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ESSAYS

ON

WOMAN'S TRUE DESTINY,
and Women's Civil Rights
RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS,

AS THE MOTHER OF THE HUMAN RACE,

CONTRASTED WITH HER SUBORDINATE SUBSERVIENCY TO ADULT
MAN, ASSIGNED TO HER BY HIS GROSSLY SELFISH SOCIAL REGU-
LATIONS; THEIR BANEFUL AND UNJUST EFFECTS ON WOMAN,
HER OFFSPRING, AND EVEN GROWN-UP MAN; THE PRIM-
ITIVE CAUSE OF ALL THIS, AND ITS REMEDY.

~~~~~  
BY ANGELIQUE LE PETIT MARTIN.  
~~~~~

The Attractions are in proportion to the Destinies.—FOURIER.

Woman's Natural Attraction, and consequent Destiny, is toward her offspring, of whom she is the producer, rearer and unfolder.

Man's Natural Attraction, and consequent Destiny, is toward Woman, of whom he is intended to be the lover and devoted helping friend, in her arduous probation of Motherhood, which his very love brings upon her.

Oh! that human selfishness should ever have attempted to pervert those all-wise, benevolent, equitable Laws of the Universal Creative Power!

—————
WARREN, O.
J. DUMARS, PRINTER.
1851.

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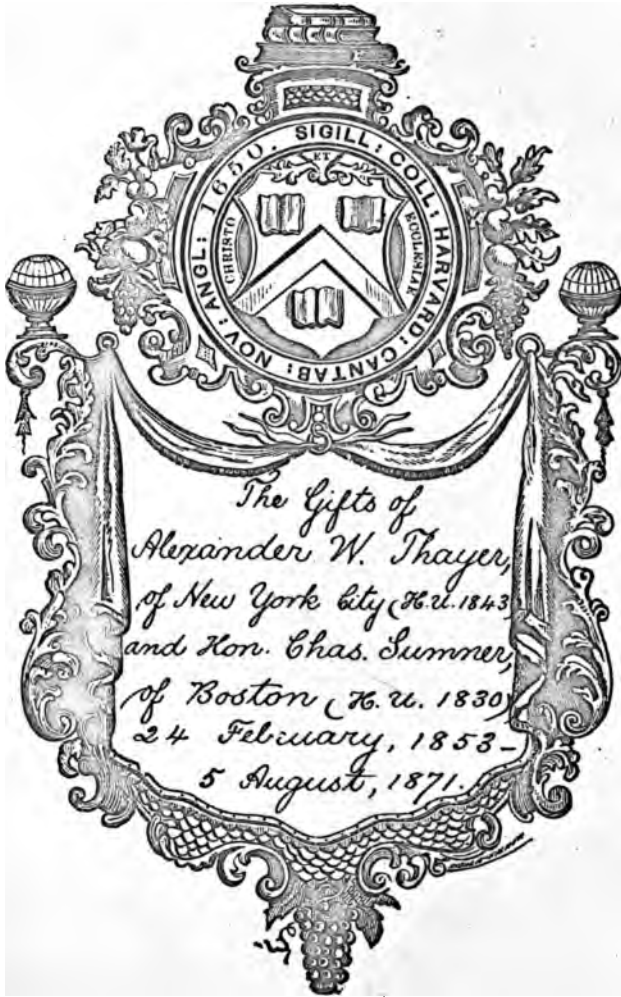
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Cover

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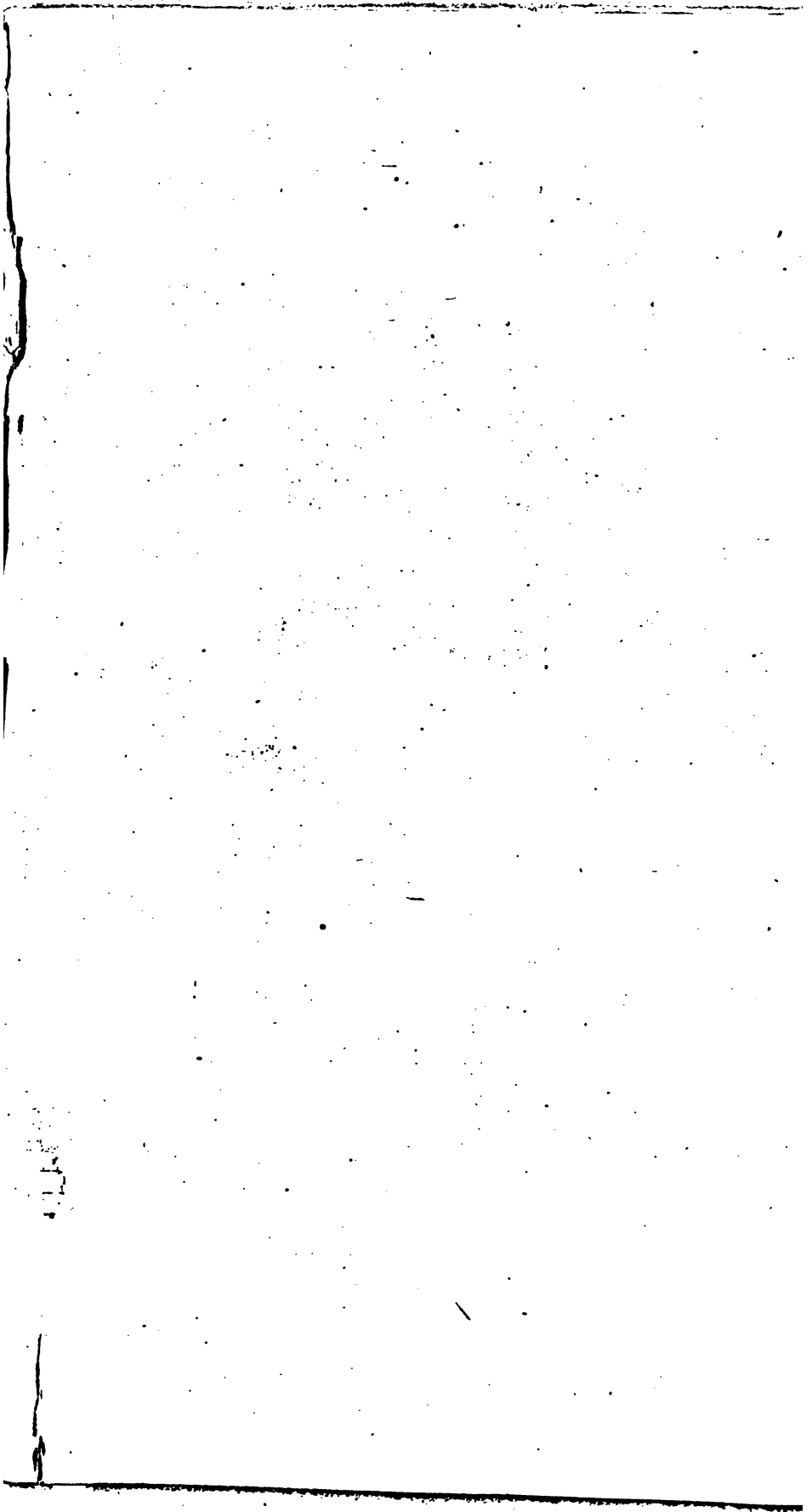
Ed. 1873.



Contents: -

1. See Opposite.

2. Martin, W. R. Civil Rights of
men, etc. Albany. 1871.



Sol 5026.6

1853 Feb 24. Luted
Alexander W. Phayer
of New York City

TO MESSRS. A. B. AND H. G.

I DEDICATE THESE FEW ESSAYS.

I do not think, gentlemen, I can offer you a greater mark of my high respect, for your noble and philanthropic characters, how far I consider you above the narrow selfish prejudices which govern society.

I want to attract your attention on a subject, the most important, in the present times; for as Condorcet says, on the last page of his "Sketch of an historical picture of the progress of the human mind," "The next step in progress, is to restore woman to her rights and dignity." Open the eyes of woman. Let her know herself and her true destinies. Then she will cease to be a slave, Then man will be as anxious to cleanse his hands from the past, as woman to resume her natural position as the mother of mankind. Then man will cease to fear having something to lose (his dear domineering) in industrial and domestic association. Woman will easily perceive that it is the means for her to step into her natural sphere, in both her sexual and maternal connections with man, which are perfectly subverted in the present state of society. But as long as woman thinks herself a pretty little thing, intended for the sexual gratification of man, whose entire duties and resources in this world are only to please him any how; she will be busy at making herself a pretty plaything, and nothing else. Then she will be made to believe any thing—that white is black, and black is white! i. e. "That you promulgate abominable principles, conducive to the overthrow of the *divine bonds of morals* in society," and many more big words, which will frighten her so much the more, as she will not understand their true bearing. She will oppose you with all her might. The men will say that their women are most against it, and will laugh in their sleeves. For as long as the spirit of domineering, which has been nursed for thousands of years in man, and caused so much evil under all sorts of shapes and forms to the human family, I say as long as it can grasp it will hold on. How very few American Republicans do not cherish in their hearts, that saying of a *franch wood cutter*, "Dans ma cabane je suis Roi!" As long as coercive duties are substituted for sympathetic attractions, never expect harmony, never expect happiness in this incessantly clashing society; it would be better to live isolatedly hidden in forests or in some holes in rocks. Do not believe, gentlemen, that it is a propensity to what is *commonly* termed *licentiousness*, which makes me feel indignant at the bonds in which woman is craftily entramelled and degraded! No. I am old, I have passed the age when slander could attack me on that point; and as I have had the good luck of uniting my destinies to a man who has been as much my friend as I have been his, we have always both felt the consciousness that the interchange of our love and kindness,

was the expression of our own free feelings and will, and not a duty paid to the bidding of other men! So it has been easy for me to avoid slander in the times when I could fear her. Indeed it would have been difficult for her to find a chance to distil her venom on me!

It is not because I am a woman; but, I solemnly declare before the Almighty Creator of the Universe, that I conscientiously do believe, there is not a greater scourge, a more hideous wound in the social body, than the state of dependence, physical and moral disability and degradation enforced on the mothers of the human race, in these civilized societies, where the absence of a state of continual war, leaves no excuse to man to consider himself a conqueror, and woman his prisoner. War has enslaved woman to the sexual connection which nature had certainly intended for her as for all other females, to be subservient to her. War has also stripped woman of the dignity and credit of the labor of her motherhood, to swell the title of ~~his~~ fatherhood in her master.

Whilst the horrid ravages of bloodshed and massacre desolate her unfortunate country, woman finds, in life, secured to herself and offspring, some compensation for surrendering at discretion to the ruffian conqueror. But how much, to the imbecility of a mere brute she must be reduced, to accept such terms, at her peaceable fireside, from a lover whom she certainly ~~is~~ in accepting him, at the same time, as she inconveniences herself. Is there any advantage for woman, who is the half of society, to be disabled, poor, dependent and degraded? Is that the proper position for the important, but arduous task of motherhood, that her connection with man will bring on her? Is that its reward? Her children, the next generation, what advantage do they derive from her position, they who have to share her good and bad fortune, since they are identified with her? What advantage is this position of hers, to the honest man who loves, honors, and respects the woman of his affection? Will he not blush, will he not feel mortified to find that what his love, instead of bringing her compensations for the natural sufferings and dangers it will throw her in, has to offer her, is to deliver herself a slave to his will and caprices! How delicate, how difficult will be his conduct so to act as to persuade her that he spurns these unjust privileges? How many times will he not be suspected of taking advantage of them, when, perhaps he will have had no such intention?

I will tell you who are those that gain by such social arrangements, knaves, swindlers, selfish and tyrannical men, who are desirous to make others subservient, any how, to their own gratifications. Is it not a pity to sacrifice the rest of society and its morality to such villains?

