIES ON THE STRUCTURE AND AFFINITIES OF CRETACEOUS PLANTS. (With Professor Fujii.) *Phil. Transactions Royal Society B*, vol. 201, 1910, pp. 1-90, plates i-ix.
- PLANT CONTAINING NODULES FROM JAPAN. *Quarterly Journal Geological Society*, vol. 65, 1909, pp. 195-205, plate ix.
- ON THE TENT-BUILDING HABITS OF THE ANT, LASIUS NIGER LINN., IN JAPAN. (With Dr. Gordon Hewitt.) "Memoirs" and *Proceedings Manchester Literary Philo* Society*, vol. 53, 1909, pt. 3, pp. 1-6, plate 1.
- ON THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION AND ORIGIN OF THE CALCAREOUS CONCRETIONS IN COAL SEAMS, KNOWN AS "COAL BALLS." (With D. M. S. Watson.) *Phil Transactions Royal Society B*, vol. 200, 1908, pp. 167-218, plates xvii-xix.
- THE FLORA OF THE INFERIOR OOLITE OF BRORA. *Quarterly Journal Geological Society*, vol. 63, 1907, pp. 375-382, plate xxvii.
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THE NUTRITIVE RELATIONS OF THE SURROUNDING TISSUES TO THE ARGHEGONIA IN GYMNOSPERMS. (With Professor Fujii.) *Beihefte zum Dotan. Centralblatt*, vol. 20, 1906, pp. 1-24, plate 1.

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EXTRACTS FROM SOME CONTEMPORARY COMMENTS ON "MARRIED LOVE"

FROM an article referring to *Married Love* in *The Medical Review of Reviews*, vol. 25, No. 2, February, 1919, by Dr. Havclock Ellis: "This seems to represent the most notable advance made during recent years in the knowledge of women's psycho-physiological life."

Professor G. Stanley Hall in his book *Morale* (Appleton, 1920, page 266) says of *Married Love*: "Dr. Stopes has spoken the boldest, truest, and sanest word so far accessible in print which all, not only the newly-wed, but those about to wed, perhaps especially husbands, should read and ponder."

"Dr. Marie Stopes has endeavoured to meet the need of healthy young people of the educated class for information as to the sexual responsibilities of marriage. Though not a medical woman, the author has special qualifications for this task; with high scientific attainments she combines literary skill, sympathetic insight, idealism, and more than common courage. . . . To the married and to those about to marry, provided they are normal in mind and body and not afraid of facing facts, this should prove a most helpful book."

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PROFESSOR CARR-SAUNDERS IN
" THE NATION AND ATHENAEUM "

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