Cause the bandage which covers woman's mental eyes to fall, and she will know herself and her destiny, she will resume her natural sphere, and assume the rights of a *sentient being*, which of course belong to her, as well as to her offspring, man! Then the female intellect which has always been repelled, (as far as our present records allow us to know,) from exercising any kind of influence in the social organization, will establish the equilibrium. The *union* of the *moral* powers of the two sexes, is as necessary to the regulations for the formation of the social family, as the bodily *union* for its physical existence. Till now we have

had only the masculine moral and intellectual powers to regulate for both. All social organizations are, as it were, on one leg only. No wonder if they all limp, hop and totter, and are so very often up side down. Man has made great progress in various sciences, made wonderful discoveries, but all this is fragmentary, desultory, incoherent, and instead of contributing to the happiness of the human race, often clashes with it, or produces no good effects. Restore woman's intellect to its energy, and from its union with that of man, will spring a social organization, which will soon lead to harmony, peace and happiness. No finding that path without the co-operation and guidance of the mother of mankind!

To obtain this object is easier than it might appear at first sight—all the mischief lays in the ignorant prejudices in which the woman's mind is wrapped up. It would be necessary to select some intellectual females, whose studies enable them to understand nature: if they join to that a knowledge of history, especially if acquainted with the manners, customs, and morals of various nations. Such ones put on the track, will understand us as quick as lightning. I understand there are ladies in Boston, New York, and perhaps some other places, who have formed associations for the purpose of studying anatomy and physiology, that some have started out to go and deliver lectures to females on those subjects, such as Mrs. ~~Gage~~. Those are the fit persons to understand these important truths which occupy me, and to emit them. Nothing would be easier for a Mrs. ~~Gage~~ for instance, to expound on this subject in the midst of her lectures. When they should unite them under a pledge, as the Temperance Societies, form social garrantees, patronage, support and protection. Let women unite to obtain their freedom and redeem their rights as sentient beings. They will find that in the present state of society, they owe their slavery to their ignorant simplicity, which allows them to be made to believe any thing. "That it is nature who made them the slaves of man. That it is for their good and glory that they should throw themselves at the mercy of the whims, caprices and tyranny of man," &c., &c. ~~These~~ already written on that subject to the amiable and talented authoress, Mrs. Maria Child, of New York, and to Mrs. Chapman, of Boston, whose abolitionist sympathy I tried to turn towards the poor, every where neglected Mother of Mankind! I have also written to a Mr. Paul Brown, of Paxton—he seems to me one of the best friends of the female sex. How happy I should be, gentlemen, if I could reckon such talents as yours among our advocating friends. I am a mother! I ask it of you in the name of your mothers! If I err, show it to me! But if I am right, join your efforts to

Yours, Most respectfully,
ANGELIQUE LE PETIT MARTIN.

Gage

These

ARTICLE FIRST,

It is not that you could not have discovered it as well as myself; but chance turned my attention to it, and yours elsewhere.

To Mr. P*** B****.

SIR:—It was with some relief, that I saw, in the Boston Investigator, Nos. 23 and 24," by your articles "Politics Nos. 1st and 2d," that a son of woman, *at last*, thought "She *also* had natural rights to exercise in that society where she gave him life and reared him! It might be as unfair for him to hold his mother below him, as an inferior dependant being—yes, perhaps, as much as his African brother. The question is startling. How strange! If people were to hear him, they would turn him into ridicule! Where did women, as part of the social body, ever exercise any natural rights? Are they not, every where, and in all times the property of men, in many countries their very prisoners?" Puzzled between what is and what ought to be, the moralist lays down the question, and turns his ill received philanthropy towards his black African brother, in whose cause he expects a better reception—he is determined to franchise him—to shake hands with him—he shall sit by him! Whilst he keeps his unfortunate mother not only below himself, but below his new freed companion, and presents to her the cup of degradation to drain to the last dregs! For whatever be the height of her understanding, the refinement, the delicacy of her moral feelings—whatever be the moral degradation of the half-savage African, (a necessary consequence of the uncivilized state of his country, and the oppression in which he has been kept in ours,)—I say he shall rule over her, as her *juryman*, her *judge*, and *law-giver*. However injurious his laws may be to her, she shall have no power of redress. Submit and obey she must. Not because his mother is his mortal enemy, not because he is the particular friend of the negro slave. Why then this monstrous difference! Oh because she is a *woman*, and the negro is a *man*, both, of course, of the same species with him, both endowed with the same natural rights, consequently both equally entitled with him to the same social rights. But is it possible! his sympathy is sooner awakened to the injuries and injustice done to a stranger, an African! than for his mother, who gave him life, who watched like a living providence over that existence of his! Is it possible, he sees without indignation, that mother, legally bereft of the rights of a sentient being; doomed to a civil death, delivered up mercilessly to the selfishness of man, and in that position sneered at and insulted! She is told she must remain contented in that humble and dependant sphere, as a being of an inferior order. Yes, inferior even to the half savage African! O! my son! wilt thou not spare this new outrage to thy mother! Wilt thou refuse her what thou grantest to the meanest slave! Free him, I am willing; but permit thy mother to shake hands with him on his redeemed day, as his equal, not as his inferior! What ails thee? Fearest thou her brutality more than his, thou seemest so reluctant to unmanacle her! Heaven! does it not look like insanity! O nature! nature! is that the compensation, the reward thou assignest to *woman* for her responsible, arduous task, and providential devotedness to her race! "No! no! no!" answer a thousand voices from nature! "Look around thee, not another male treats his female as thou art treated by man! He is her lover, and when she needs it her helpmate. Listen to me, woman! follow me with attention. When I create the first individual of a species, I provide it with the proper organs to accomplish its part in the universal concert—then confiding it to the guardianship of self-love, I tell it "Take care of thyself now." That is my *first*, immutable law, on which I depend for the preservation of my creature. I proceed in endowing it with the power of re-producing its own species. I tell, "thou shalt create thy like, *free*

care of it as of thyself." This is my second immutable law, on which I depend for the perpetuation of thy creation. Among you, you call *female*, the individual thus empowered with the reproduction of her own species. But this power is varied according to the different species. For the bivalves, for instance, such as the oyster, she needs no auxiliary. In the snail, two individuals are necessary. Both remain mothers. In the more highly organized beings, not only I associated two, but, considering the responsibility too great for one individual, I determined that one of them should remain free from the result, in order to assist the other—for if both were disabled they could not help one another. This second one you call male. I made the male for the female. So I made *man* for thee. I made thee the tabernacle for man's happiness, that he might be thy lover, thy courtor, eager to do thy wishes in order to please thee and be welcome with thee. As his love brought thee in trouble, so his love was to cheer thee, and comfort thee out of it. I made him thy warm friend, ready to assist thee in the arduous task that his love brought upon thee. I hope thou seest now, that I do not deserve the accusation of injustice so loudly uttered against me by women, for the unequal responsibility of the sexual connexion, whose consequences fall upon them. Man's love and admiration for woman is so great, that he wishes to be identified with her. He offers her the purest of his existence, if she accepts it and sympathizes with him—behold! his wish is accomplished! and the miracle of procreation!—a being participating of both, shall be her offspring! Through her he shall know and love that offspring. I made the male much more desirous of the sexual connection than the female, that he should follow her wherever she thinks proper to retire, that he may cheer her up by his companionship, keep a watch round, assist her in defending her young ones, and help her in feeding them when she needs. I hope thou art aware now, that I made the male to be the lover, friend, companion and helpmate of the female. So did I make man for thee. As a mother, I made thee the living providence of thy children, whose existence depended on thy own existence and thy constant love, care and devotedness. Thou wast the object of their love, veneration, complete confidence and reliance. Thou wast the magnet which attracted man and children. Centre of love,—from thee it radiated on all around thee, and was reflected by all back to thee. The reward was adequate to the task. You were all innocent, good and happy. The ancients have had some faint tradition of those happy times, which they called the golden age.

A family thus linked by the bonds of affection and habit, become, gradually, a society thickly peopled. (Your philosophers say that men, conscious of danger, collected themselves from an isolated condition, to a social state, in order to defend themselves against the wild beasts! &c. Instead of giving himself to wild speculations, why does not man study the book of nature, whose pages are spread broad open all around him, they will show him that it is not to such casualties that he must attribute the origin of societies, but that, from the smallest insect which crawls on the earth, the bird which flies in the air, the fish which swims in the sea, it is in the family link.)

"Thy race, young and inexperienced in the art of multiplying the productions of the earth, began to suffer from wants. Self preservation, (the first and most imperative of all my laws, as the safeguard of my creation,) called to its assistance egotism. Wrangling and strife followed, and forced them to separate, some in search of food, others to save them from ill usage. After several generations, having no means of communicating together, they lost entirely each other's recollection, and when accident brought them in contact, fear made them look on each other as dreadful foes! Fear created hatred, hatred created war! (that *hydrophobia-like* of thy race!) Violence, rage shed the human blood! The brutal conqueror, whoever he was, murdered all! all!—except thee; sexual love, connected with my second law, unarmed him. He spared thee. The spoil of the conquered one, befalling to the conqueror, awoke his cupidity! War soon became an art in which each tried to surpass the other. Then men, like highway robbers, spied, from their strong holds, for the opportunity of falling on one another. Such is still the state among many of the Tartar, and other Arab na-

tions. So it was with you in the dark ages, in the times of your Barons and their clans. Read their *Feudal Laws* to understand the idea of justice men entertained then. The law of the stronger was the only rule. Violence and crime the result. Desolation and waste spread every where; and was it not for the sexual attraction which still influenced man's heart for thee, by the pleasure he derived from it, your race would have soon been extinguished. Being called by me, and endowed with the necessary qualifications for creating and rearing life, thou had'st less leisure and still less inclination for war,—that horrid propensity for destroying life! I made thee the creator and rearer of thy race, and war is its destroyer! I made thee to inspire and feel love, and war is the explosion of hideous hatred! Thou art the bliss,—war is the curse of thy race! You are the two opponents. Thou art the good spirit of thy race—war is its evil spirit. So woman, thy race ought to bless thee and curse war, you owe all your miseries to it, thyself in particular. Being almost insured of thy life, by the forbearance of the conqueror, thou struggled'st less against him than thy brother, who had no alternative but death or conquest. Indeed, surrender was often the means which procured thee a right to the booty, through the conqueror's love, who would place it, with himself, at thy feet, making thee share in his triumph. In order to induce thee the more ~~more~~ easily to submit, he would secure life to thy helpless children. This rendered thee the more and more resistless. It became as of matter of course that wherever the victory should remain, the victors would spare the women and children, who would pass under their power. Then it was natural that they should await the event away from the field of battle. Was it not for this, I repeat it again, thy species would have long disappeared from the surface of the globe, through the baneful effects of that heinous warlike propensity which took hold of men. But whilst the latter fell on the field of battle, like grass mowed by the scythe, women were preserved, and from them sprung new generations.*

"Women being very numerous, comparatively, to their conquerors, it became necessary for these to contrive some means to keep them in subjection. They were forbidden, under pain of death, ever to touch any kind of weapon. Even now, among your red Indian neighbors, they affect a great indignation at their squaws touching their bows and arrows, pretending that by so doing they destroy their warlike power, and they make them undergo many incantations over by their grand medicines or priests, in order to purify them. A craft to conceal the primitive reason why they were prevented from handling any offensive weapons. Still amongst you, so very highly civilized nations, as you style yourselves, if a woman undertakes her self-guard, her self-defence, although acknowledged by all, the weakest and most exposed to insult, through the assuming insolence of men with women in your societies. If she presumes to imitate stronger, and reputed more courageous *man*, in carrying any weapon about her, was it but a small stick, in order to insure her security, a general ridicule and odium is thrown upon her by both sexes. Such absurd prejudices, so contrary to common sense, owe their origin to a similar cause. Some went to the breaking of their feet, others shutting them up, &c., &c.

"The conqueror perceived, at last, that he was hardly any better than the conquered one. To be sure he had slaughtered his enemy, or taken him prisoner, with thousands of women, cattle, cities, &c., but a reverse of fortune might reduce him to the same position. True, he had insured to himself by conquest, food, women, dwellings, &c., far more than he wanted. What then?

*In the meanwhile, so many women were obliged to abandon themselves to the enjoyment of the conquerors, that it weakened the exquisite feeling I have placed in man's heart for thee, and which, when thou respondest, it is the highest delight of his existence. He delivered himself to his desires for thee, till he carried it to a complete debauchery, ribaldry, and sickened himself to disgust! Then man became still more brutal, more cruel, more depraved. Then, woman more cringing, more cowardly. She trembled before a lover, who could be her ferocious master the next moment.

He could not increase his power of enjoyment; on the contrary his efforts at enjoying too much, made him lose the power of enjoying at all. At the same time he had, perhaps, left on the field of battle an eye, a limb, he returned home crippled, half dead. He began to think war was not so advantageous as he had at first imagined. He set about considering how he could obtain the benefits, without the inconveniences of war. First he contrived to force his prisoners by terror and punishment to obedience. Cunning taught him to use, alternately, rigor and gentleness to subdue them. Craft taught him to make them believe—they believed, and he acquired a thousand, a hundred thousand power over them. It is a great error to believe that after war was introduced among you, the laws and regulations of your societies were the result of a desire of securing the rights of each, against the encroachments of others. No. They were the yokes and manacles that the conqueror used, to turn his captives into slaves, useful to his own purpose, and till this day they preserve that stamp, particularly with thee, a great deal more than thou art aware of it, woman!

“The women became a source of great power for him, (see the Patriarchal times and the Tartars, Arabs, &c., of these present times.) They bred for him. They reared sons, and he sent them to fight his battles for him, to subdue his enemies, to revenge his quarrel, or increase his power. They reared daughters, and he sold them to the highest bidders, or gave them into present to those he needed favors from. To obtain all this, he made his son believe, it was the greatest of virtues for him to go and kill any one his father-master commanded him, at the peril of his own life. He made the daughter believe, her virtue consisted in considering herself the property of her father-master, and that he had a right to dispose of her as it suited him, and to transfer this right to whomsoever he pleased. He made the mothers believe that they, to whom I had confided all the responsibility of the re-production of their race, were made *for him*, who is connected in this re-production only by a mere transient act of pleasure, intended by me to engage him in the service of woman. It was for his sexual gratification, and to *serve* him that I had created them. As for the children, they came over the bargain, and for him too! So the greatest virtue for them was to *do* their husband-master's happiness, comfort and pleasure, over and against everything, without any consideration for theirs or their children. In fact, they were to mind him above all, their children after him, themselves if room. It is thus that, instead of the sexual connection being subservient to woman, as it is with all the other females, she had been made a slave to it, and a menial attendant on her male.

“The conqueror needing his sons to prop himself, had to encourage, strengthen and skill them in the use of weapons, whatever they were. He hardened their hearts, taught them to be cruel and ferocious as warlike virtues, the highest of virtues, after submission to him. He taught them to be crafty and cunning like himself, to accomplish their designs. Thus drilled, he soon found them competitors, with whom he had to share his power. He yielded to them part of what they conquered, with the right of ruling over it, as he did himself over his own, for two reasons. 1st. It was natural he should think his own way the best. 2d. Because it would strengthen his position by others who would have the same interest to maintain, reserving, however, to himself, the supremacy over the whole—holding as a boon, to the most devoted of all his sons, to succeed to his possessions and power. The eldest was generally the one, for two reasons, he had contributed most to the aggrandisement of his father, and had himself grown so powerful that he could snatch it out of his hands in spite of his other brothers. This same law regulates still many nations, though in this Republic all thy sons, can be thy sovereigns, even conjointly with their father!

“It is thus, that, instead of love, respect, honor, veneration, which thy son owes thee, as a slight remuneration for the responsible, arduous task thou hast accomplished towards him, he can, in this Republic, at twenty-one, turn to thee and say, ‘Now, mother, thou hast done with me, except some occasional menial services, I no more want thee; and although thou art the mould of which I am the cast, I received life from thee, and owe its unfolding to thy untried tender

cares, I have never done any thing for thee. Nevertheless, I shall raise my head above thee. I shall rule over thee as thy law-giver, juryman, judge and sovereign. Submit and obey thou must, for *civil death*, dependence, servility, poverty, insignificance and oblivion, are what we republicans present to our mothers, in return for what they have done for us." It is thus that *he*, who never knew the plenitude of existence and happiness, before he knew woman,—and whose love, devoted friendship, I had intended as a compensation to her, for the pains and troubles this very love brings on her, forgetting his destiny, makes himself her despotic master, looks upon her as a mere machine subservient to his sexual gratification, fit to serve and obey him! This outrageous reverting of my *law of justice*, is the result of the unequal application of another law of mine—*self love*, which tells to every individual, *Take care of thyself!* In proportion as the indolent supineness of women neglects this first of my laws, the active selfish egotism of man overstretcheth it, and it will manifest itself in the regulations of all your societies, as long as it does not meet with thy *self love* as a counterpoise, there can never be any harmony without it, my justice forbids! Awake! woman! awake! know thyself! stand for thy rights! Have the will and they are thine! The causes which deprived thee of them, no more exist. Thou art a slave to old routine. Know thyself, and the whole system ceases."

"Whilst the destructive demon of *war* spread his wings all over thy race, and threatened to annihilate my work, I was contented with thy life safe. I knew that, after having wallowed with the monster in blood and carnage, (misled by an ignorant narrow selfishness,) man would learn, through his own suffering, that sensible beings incessantly in contact, cannot inflict pain on others without it reaching on them, and that instead of encroaching or clashing as in *war*, it was better to slide gently by each other, without hurting or being hurt. Awake! open thine eyes, it is time for thee to come forward. See thy-opponent, hideous war! repelled by all, to the most remote limits of their societies. Come and sit with man in the councils of nations. Bring with thee thy motherly gentle wisdom. As a mother, I made thee a model for ruling in peace, through love and attraction, which produce perfect confidence. Sweet harmony will follow thee there, and dissipate the remainder of the demon discord which will vanish before thee, as vapors before a May morn's warm sun. Thou sinnest against my first law, which commandest thee to "take care of thyself," as much as man does, when contrary to his destiny, he grasps over thee at what thou leavest go. Must woman, can woman be happy and elevated when, contrary to my first law, through an inconceivable stupefaction, she neglects all the advantages she is to derive from the powers I have entrusted her with. Must man, ought man be happy and elevated, when his mother is miserable and degraded! and that by him! No! He must not! He shall not! A curse is now suspended on your race! For my laws being founded on justice, all their operations are equitable consequences.

"Man has made great progress in arts and sciences. His brush and chisel have, with ingenuity, retraced his own image, so as to almost deceive his own senses. Through a still much greater effort of mental power, he has enabled himself to hand down to posterity his deeds and thoughts. He has erected magnificent edifices, splendid cities: his vessels unite the extremity of the globe. With the power of steam, he defies the velocity of my winds. His daring hand has seized my thunder-bolt, and has rendered it subservient to his will. His eye spies my operations over the whole Universe, and he can mathematically demonstrate the relations and connections of my worlds. His inquisitive eye searches every where. Oh man! I would be proud of thee, but a curse is upon thee. Thou art the most wretched, the most miserable of my creatures. The more wealth thou createst, the more needy thou art. The unproductive *few* grasp the production of the industrious multitude, who starve at the doors of the stores their hands have replenished with riches, which answer very little purpose, for the unproductive few who possess them can, comparatively, make very little use of them, whilst the numerous ones who produced them, starve by them for want. And the possessors of those wealth tremble, for they take the groans

of the suffering poor for the roars of wrath! Discord, competition, wrangling, strife, the natural results of individual egotism, are what thou hast incessantly to clash with in that society, regulated by thy selfishness alone! A just retribution for thee, ungrateful son, who doomest thy mother to civil death! robs her of her natural rights and dignity, holdest her as thy subject. Man, whom I created the lover and friend of woman, how comest thou to stand by her as her slave-holder! I say, son of woman, mere shoot of hers, who owest thy existence not only to her own organization, but to her indefatigable, devoted, tender, providential cares! how comest thou, in return for all those benefits, to stand as her ruler, judge and sovereign, to whom she must submit and obey! Insane man, is that thy justice! thy wisdom! Yes. The same which makes thee say that 'nature is wicked.' Thou must chain her, manacle her. Yes! chains, manacles, compulsion, coercion, these are thy means to happiness! Away, for shame!

"Awake, woman! mother of mankind! open thy eyes! Thy blindness blinds thy whole race. To thee I confided life and happiness. As long as thou submittest to the imbecility of a civil death, thou can'st not acquit thyself of the most important part of thy task. Know thyself, and thy children will know thee. Hear the voice of nature echoing from all her creations. 'Thou art not a plaything for the amusement, pastime, or menial service of adult man. Thou art my proxy for thy race, as all the other females are for theirs.'"

ARTICLE SECOND.

"We Are Not a Free Nation."

PART FIRST.

We are not a free nation, we Americans. We are no republicans, if we mean by this word a community where the laws and government emanate from all classes, and are to be exercised over all with equal favor or sternness without any distinction of privileged or degraded castes. How can we call ourselves republicans when we are nationally degraded, and bear all the shackles of slavery!

If natives are treated as *aliens*, in their own country, by the laws and government, and however obliged to submit to and obey those laws, although perfectly injurious to them, those natives are certainly nationally degraded and oppressed. If, in the absence of these oppressed natives, the privileged caste, that is the natives who have the right to make the laws and construe them so that under certain circumstances, any individual of the oppressed caste, shall become with its possessions and what it can produce, the absolute property of any individual of the privileged caste; and if this privileged native has a right to exact services of any kind, submission, obedience and cringingness, from the unfortunate oppressed native, is not the first a slaveholder! is not the other a degraded slave! It is what we Americans are, a set of tyrants and degraded slaves! I do not use these expressions as *abusive terms* but as startling facts; and if called to account for my assertion, I can prove it as clear as the sun which lights us. To prove my assertion, I need not look to those unfortunate aliens, brought in fetters into our country by the right of conquest or purchase. No, it is in our own community, at our own fire sides that I will look for it.

I will not ask if you have a mother. Your very existence answers for you. But have you ever given a thought as to how much you were indebted to that mother? This very existence of yours was brought forth at the peril of hers, in the midst of most distressing pains. However her first feeling was love for that poor helpless innocent being, a sufferer like herself. Even then your existence depended still on her own. She was still the *fountain of life* for you. Her breast poured into you part of her own to support yours. Are you aware of the sleepless nights she spent for you? With what patience, what anxiety she watched

over you in sickness. How she delighted in guiding your first steps. How she ministered to your wants, your pleasures. How fond you were of her then. How you clung to her. How you would run to her in danger. She taught your young heart to feel, your mind to be noble, just and generous. She spared no trouble to unfold your understanding, to elevate it; to create emulation for what was good, check what was bad. How quick she was to perceive, and how she would encourage the dawn of talent in you.

Well, this mother of yours, do you admit her to be a member of that community you belong to? If you do, the law of our country will tell you what it has settled between you and her. "To that mother of thine I bind thee not. Thou owest her nothing. She shall have no rights over thee. But I bid thee to turn all the gratitude thou owest her into respect, duty, obedience and submission to thy father, her husband. Thou owest thy life also to him. Yes, a moment of pleasure he contributed to it. He shall be omnipotent over thee. He shall dispose of thee at his pleasure, without consulting thy mother. Nay, he may part thee from her. He may tear thee from her in spite of thy tears and her shrieks. He may bind thee out to any man, any trade, any profession, send thee to sea or the army, she consenting or not. Wast thou to incur his displeasure, she might see her house shut up forever against thee. Her house, I said, I mistake, I have left her no house, no home, nothing of her own. She is thy father's, thou art thy father's, everything is thy father's. So I have decreed, I who am called the law." "But who made thee, execrable law?" "Not thy mother! not she! her heart bleeds too cruelly for what she calls an usurpation of all her natural rights. But it is easy for thee to perceive that I am the offspring of *husbands* and fathers, Hark, however, I shall bind thee to thy father only till thou art a *man*. At twenty-one years, thou wilt become free and equal to thy father. Then thou wilt be called with thy father, to make laws, in which thy mother shall have no participation in their formation, and she shall have to bow down before, submit to, and obey thy laws, however injurious they may be to her. Such as the one which gives thee the right, after the death of thy father, to oust her out of her old home, to take possession of it thyself, turning her homeless on the world in her old age. So that even thou wilt bereave thy unfortunate mother, and most cruelly hurt her maternal feelings, in showing her of what ingratitude she is the victim. It is, however, the return I insure her from thee, I who am called the law."

Is your mother free? Does she enjoy the rights of republicans? Does she get the proper reward due to a mother?

PART SECOND.

Does she make a part of the community you belong to, that sister of yours! the companion and playmate of your youthful years, now your bosom friend, so brilliant, so blithe; whose genius shows the highest powers, of whom you are so proud, whom you love so dearly. Do you not hear, around her, every body say, "what a pity *she* is not a *man*?" Why is not genius as acceptable in a woman as a man? Are not renowned celebrity, public respect and gratitude, honors, wealth, grandeur, as gratifying to woman's feelings as to man's? Why should she be denied that kind of happiness any more than man? Who thinks of gratifying woman's feelings? Her rights, her happiness are no objects to society. Society is not regulated for woman's happiness. It is regulated *by man* for man, not for woman. He looks on her as a *thing he is in need of*, not as a *sentient being like himself*, who has rights and feelings to be respected. Read our law and statute books and you will see if they ever dream of woman's rights, woman's happiness. Man is so intent on securing to himself the disposal of woman, that keeping her in poverty and in his dependence seem to him the surest means; so he shackles her, not only with laws which rule over the body, but with a thousand prejudices which rule over the mind, entirely overlooking the direful consequences for her happiness and the welfare of society at large.

It is thus that the feet of the Chinese women were first broken by violence, and craft afterward persuaded the very mother that in crippling her infant she was doing her good. Now, in China, women and even men honestly believe that it would be disgraceful for a woman not to be crippled in her feet. And if philanthropists dare to hint in that country, that woman in particular, and society in general, would be better if this cruelty could be dispensed with, the conservatives and moralists cry out, oh scandal! It is thus, that in Tartary, Arabia, and other countries, man's capricious lust and his speculation upon it, have condemned the unfortunate female infant to a most shocking operation, which dooms her to a still more atrocious one when an adult. Craft has persuaded the very mother to be the executioner on her poor child; and now in those countries, girls, mothers, men, really think it would be most abominable if it was not performed. Let a philanthropist hint that perhaps it might be done away with, and the people will be ready to stone him as a horrid demoralizer. In Turkey, violence first shut up women in prisons, like birds in cages, and mutilated men to be their jailers. Craft has so contrived to make them believe that it would be very disgraceful to be otherwise, and I dare say the very eunuchs themselves, think that men, like them, are absolutely necessary to guard over women. Let a philanthropist tell them that women would be a great deal happier, instead of being a complete burden to the society they belong to, if they enjoyed their natural rights—that eunuchs would be a great deal happier, if they were not deprived of theirs—eunuchs, women, men, will cry out, oh Mahomet what a demoralizer!

It is thus that after war had placed woman under the compulsory power of the conqueror, her female descendants all over Europe, and from thence over America, have been persuaded that the only honorable way for a woman to follow her destiny, and answer the call of nature, that is, to become a mother of her race, which must cease to exist if she gives up the task, is to deliver herself up, body and mind, children and property, into the absolute power and bondage of the man she favors in allowing to be the father of her children. Claiming nothing herself, but acknowledging him her liege lord and master, to whom she owes respect, submission and implicit obedience. Man has been able to persuade woman that the greatest honor for her is to be a *feme covert*, that is, a being who has no rights of her own, no reckoned existence of her own, not a name of her own. That it is grand for her thus to be hidden behind him, under the coverture, entirely devoted to him; not that she should expect the same from him, for he has many other things to think of, ambition, glory, wealth he has to pursue, and a thousand other attractions, which, of course, are all unbecoming to her. So she can be but an episode to him. It is for her to try to render it as agreeable as possible to him. As for her, he is to be the world to her. The world is to be nothing to her, and she is to be nothing to the world. She is, besides, to give life and rear life, and however, slip out of life pretty much as if she had never existed. In fact, whatever be her exertions, labor, anxieties, the sublime for her is to be reckoned a nonentity, and have all credited to her husband. Man has contrived to persuade woman that she should not be a mother otherwise. For, to preserve her natural rights over herself, children and property, was an infamy which degraded her below the vilest criminal in society. Man has contrived to make woman believe that; and her children believe, of course, what their mother believes. So that at this present time, when we would think the human understanding had made sufficient progress to perceive the glaring absurdity, it is still with honesty that many answer the philanthropist, who asks—"Are these regulations fair? Do not our laws unjustly oppress and degrade our women, without benefiting us, but in such a wicked manner, that any upright man rejects with indignation, the privileges they place in his hands? for they are the right of tyranny and oppression over the being whose love is necessary to his happiness. Why should we let laws exist much more disgraceful to us, than they are yet to our women, whilst it is quite in our power, and so easy too, for us to rectify them?" "Hush! such talks are dangerous,

subversive of social order!" Well, if social order is wrong, it is our duty towards those who *suffer* by it to *change* it.

PART THIRD.

Do you admit, as a member of the community you belong to, that beautiful young woman—whose elegant form delights your eyes—whose voice is music on your ears—whose bright, flashing eyes make every pulse thrill in you, when they beam on you—whose sweet smile makes you think that Earth is Paradise, and life the height of blessing! you feel an atmosphere of happiness surrounding her. She is the magnet that attracts you; you think of her—you dream of her. Oh could you hope she would accept you as her bosom friend! you would consecrate your life to her happiness—you think so—you feel so. But if the imprudent girl allows herself to be persuaded—if she yields to your ardent solicitations,—listen to the law of our country; it will tell you how it has provided for you to procure her happiness: "For thy sake I strike that girl with a civil death! Her name shall be erased from the book of the living. Hereafter she shall be known only under thy name, as a thing of thine, a mere appendage, subservient to thee in every thing. I give up to thee her person, mind, property, and whatever she can ever produce. Do thy pleasure with them. If thou chooseth to be kind, all the better for her; I do not bind thee to it. If tyrannical, she must submit, for I give thee full power to be so. In fact, I deliver up to thee a slave, not a friend. Wert thou desirous to treat her as thy equal friend; and insure her the same respect as to thyself, it would not be in thy power. I brand her thy slave and she shall never be but thy dependant in the eyes of society, and be treated as such. I have so contrived that thou mayest do her as much harm as thou wilt be pleased; but not as much good as thou mightest wish. If, notwithstanding all this, she chooses to be thy friend, good luck for thee! for I have done every thing for her to look upon thee as her bitterest foe!"

"Shame! O law! And that in return for her accepting my love, for which happiness I would give the whole world! But what can make thee so very severe, I would say cruel to woman, whilst thou art so over indulging to men, in their reciprocal connections?"

"Woman is a *stranger to me*. I never saw her but at the foot of my tribunal to receive my sentence. Whilst I am the creation of collective man, dictating for his collective selfishness. What is the result? I suddenly turn a lover into a despotic tyrant, over an affectionate being, because she consents to respond his tender feelings. And in so doing, I obliterate those feelings so necessary to their mutual happiness. I make the son, in testimony of his gratitude to his mother, to command her to acknowledge his supremacy over her, and obey his laws, however injurious they may be to her, such as the one which authorized him, after the death of her husband, his father, to *oust her out of her home to take possession of it himself!* Turning her adrift on the world, in her old age, homeless, destitute, exhausted by the long rearing of a numerous family, incapable of supporting herself by her labors. O you American sons, who make and unmake the laws in our country, how is it that this law, an outrage to the most moral bonds, in making you trample under feet that gratitude, that filial love and respect so justly due to your Mothers! this law I say, how is it that it is still in full vigor among you, and receives no attention, whilst your National Reformers are exercising all their influence to procure the inalienability of their own homestead even against their most legitimate creditors? You wonder at the demoralization of society which is linked in such a manner. How can men

help being selfish, demoralized, wicked, how can women help being disabled simpletons, under regulations where it is difficult to say which most prevails, atrocity or absurdity? If I was the creature of both, I would be perfectly fair. The equilibrium of all interests would make me rule in beautiful harmony. The greatest physical and moral happiness would be the result. But I am the child of a father, and have no mother. No wonder if I am a monster"—the law.

Now come to my conclusion, if you admit your mothers, sisters, companions, daughters, to be a part, that is, the half of the American nation. I say "we are not a free nation, we Americans; we are no Republicans, if those words mean a community where the law emanates from all classes, and is exercised over all with equal favor or sternness, without any distinction of privileged or degraded castes. How then can you call yourselves Republicans, you sons of slaves, brothers of slaves, husbands or masters of slaves, fathers of slaves, and despots over all those slaves, what but slavish and despotic blood can flow in your veins? As for us, poor women, the half of the nation, the half of the family, the producers and rearers of the race, when you established what you call your republic, your having, in our absence, the full control of the laws and social regulations, you were pleased to reduce us, all in a lump to a degraded caste, unworthy of exercising any national rights. The very name of a free woman is made an opprobrium to our sex!

ARTICLE THIRD.

A LETTER,

ADDRESSED TO M — E —, PRESIDENT OF ^{the} FEMALE INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

DEAR MADAM:—A few days before your letter reached me, I received one from Miss B —, dated S — d. She seems to be in low spirits. We must cheer her up, and revive her courage. I should be sorry to lose her in our cause. Indeed, we need as many talented women as we can muster. A woman who has studied the laws of nature, (that is, God's laws,) is worth to us a hundred, two hundred men, for she will easily find out what are her natural rights, and if she turns next her attention to the laws of man, she will see that these laws oppose those natural rights of hers every where, and injure her most severely in all her social relations, by shackling and impeding her on every direction, wounding her most noble feelings, deteriorating her physical and mental faculties, making of her an unfortunate, a wretched being, in every class of society. Forced into a state of apparent nonentity, in order that man may assume the responsibility, or rather the credit of her labors, it is with numberless difficulties, and most pitifully, that she can go through the task especially assigned to her by the creating God.

By the present perverted social organization, the mother of mankind, and the industrial laboring class, have had the same fate, no doubt from the same cause—war, and its demoralizing consequences, which placed the ruling power in the hands of the most turbulent, reckless and selfish. These, by leaguings together, were enabled to drill the good feeling, confiding, un-forseeing, ever-busy, and at the same time disconnected women and laborers. They drilled them into beliefs which suited their selfish designs.

Now, Man stands with Woman as in the United States Capital stands with Labor. Both say, "Do my bidding, or starve." So that the mother of mankind has not only to accomplish her already naturally arduous task through difficulties which the narrow-sighted selfishness of Man has thrown

in her path, but she is called to devote, to consecrate herself, to the service of her Male. Man has contrived to make her believe that this was ~~her~~ her *paramount duty*, before which her duties as a member of society, a sister, a daughter, a mother, and to herself, all ought to vanish into insignificance; whilst himself, full of self-aggrandizement, sensual gratification, self-importance and ambition, overlooks, or does so indifferently the assistant auxiliary part Nature has charged him with towards Woman, that frequently he stands altogether in her way, rather than assists her at all. However, whatever she does, Man's social regulations credit it to him.

So it is with the Laborer who creates Wealth. The Capitalist, who is but an auxiliary in it, takes to himself the credit and profits, whilst he leaves to the poor laborer hardly enough to keep soul and body together, in order to do his bidding again, in a most dependent degraded life of misery.

The first cause of all this—*War*. Sexual attraction unarmed the conqueror. Not only he spared Woman's life, but offered Love, and if accepted, support and protection against her foes. She accepted it. Yes, Woman consented to receive the embraces of a foe whose hands were imbrued with the blood of her father, brothers, lover and sons. This cowardly selfish act degraded her moral character. That is the true origin of Woman's fall and of the consequent curse which attended it. O, Mother of Mankind! have not your unfortunate daughters suffered long enough for your sin? Is it not high time that they should be redeemed? On whatever side remained the victory, the women being always spared, became much more numerous than the men. These, constantly engaged in the pursuit of new conquests and plunder, the women had to work for their own support, that of their children, and even of their men.

These, not only finding sexual gratification, but comforts and conveniences, were induced more and more to secure the women, and even instead of killing their fellow men, to try if they could not turn them to some useful purpose to themselves. To secure life, is the first Law of Nature. So Man consented to become the beast of burden of Man. Behold the origin of the degradation of Labor. The same as that of Woman—love of life! That their degradation and misery should have continued so long after the cause, is because their conquerors and usurpers combining, were enabled to drill and deceive their ignorant and unguarded descendants, who were made believe that all was "matter of course." What is the remedy? Not war! Woman and Labor owe all their miseries to it. Let us combine as the laboring class have done. Let us associate together to investigate our Social Relations, and whatever we find false and unjust, let us denounce it and protest against; but with that calm dignity becoming the Mother of our Race, as the *Proxy* of the *Great Creator*, for the welfare of the human family.

Some of our sisters, in the simplicity of their hearts may ask—"What then have the women of the present civilization to complain of? Surely we pity the poor Red Indian Squaw, the slave of the Seraglio, the oppressed females of the African shores. We blush and shudder with indignation at the outrage and sufferings offered to the innocent female child in Tartary, Arabia, and other nations, in order to gratify the sickly nicety of her Male. We see in many nations the Mother of Mankind sold and purchased by Man, her Male, as a piece of furniture for his own purpose and use. But we, Women of the Civilized World, have nothing like that to suffer. And if the females complain yet of the barbarous manners of their men in Russia, of their rough bluntness in Germany, their tyrannical jealousy in Spain, Portugal and Italy, their supercilious ways in England, and if, even, the privileged French woman has yet some cause to complain, we women of the United States have none." If your statement is correct, dear sisters, surely it is a confirmation of my assertion, that "the Mother of our Race suffers bitter wrongs," and that it is high time for her to protest against them. That it

is a duty she owes to herself and posterity. It would be a very trifling exception indeed if only the Mothers of the United States had nothing to complain of. I should hope their sympathy might be awakened in favor of their much more unfortunate sisters all over the Globe, that they would exert themselves in their behalf, as they do now for the Black Slave, the Poor, the Inebriate, the Culprit, &c. In fact, in favor of every thing except the *enfranchisement of the human female from the unnatural and demoralizing Despotism of her Male!* Is it not very strange?

But, dear Sisters! I fear that when we come to investigate those high privileges the Mothers of the United States enjoy, so much above all the other Mothers over the Earth, we will find that the *statement* has been dictated by *Doctors*, in the same case as the *Doctors* of all our Sectarian churches are who see "*wrong*" in all other churches, and "*right*" only in their own!" Let us try.

God has associated, almost always, two Beings for the reproduction of their own species. The most responsible one, since the consequences remain with her, and depend entirely on her to come to any thing, is called Female. The second, who is but transiently connected with it, is called Male. "But," you will say, "why did not God give the same task to both?" It is a question we women are apt to ask, half in spite, half joking. I once asked this question to Nature. It was a beautiful spring morning, I received the answer through a sweet little bird who was very busy building her nest: her Male soon came with some materials for it in his beak. She seemed to say to me, "Do you not see that if he was in the same case as I am, I could not have any help in *building my nest*, for he would have to be building his own too. I assure you it is a great undertaking for a little bird like me to select the best place and consider the degree of danger and security, and collect, from all directions, the materials I need. Besides, come and see, when my little nest is finished, and I am setting snug in it, he will be there, on a branch close to me, cheering me up with his sweet music, watching over my safety, feeding me, and helping me to feed my little ones when they are come." "But," said I, "Does he not think you are very much obliged to him for so doing? and does he not claim obedience and dominion over you?" "How could he?" said she; "he knows I could be as light and gay hearted in the woods as himself, was it not that I have yielded to his most ardent wishes. Surely it is but just that he should contribute to lighten the inconveniences his very love has brought on me; and as his desires still continue, it is as much his interest as his inclination to smooth the path his love has ruffled, by all possible kindness. And what do you mean by 'obligation, dominion?' My Male's love and devotedness constitute his happiness, as my love and devotedness to my young ones constitute mine."

What a profound lesson this little bird taught me! Nature revealed herself to me. I saw that the destiny of the male is towards his female as the destiny of the female is towards her offspring; that both are drawn to their mutual destinies by the laws of attraction. In order to preserve the independence of the female, Nature caused the services of the male to be but a just retribution for the inconveniences he brought on her, and gave him no claim to reciprocity which would not have answered Nature's purpose, who wanted to insure assistance to the female who needed it, being incumbered, whilst the male was not. I admired the ingenious, benevolent contrivance of the Governing Power, together with its strict adherence to the *Rules of Equity*. I said to myself, "Certainly Nature cannot have made one single exception of these Universal Laws against the Mother of the human race only! Man must or ought to be in the same relation with Woman as all other Males are with their Females."

However, when I came to consider their social connections, I was shocked

to find Man standing a monstrous anomaly in the animal Creation, having attempted to pervert the Laws of Nature in all his sexual and family relations. For instance, in the human species, it is to the *Male* that the *nest* is consecrated! The female is admitted in it only as his servant to attend upon him, and whose greatest merit is to keep it to his best comfort and convenience, and who can be turned out of it on his displeasure, even when she might most need it! It is to the Male that her offspring must look up and return gratitude, obedience, and honor! The Laws of Man treating the Mother of Mankind as the mere servant of her Male, even her love and devotedness to her offspring are credited to him alone; as for those offspring, they owe her nothing.

If she dies, nest, property, children, all remain with him as before: he generally hastens to take another female into the Nest to attend upon him and also on the children, reserving only to himself the credit of managing. She is either under the name of a housekeeper or that of a wife. The functions of both are about the same, except that the first receiving a salary can remove if not pleased, and is dispensed from allowing him to cause her to become a mother, though sometimes he contrives to entice her into it; the other receives no salary, is bound to stay or go wherever he pleases, she like it or not, and must always be ready to run the risk of becoming a Mother, willing or unwilling. If I was to tell this to the inhabitants of the Moon they would not hesitate to think that all the women would prefer being the housekeeper and reject being the wife. However, I would have to say that it is quite the reverse, the second title being bestowed as a great favor, and most of the time accepted as such, and if they asked me "Why," I would have to send them to India, or the coast of Malabar, where they would see widows throwing themselves upon the burning piles which are to consume them with dead bodies of husbands that they perhaps cordially detested. They are made to believe there as we are here. I wonder if they are made to believe in the Moon as we are here on this earth? However, this is a digression. Let us return to our subject. I have shown you how things go after the death of the human female mate with her male mate; now I will show you how it goes with her after the death of her mate. The Laws of Man treating the Mother of the Race as the mere servant of her Male, when her services cease to be of any use to him, by his death her children are called by these Laws to lay claim on the Nest and all its appurtenances as their own property, and *oust* the aged Mother out of it, thinking they have done plenty for her in allowing her a certain portion of its rough value as a kind of alimony or *victuals* (both mean the same), under the name of dowry (which is a gross falsehood, since it means the price she was bought at by her male). In most cases, this provision is perfectly inadequate for her most humble maintenance. The unfortunate woman has to strike the world anew, without a profession, without a trade, without a home; with an aged, enfeebled, broken constitution, dispirited by the result of her past experience; or she must live as a beggar upon alms and charities, until the grave shelters the poor heart-broken creature, who drops into it unnoticed and in oblivion—although she has drunk deep in the cup of bitterness. They may indeed pity the widows! but what make the widows so pitiable? Man's social Laws! social regulations! Man! thou hast been provided, by the Universal Creator, to be the *devoted* friend of Woman, thy female, the Mother of thy Race! Is that the accomplishing of thy duty towards her? O you Republican sons of America! is it so that you reward and honor your Mothers? Sisters, excuse—but is there not among you a Woman's heart to respond to mine?

What think you of our National Reformers who loudly claim the *sacredness* of their homestead, and would have it secured from all creditors, and are petitioning and exerting all their energies to obtain the enactment of a

law in favor of it; whilst these same Reformers do not utter a hint against the Law which authorizes them to oust their Mother out of that very homestead as soon as their father is out of the way. I suppose, dear Sisters, you have not followed me till now without becoming aware that even in the United States women are grievously wronged. In the present state of Society, all over the Civil World, what is the cause of it? No other, but her interests not being represented in the Councils of Nations. In her absence, the individual selfishness of her Male receiving no check, acquires an inordinate development, forgetting his own natural destiny, which is to be her devoted friend, indicated by his own attraction towards her. All his Legal and Social regulations aim at rendering her subservient to his own selfishness, regardless of the additional sufferings and miseries he entails on her; he shackles and disables her on every point, deteriorates her physical and mental powers; having enabled himself to exact whatever he wants from her without any exertion on his part, she loses the value he used to attach to her favors, and with it his admiration—satiation soon follows, and he looks with indifference, if not with contempt, on that Being whom it was happiness to idolize: her domestic attendance upon him is all he cares for her. Now Woman, in losing the devotedness of her Male, finds herself with additional duties; her destiny is no more, with the kindest assistance of her Male, to attend on her offspring, to rear them, unfold all their faculties, improve and perfect them as much as all the energies and devotedness of an intelligent Mother can, and receiving for her reward the love and gratitude of her Male offsprings and society! No, no! that is quite secondary; her all overwhelming duty is to attend on her Male, to study most minutely his comforts and pleasures.

Never mind how severely it tasks and forces her to neglect her children; all that she may do for them and herself is to try by all kinds of cringing and duplicity to screen them from his caprices and tyranny. Read all the Wife-drillings of Moralists, and you will find their directions have that tendency. Woman thus situated cannot accomplish her own destiny. One of the great steps of progress in this age is the awaking of the public opinion to this all-important destiny of woman. I hope it will lead to perceiving the necessity of restoring her Powers as necessary to her task; for what can the poor creature do shackled, entangled, and overburdened as she is? This not only reacts against Man, since he is the offspring of Woman, but, as most of his regulations are contrary to the Laws of Nature, there is a constant strife between them which throws society into confusion, bitter clashings, complete demoralization and misery.

It is easy to perceive what is the remedy. A great many more Men than Women know it. It is natural that it should be so; as it is, the Women, who are the dupes of the present Social Order, they are the ones kept most benighted by a thousand drillings which they do not suspect the real purpose of. The minute occupations (many of them more fanciful than really useful) which absorb every moment of a woman, preclude, in most cases, the cultivation of her intellectual faculties. Ridicule debars her still more from it, in calling it an attempt at *Blue Stockings*, which makes a woman ugly and ridiculous.

They are prevented from embracing broad views, and still more from carrying them on by the limitation of their occupations to which in a great measure their ideas must confine themselves, by the isolated and retired life they are made to lead, which is made a great merit in them, although it deprives them of that delightful interchange of thought which enlarges the mind and serves to brush off ignorance, and with it individual and local prejudices, the drawback to any improvement. These are the causes which keep Woman so much behind herself and the enlightened age in which we live, and explain the riddle, why, after the primitive cause of woman's de-

grading subserviency to her Male has been removed for so many years, the Mother of Mankind is still legally doomed to a civil death, worse than an alien in her native country, condemned to a National Nonentity; bound to acknowledge for her absolute sovereign all the Men in her country (even her sons!); to submit to their laws and obey them without appeal, however injurious they may be to her female and maternal interest and rights: she must besides consent to consider herself the legal slave and property of her *Male*, with all that she possesses, and can produce as a Mother or as an industrious being, and with all this to be pleased with considering him everything—herself naught!

The enlightened men of our ago have investigated too much of the Truth not to be more ashamed of, than proud, of their false position. Shame deters them from letting the unbiassed Truth reach woman's eyes. As long as Woman seems to be ignorant of the hand which planted the shaft in her flesh, Man will hush up; and although the *wrongs of Woman* are by far the greatest evil which pervades society, since as, at the same time that they make her miserable, she who is the half of society, they incapacitate her for accomplishing her destiny. They demoralize Man's character by thus depriving him of his noblest source of happiness! However, I say, they are the least mentioned, I repeat again, rather from shame than for anything else.

But let Woman ascertain the cause of her miseries, and not give way to the false pride which induces her to shut her eyes against and deny them, —then Man, who, in spite of thousands of years attempting to be the *Joe* of Woman, feels that he is doomed to find his own happiness in loving and pleasing her, will eagerly come to her assistance in removing the causes, and be the loudest in denouncing those wrongs she complains of.

Believe me, Sisters, those gentlemen who tell you of your all-important Mission as Mothers, and direct your attention to the study of yourselves, Nature and all around you, want to point to you the path which will lead you to those *Truths* that a kind of delicacy (fear of offending your pride) prevents them from bluntly exposing to your eyes. I suspect that "Spectator" expected that our dear "Operative" would find out that the broad, warm sunshine of the love, approbation, and respect of society was a more adequate field for the *completion* and reward of the task of the Mother of Mankind than her being isolated, blindfolded, unknown and unnoticed, fiduling at random after "the secret springs behind the Throne." There is very little *knowledge, power, or inducement* to be found *there*. Surely the Mother needs not to be doomed to a civil death, and concealed *behind the Throne*, as if her very existence was a disgrace to her Race! It is a poor way to prepare and reward her for her task. No doubt the incoherent and discordant state of Society is owing to the false position of the Mother of our Race.

All that is wanted to rectify these evils is to throw a light on the path of Woman, make her examine, question, investigate everything around her, Natural and Social. Let her ask herself, "What is Nature's purpose for such and such law?" "What is the purpose of Man for such and such Law?" her natural keen perception will give her the *truth* for answer: then she will soon find herself disenthralled from the most absurd prejudices in which she has till now been wrapped up as in a net-work. Nature having selected Woman as her *Proxy* for the representation of our Race, confided to her *irresistible Powers*, —not those of brutal force, compulsion, and violence, no! but those of attractive bliss! And if the human Mother is yet, even in the United States, the *degraded slave* or *trifling toy* of her *Male*, it is because she has been kept in complete ignorance of herself and the true purpose of those Powers.

Women have never combined together for the investigation and support of their Rights. Your Association is the first instance. I know of

Women uniting together for their own *Protection*. It is enough to set the ball going; let the others imitate you. All Women have the same cause to vindicate all over the United States, from the President's wife to the most humble cottager. Beware of the designers who will try to divide you into rich and poor, high and low, young and old, single and married, beautiful and ugly, in order to throw the apple of discord among you. Now listen: as a Nation, all the Men of the United States, I repeat it again, are the absolute despotic sovereigns, law-givers, jurymen and judges over all the Women of the United States; even so with the sons over their Mothers! Offices, distinctions, honors, wealth, credit, and profit are all exclusive privileges of the Men.

The Women, on the other hand, fall into a kind of serfdom under the despotism of their Men, against the dictate of whose will they have no legal appeal. So those Men are one and all their autocrats.

The Constitution of the United States taking for its foundation of *National Rights* those of *sentient beings*, the women of the United States being denied all *national Rights*, are by this very act thrown back, as if they did not belong to the human race, into the Brute Creation! so that, Nationally, the Women in this country have been more degraded by their Men than any other Women all over the Globe. You will not be surprised now if, in republican countries, the Civil Laws show themselves more careless of woman's interest, and are a great deal more unfavorable to her than in despotic countries. It is not the Constitution which is inconsistent and unfair; it is your Men who deny you its benefit, because these Good Republicans are as eager to domineer as to repel any dominion over themselves. You left them to arrange the matter. So they did. You must excuse them if they have consulted their own inclination. You ought to have expected it. They have not treated you worse than they would have treated God himself. What have not Men done to free themselves from the Laws of Nature? Is it their fault if she is not under their absolute control? A perfect equilibrium is the only way to maintain justice, equity, and order, and harmony; as soon as it is not attended to, the all-social mechanism goes to rack, and becomes a real Pandemonia.

In no country is this equilibrium nationally and legally more destroyed than in the United States, between Woman and Man. It is here, indeed, that the Men have contrived to substitute themselves to Woman (*for credit*) everywhere. In the family transactions of all sorts; Marriages, Deaths, Births, Relationship, &c. The Mother and Wife in appearance is a perfect Nonentity; but there is the Man who stands like the Emperor of China; the *Mother* as well as the father, the *Wife* as the husband, for honor and credit that is to say; for there are no women more industrious than the Women of America, more devoted to the welfare of their families, as far as they understand it: self denial, self sacrifice is so habitual to them that they make themselves the very drudges of their families, and are often treated as such by them; so that a beautiful sweet girl who enters Matrimony at sixteen or seventeen is hardly thirty before she shows already the decay of old age—wrinkled forehead, sunken eyes and cheeks; her countenance bespeaks either sadness, fretfulness, or overbearing habits, according to the degree of energy she has summoned to struggle with the difficulties she has encountered in her false social position, as a Wife, as a Mother, as a member of society, &c. I have often heard foreigners wonder at the exquisite beauty of the young American girls disappearing so rapidly in the Marriage State! I could tell them—It is the secret canker of disappointment which preys on their vitality, from the wantonness of the injustice of their fate. They feel it without being able to trace it to its cause. They accuse God and Nature, whilst they should only accuse their extreme ignorance, and their Men who take advantage of it.

I repeat it again, Sisters, rich or poor, high or low, we are all alike in the eyes of the law of our country; that is, perfect Nonentities thrown in the hands of the Men to do their pleasure with.

If some among you wear satin dresses and lie upon velvet cushions, surrounded by many other humbler females ready to do your bidding, it is because your own Master is pleased to display thus his own wealth for the gratification of his self importance. The Livery is so much the brighter in proportion as the Master is more fond of display. But under this fine livery, are not there sometimes bitter tears of humiliation? If your Master was a Miser, a stingy fellow, delighting in piling dollars upon dollars, you would have, like it or not, to walk in simple garbs like your humbler neighbor, and attend on your Master as well as on yourself. In a Republic, if the Women, who are the half of the Nation, do not participate in the Legislation, which is the expression of the National *Will* and Power, they have no National Rights, no National existence, and a great deal worse than aliens in their own native country. They, of course, are thrown into the absolute power of the Men, like a horse or a dog. Do you expect these Men will be able to resist the temptation to abuse? They are not angels! Let me show you one instance of the consequences of it—the Matrimonial *Unitism*? Not according to Nature as our little Bird has shown it to us, but according to the legal regulations of Men, and which they would have us to admire! What is it? but the complete abnegation of all the Rights of the female, in favor of the Male, making her existence, will, and feelings a perpetual sacrifice to him—maintaining the unity of the two by nullifying one half in her; not indeed in labor, for she has, in that obscure position, a double task to accomplish, that of attending upon and serving her Male, and that of keeping herself always in readiness to gratify his sexual appetite, and by so doing becoming, whenever it pleases him, the Mother of *his* children, as they are called, not *hers*, for she has no right to them, since he can dispose of them in spite of her, even when they are yet shut up in her bosom! Then she is called to rear them, not according to her own inclination, but under the superintendence of his *will*, which is fair enough, since all the advantages or honor which may be derived from them are to be credited to him alone. As for her, after a life of humble probation, she may die and fall unnoticed and in oblivion; nobody will trace to her the good she has done, for there is her Male to be credited for it. If things do not go exactly like that upon every occasion, it is not the fault of Man's legal and social regulation. Do you wonder that, in the United States, where these laws and regulations are most powerful, in this present comparatively enlightened age, in which, at last, Woman begins to be awakened to the consciousness of her own excellence, your beautiful young girls, whose prescinding education has developed the intellectual powers which create self respect, self dignity, with the consciousness of self nentity, which when acquired is the most repugnant to our Nature to give up,—these same girls, deluded by the bewitchings of courtship, in which the Men of America spare nothing to entice, do you wonder, I say, that after a few years of marriage they should become human wrecks, and so many of them should fall into an untimely grave, under the influence of such barbarous laws which are so much the more revolting to our Nature, as our mind is more enlightened and developed. This must produce a horrid struggle! Where is the country, besides this, in which the husbands become so often the murderers of their wives? What created the Neros, Caligulas, and Henry the Eighth? Unlimited Power!

I know that Nature is incessantly at work to counteract the baneful effects of such demoralizing social organization! She calls on you, daughters of America! she says that you have a Mission to accomplish, far greater, nobler, and more important than any Men have ever accomplished, by re-

ence of adult man, that our laws have in view—not a mother. Read all our statute books, and you will see that we trouble ourselves very little about the *mother of mankind*, her responsibility, duties and *rights*.”—Excuse me, Gentlemen, but I must say, you are falling into the *grossesst error*; for you are sacrificing the *purpose* to the *means*! Do not be surprised, then, if all goes crooked around you in your societies.

If what I say above is not correct, I shall be happy to be set right by any body.

NUMBER TWO.

Question.—Why does an American cease to be a citizen of the United States, and become incapable of holding any office of trust or profit, as soon as he marries?

Answer.—Because, contrary to the whole spirit and tenor of the Constitution, and especially in its Amendments, Art. 13th, which says:—“If any citizen of the United States accept, claim, receive or retain any title of *nobility* or *honor*, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit.” He marries under the influence of feudal laws, which make him *liege lord* and *baron* over the *woman*, who becomes *his vassal*, and is *bound* by these laws to look upon *him* as her absolute sovereign, whose will is *her law*, who can dispose of, use or abuse her person, property and labor, as he pleases, without her having any right to oppose it, whether she likes it or not. In fact, in the same manner, but more strictly yet, as the *liege lords* and *barons* of yore could do it over their male *vassals* and *villains*!

That is what you are allowed to partake, of the boasted redeemed natural rights of *sentient beings*! You, *women* of the American Republic! By your Republican fathers, brothers, lovers, made your absolute despots as husbands, and your very sons! the offsprings of your sufferings, the rearing of your unrelenting love and devotedness! who do not seem more anxious at repelling, with indignation, the slightest encroachments over themselves, than eager at pressing their lordly powers and privileges over their daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, those ministering angels of blessings over them! Oh selfish inconsistency! Does it not look as if those men were the bitterest foes of their women? No. They are only guided by an unrestrained selfishness. As they, alone, regulate for both parties, they have tried to favor themselves, without giving a thought on how they inconvenienced the female party. At the legislature, they look on absent women as the ones to whom the less is granted, the more will remain for themselves. Those feudal laws, for instance, whose precedency they reject with indignation and contempt, when it regards themselves, they did not hesitate, after the Declaration of Independence and Natural Rights of Sentient Beings, I say, to gather their scattered fragments, to enforce them on their unsuspecting daughters, sisters, wives, mothers! Not because they wished them harm, but because they thought they were doing themselves good.

But man is mistaken; his interest is too much intrammeled with that of the mother of the race, for hers to be injured without it reaching on his. In disabling woman, in depriving her of her physical, moral, intellectual, natural rights and powers, in order to domineer over her, indeed he injures her cruelly, as well as her offspring, of whom he is the *half*. But he has rendered his position as false as burdensome to himself. He has taken too much upon himself to raise his importance. (His responsibility is much greater than nature ever intended it to be.) By the laws of man, woman is crippled and rendered quite inadequate to her destiny towards her race; whilst it is absolutely impossible for man to stand in her place, although he

right of sentient beings), that the words "philanthropy, respect for the rights of his fellow creatures," &c. &c., sound in his mouth so hypocritical that they are suspected of being assumed for some selfish purpose,—then the pamphlet is valuable. There is not a gloomier blot on the moral character of man, particularly, I repeat it again, in the United States of America, than his legal social relations with woman, because they are his own deliberate devices or selections. Their absurd injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, show that they are the produce of an uncontrolled gross selfishness in him, which sacrifices her entirely in order to favor himself. They have a tendency to turn man into the bitterest foe of woman, of whom nature had intended him to be the devoted friend, the zealous helpmate, in her all important arduous task towards her race, which he himself brought to her. This must necessarily produce the greatest confusion, discord and misery in the human family, in the whole human society.

However, the press groans under the multifarious writings in defence and vindication of the rights of the colored population of this country. Societies are formed to support the principles in their favor; the most talented philanthropists lecture for them all over the United States; vehement stumpings, nay, a national party has been formed to defend their cause. What has the republican, the philanthropist of America, done to redeem the outraged rights of his mother? His mother! Has he ever given a thought to the sacredness this name conveys? No! Had he, he would not suffer his own laws and social regulations to insult her as they do.

What has the philanthropic American done to disenthral the friend of his heart from the degrading legal slavery in which she is delivered up to his power and absolute despotism, under the name of a wife? He speaks with eloquence of the inalienable rights of his black brethren, but why does he overlook the slighted rights of the sister of his fireside? Does he owe less protection to the daughter of his own blood, than to the natives of the African shores. Where does lie the secret spring of so unjust, so ungrateful, so cruel an inconsistency? If your pamphlet brings forward to light and investigation this all important question, then let me know it. I will send you the money for several copies, and if the subject is treated with the power its importance requires, I will spare no trouble to make you sell thousands of them.

ARTICLE FIFTH.

CONUNDRUM.

NUMBER ONE.

Question.—When is a woman like one declared insane by a court of justice?

Answer.—When she becomes a wife. For both are, by the law, deprived of the control of their own person, property and will—doomed to a civil death.

It seems to me a curious way for society to prepare woman for her responsible task as a mother, by disowning her very existence and reducing her to the imbecility of an infant herself. Methinks. Gentlemen Legists, you commit a great mistake in your legislation, in this respect. God created man—as he did all the other males with their females—to assist woman in her all-important labors of procreating and rearing the following generations, which generations he is associated to through his love to her. He is a friend that God has provided to help the mother of mankind; not to disable her! to give to her, not take away from her! "But," our Legists answer, "you mistake our object altogether; it is a wife, that is, a woman for the conveni-

has most awkwardly and mischievously attempted to do it in many instances. Of course both suffer by it. If women contributed equally in the legal regulations of society where they have an equal interest at stake, all would soon be fair and in harmony. Then expect nothing else but the discording effect of the clashing of unequalled self-love, which will always smother, by its over growth, the best feelings of man. Will not a son, a bosom friend, a brother, a father of woman, come forward to vindicate her right to participate in the boon of liberty and equal rights, gained by our ancestors and bequeathed by them to their posterity? Why should the daughters of America be deprived of their most precious inheritance by their brothers? On what foundation are the *rights of a sentient being denied to the mother of man by her American sons?*

ARTICLE FIFTH.

A CURIOUS FACT.

If it is true that in proportion as a tribe or nation is coarse, brutal, and cruel, the women are degraded and oppressed, our Saxon ancestors, of whom our American brothers make such a boast, must have been the most barbarous and most brutal of all the human race, judging by the very names they bestowed on them or associated them with.

Wo-man (or man of wo!) was the name that these barbarous conquerors gave to those poor miserable, bewailing creatures, whom they dragged after themselves with the remainder of the booty, when they had massacred most of their friends and dispersed the rest, despoiled and laid waste their homes.

Spinster—which means spinner, in all antiquity, as the nations had no spinning machineries, spinning required a great many hands; also it was the constant employment of all the slaves, when not needed elsewhere, not only of the females, but of the males too. Of course their masters considered such an occupation as the vilest and most degrading one; and took it as the highest insult when applied to themselves, in the same manner as the Lords and Barons of the middle age took that of *villain*—which brought them on a level with their vassals. *Spinster*, or spinner, was the name that these fine Saxons chose to give to their daughters till they disposed of them into the service of some other men as wives.

Miss—(a *Miss*, that is, a being of no account, answering no purpose, useless)—a contemptuous, jocular name that the rich fathers gave to their daughters, when they dispensed them from menial labors, having plenty of other dependents to do it; in the same manner that we say now a *pet* for a spoiled child, over indulged.

Wife—(or wif, vif)—a name that the Saxons and the stock they came from used to give their most menial servants of either sex; and finally reserving it exclusively for the women united to them in the bonds of Matrimony!

Husband—(this name is explained by encyclopedia and legal books as signifying *liege lord, baron, sovereign, absolute master, autocrat, whose will is the law!*)—that is the signification of the name that those *noble, refined feeling Saxon lovers* chose to assume with their women in their matrimonial relations with them,—and that their American republican descendants, after the *declaration of independence* and the *rights of sentient beings*, have not hesitated to retain with all the prerogatives that the name of husband im-

plies! Not because they had conquered their women at the point of their swords and at the peril of their lives as their Saxon ancestors used to; but they told their women, "Look sharp at home and see that all is *right here*, and *we* will see that all is right abroad." Poor creatures—they believed them! When our men were at the legislative hall they thought it was delightful to have no lords and sovereigns to overrule them; also they all went in earnest to clear off all the lords and sovereigns from above themselves. But it was not so when it was for them to give up in their turn domineering. A *king* above *them* was an *abomination*; but for each of them to be *king at home*, it was very pleasant. They knew there can be no kings without subjects; so they made up their minds to pocket all the natural rights of their absent women, and to take to them, instead, a pair of shackles for each, with which they provided themselves from those *feudal laws* which they had just trampled under their feet with indignation when it regarded *themselves*; but which they carefully picked up again and kept sacredly untouched and unaltered for the ruling of their women. Oh, selfish inconsistency!

But I have been deviating from my former proposition, which was to prove that, to my knowledge, the *women* have been more degraded, insulted and oppressed by the Saxons than by any other set of men, judging by the stamp of the names they go by even at this present day, and which meet with no such signifying names applied to women collectively in any other language that I know of. In French, *femme* expresses the name of the human female, without the addition of any accessory idea, in the same manner as *homme* expresses the male. Her maiden name is *fille*, which means *daughter*. As a married woman she goes either by the name of *spouse*, which is the same with the married man, except the feminizing termination; or by the more common name of *femme*, and the husband is then *homme*, on equal terms. The husband goes also by the name of *mari*, which expresses the *true natural relation* of every male to his female, and which if fully developed would throw a great light on a subject which at this present time is either perfectly misunderstood or purposely concealed. This name *mari* is of the same family as your words marry, marriage, &c.; very different from your other words, *matrimony*, *matrimonial*, &c., which relate to the female. They are Latin, and are of the same family as *matron*, which was the name of married women among the Romans. But it expresses the dignity of *motherhood*, instead of a *bound servant to a man*, as the name *wife* implies.

So we, American women, owe very little gratitude and admiration to those *Saxon ancestors*. (The masculine ones I mean, for the poor mother's tenderness did as much good to their female offspring as to their male ones. Nature confided them both to her love; it knew no distinctions. Let us with respect, gratitude and veneration, shed a tear over their memory, although it is left a *blank* in the records of *men*.) You see, dear sisters of America, that we should not be too precipitate in believing our American Saxon brothers, when they tell us that, of *all other nations*, they are those who pay *most respect to their women*, especially when we find that the laws with which they choose to *rule over us* are so *congenial* with the names above mentioned.

Man, in every nation, feels conscious of being wrong towards woman, in all legal, social regulations. However, Nature places him in the *necessity* of *winning her good will*. He thinks that in swelling and exaggerating the wrongs of all the other nations, he will make his overlooked. The red Indian to his *squaw*, the Turk to his *sultana*, the Arab, or the American, to his *wife*, each says that *all the others* are tyrants with woman—he alone deals *fairly with her*.

ARTICLE SIXTH.

From the Cincinnati Washingtonian of March 30, 1844.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to avail myself of your excellent paper, to communicate with my fellow Sisters of Cincinnati.

TO THE LADIES OF THE MARTHA WASHINGTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY:—

I had heard, Ladies, that, in pursuance of the noble design of repelling out of the bosom of our society the hateful demon of intemperance, from which poor females have suffered so much, of which they are still so much the victims, and the desire of assisting with all your might the worthy Men whose philanthropy has consecrated them to so benevolent a purpose, you had raised among you a petition, amounting to *six thousand names*, and had come *humbly* to lay it down at the *feet* of your *sons*! I wanted to see the result. I had heard various rumors. I have, at last, the proceedings of the City Council before my eyes, as well as a long editorial from the *Daily Times*.—Mothers of the Republicans of America! hear you what your sons, through that paper, tell you? That you are not citizens of the United States, nor of your own native State; that you are *aliens* in your *native country*! That you have no franchise, no privileges to claim, no natural rights to exercise in that society where you gave them birth and reared them! That you are entirely in their power and dependence, and have no means of redress but through their bounty; so that, like Sultanas, you must fawn before them, flatter and cajole them, for it is only from their smiles that you may hope for favors! They dictate to their Mothers as if, from the moment they attain the age of twenty-one, they may entirely divest themselves of the gratitude they owe them; and as if Omniscience was their *lot*, and imbecility that of their Mothers!

The gentlemen of the *Daily Times* tells us, that all this is caused by our *Mother Eve's curse*! But if it was not for the love of domineering over his own mother, which blinds the gentleman, he would have seen, by the very part of the Scripture he alludes to, that "Woman's curse was redeemed as soon as the Messiah was born to Mary," who is, by the by, the only human parent he had, and consequently the only human cause of the redemption of the world; for *Men* had nothing to do with Jesus Christ, but the killing of him! Does not the part of the Scripture you quote, Mr. Editor of the *Times*, say, that through *Mary* the second *Eve* (Woman) would triumph over her enemy, the Serpent, and she would crush his head under her heel? But, alas! I fear much that the spirit of the Serpent has found refuge in *many* hearts among the sons of Woman, and that he works such baneful influence there, that his *malice* would prompt them to sting and wound the very breast from which their lips expressed the food of their existence! If our *American Anglo Saxon sons* repel the accusation from themselves, they have no objection to have it fall upon the Turks, Arabs, Tartars, Chinese, Red Indians, &c., "who are all, except themselves, very unfair with Woman." Notwithstanding his Saxon origin, I cannot help thinking that the pen of the editor of the *Daily Times* has been somewhat dipped in the poison, and guided by the malice of the Serpent, when he asserts that his mother's rights are none, her duties numberless, and her vices a nuisance over measure! When I consider that if what Mr. Taylor says is the true expression of the sentiments and legal rights of our Republican Sons, my boys will be authorized to hold such a language to me as he, a few days ago, held to his mother, and all the Cincinnati mothers, I feel my blood

curdling in my heart, and as if my soul, from indignation, would bound back to eternity! But, child! how comest thou to know so much better my duties than I do myself? I taught thee to eat and to drink; to walk and to think: I did not teach thee my duties! I thought it would be enough that I should know them myself. I'll tell thee wherein I was wrong; relying on thy gratitude, I neglected to teach thy duties to me! Thou tracest a *circle*, and with a dictatorial tone thou pointest to it and sayest, "Woman, behold thy natural sphere!" Unnatural Son! invoke not Nature! thou knowest her not, or thou would'st not violate her most sacred laws! if thou did'st, thou would'st deserve thy *Mother's curse!* But I say with Christ, "Judge him not by his deeds, he knows not what he is about!"

Mothers of the future generations, teach your sons to respect you, and not to consider you as mere hatching and nursing machines whom they scornfully send back to their nurseries and kitchens, forbidding them to aspire to anything else. Forgive me, Sisters, if I have left to you to resent the affront offered to us by the *Daily Times*, as Daughters, Sisters, Wives! But, oh! I am a Mother! I have sons! My heart was too full with the indignation of an outraged Parent! I exclaimed, "Is that the reward, the compensation, for our arduous task! for our love! our devotedness!"

You, excellent Men! listen not to the insults thrown at you by the *Daily Times!* spurn them and pursue your work; drive away intemperance, and with it debauchery, coarseness, brutality, and crime, its constant attendants. Your Mothers' blessing will be over you in your labors, and will make sleep sweeter in the hours of rest!

I hope our Sisters of the Martha Washington Society are not appalled by Mr. Walker's surprise and indignation: and since the Judge will not "yield to six thousand Women," let us meet him and his like, not with six thousand, nor six hundred thousand, but seven millions! Hearty thanks to Mr. Martin, for the kind, liberal, gentlemanly manner he supported our Sisters. I suppose the ladies of his acquaintance have not failed to express to him their gratitude. I know I would feel proud to do so myself, if ever chance would favor me.

A word to Mr. Inskip. Some young girls have felt keenly offended at his sneers. As for myself, it created a faint smile. I thought Mr. Inskip was not a very bitter enemy, since slight ridicule of dress was all he could find fault with. Alas! I wish we had to find fault but with *straps, stocks*, hairy, bushy faces, where the eyes and nose only are to be seen, and make the mother draw back with a disagreeable surprise, and say, "But is that my son? These are deep wrongs—not ridicules—we have to look upon!"

ARTICLE SEVENTH.

Sam Slick, Jr., to Yankee Doodle.

DEAR COZ.—I am just from China, and in want of your help in a down-right particular business. I had started for China to try my fortune there. (You know, Coz., I am the feller for a spec.) When I arrived, I found the whole country in a buzz. They told me it was because their Emperor, (who is a great philosopher), tired of seeing the Chinese stand still forever, has made up his mind to make them go-ahead, anyhow. For that purpose, he has had proclaimed all over the Celestial Empire, that he will give one hundred thousand dollars to the feller who will present him with the best Constitution. I started; my heart beat; I fancied I already felt the chink in my pocket, when I felt in it, that small edition of our Constitution that

I always carry about me. "I have got it," says I, and I went ahead. After a thousand cowings, scrapings, cringings, and protestations, I arrived at last in the presence of his Celestial Majesty, (who makes himself very popular, especially with foreigners, from whom he expects to derive information). I laid my book at his feet, and I prostrated myself with my face to the ground, as I had been told to do, but he ordered me to rise. "I am a man," said he, "and want to speak to a man." I was surprised to hear him speak American so well. I have been told that he has studied it since his brawls with John Bull. He read, with the greatest attention, those parts that I pointed out to him, as containing the fundamental principles, and by what means they were carried out. He looked pleased—I could see it. He raised his head, and said, "that is good, very good; I like it; but, friend, there is a difficulty for your Constitution to suit me,—it is that my people are composed of about an equal number of women as men; consequently, it is my duty to secure equally their interests and rights as well as those of the men; whilst you Americans are but a nation of Monks—" "I can tell you, Sire," said I, a little chuckling, "there is not much of the Monkish about us." "But you have no women among you? at least, I see no indication of them in this book." "We have plenty of 'em, though, and pretty, and good 'uns too." "What does your Constitution provide for your women, then?"—"Why," said I, "nothing!" surprised that the man should think that the government ought to meddle with our women, any more than with our horses, cattle, dogs, and cats! I saw that man was not a true Republican at heart. "What do you mean?" said he. "I mean," said I, in a kind of jeer, "that we kiss or kick them, just as it suits us, without our Constitution having anything to do with it." You never saw such a look as he threw upon me. I began to fear for my neck. Bewildered and confused; I hastened to say, "Oh, Sire, but it is only with our own wives that we have such rights. We Republicans know how to respect the individual property. We guarantee to each of us *men* our *absolute sovereignty at home*; for you see, though we do not want any king above us, each of us wants to be a *king at home*. All I could say would not do. I had to listen to a severe lecture, and it was about the mothers! the mothers! He never would have done. "I want to know how you treat your mothers, you Republicans?" "Well, Sire," says I, "I cannot do better than to give you the history of mine:

"As soon as my father was able to buy a piece of wood land, which is pretty cheap with us, he looked round to secure himself a wife; for in my country, every man, young and old, able or disable, rich or poor, idle or industrious, must have some woman or another to attend upon him in all his daily wants; and if he has neither mother, sister, wife or daughter to serve him, then he has to pay some other woman to make the bed he sleeps in; fit, prepare, wash and hand to him the clothes he wears; clean the room or house he lives in; cook his foods, place them before him, and remove them off when he has done, &c. &c. If a man among us was seen performing these services for himself, and there should be any women at hand, he would be looked down with contempt, as one who debases himself. My blood rushes to my face with indignation, when I see, in this country, man, the image of God! the Lord of Creation! washing at the *wash tub*, like an old woman. We civilized have learnt from God, through his prophets, that though He had given to women, as well as to the other females, the task of reproducing her own species, it was not at all for that that He had made her, but to please, obey, and serve man." The Emperor frowned, and abruptly interrupted me. "You promised me to give the history of your mother, and you only speak of your father."—"That is the way with us Americans, and, your Majesty, we are the fellers to know the right way. Well, then, my father's wife was a very industrious young woman, who,

the Celestial Empire; his breathing in it would poison our air, and bring on us curse and pestilence."

Just as he said, indeed, they did it. I was carried as by lightning, and soon placed on an American vessel. They civilly told me not to show my phiz again in their country, or my life would pay for my impudence. I derived some comfort, however, in finding that I should have nothing to pay for my passage. Then here I am, Cozy, but I have not given up the hundred thousand dollars; no, not I, and that is why I write to you. You are a better scholar than me; you must find some means to satisfy this barbarian. I guess our Constitution would suit him very well, if the word *male* was suppressed after the word *adult*, as it implies the exclusion of the women; for it seems that the feller has got it into his head that they were of the same species as man, and are entitled to the rights, privileges, and dignity of sentient beings with them. Those barbarians must be very ignorant! But, as our intercourse grows every day closer and closer, we Republicans will soon teach them better.

As for the present, the business between us is to accommodate matters to the feller's notions. You must absolutely either suppress or add something to our Constitution, to favor the gals, to satisfy him. But it was about "the mothers! the mothers!" he made such a fuss. "Learn," said he, "that it is to woman the Universal Creator has been pleased to confide the high power and responsibility of re-producing and rearing our species. She is his proxy to our race. Its destinies, its very existence, are in her hands. Man is only her help in the task." Was it not for the fear of my neck, which made me swallow it back, a loud "fudge!" would have escaped me. Have you ever heard such an extravagance? We have often enough heard of woman being man's help, but man the help of woman! have you ever? We'll have to send Missionaries among these heathens, to spread light among them. Man, woman's help!—However, in order to get the hundred thousand dollars, we must comply with the feller's notions. I would not dictate to you, for you are the scribe, and I ain't, but I guess the mere word *male* suppressed, as I already said, after the word *adult*, would answer about his purpose. Any how, make all the alterations you think proper to gain our point.

You know I can't show my nose now in China, for they told me my description would be sent to all the seaports in the Celestial Empire, and that as soon as I should make my appearance there, I should certainly be caned to death. But I can put you in the secret of getting most easily in the presence of the Emperor. In order to ingratiate yourself with him, you must tell him that I am a liar, that yours is the *true* Constitution of the United States. That, of course, the laws of our country give equal rights to the women in the government of it; that our Government is a Democratic one, that is, the reign of the people or nation; the women being the half of the nation, if those rights were denied them, our Government would not be a Democratic Government, but an Aristocratic one, where one particular half of the nation would rule absolute over the other half: the most hideous of despotism, since it creates a slave for every tyrant, in the closest intimacy of life, would have a tendency to greatly demoralize the rulers, and degrade the ruled ones. (He told me all that himself, and it will not fail to please him, to hear it repeated as dogmas.) Do not fail to tell him that our laws, customs, and manners pay the greatest respect to the mothers, (for the old fool makes so much the more of women, as they have reared children, are old and ugly; whilst we Americans value them in proportion as they are young, pretty, and have no children. The feller has no taste). He told me in an emphatic tone, as if he was an inspired prophet himself, "To the mothers of our race, Society owes respect and reverence, next to God!" It sounds almost blasphemous, don't it?

Now here's the bargain we have to strike together, before I put you in possession of my secret. You must first give me good security that you will share equally with me the hundred thousand dollars. That you will put me in your paper on the election ticket for the next Presidency. I'll support you for the Vice Presidency; and as we will have plenty of chink in our pockets, no doubt, we will command the election. Then I'll reach the height of my ambition! then I'll be able to pick out for my wife the richest and most fashionable gal in the United States; besides that, the youngest and prettiest ones will be mighty glad when I condescend to wink at 'em. But as soon as we have got the hundred thousand dollars, we must not fail to send Missionaries to the old man. It would not do to let him carry out his plan; we must teach him better.

Address through your paper, it will save postage; for you know, Coz., we have not yet the hundred thousand dollars; and, as I am engaged collecting some small debts, direct to Mrs. M. She will forward me your answer wherever I happen to be. It will give you a chance to get subscribers; as I have been absent, I am not acquainted with your paper, but they say here that they have seen quotations from it, and that you are apt to crack jokes which bring forth big truths.

ARTICLE EIGHTH.

MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE.

H — S — TO P —

Do you remember, my dear P., when you were here last winter, the most common topic of conversation was Miss D., the *belle* of this place, and poor A., our friend—herself young, beautiful, rich, independent, possessing the highest intellectual powers, surrounded by a crowd of admirers; himself the warmest of her worshipers—following her every where, seeming not to be able to live where she was not; looking pale, melancholic, and ready to give up his soul for despair,—whilst she was so brilliant, so gay, apparently so unconcerned about the pains she inflicted, that we were almost angry with her. Would you believe it? she has married him! “Well,” (I fancy I hear you say), “I do not wonder that an affectionate heart should win the object of his wishes.” But I tell you, she actually married him according to the laws of this country! she did! “Well, and then?”

Oh, pshaw! my dear fellow, I am sorry to find you are like most of other men, who are conscious that marriage gives them a great ascendancy over women; but their selfishness makes them easily believe that it is all right, without troubling themselves on what foundations. I hope that when you come to give a serious consideration to the system on which it is grounded, your honest heart will feel ashamed of it, as mine has for a long time. You will not be slow to perceive the baneful effect it works on man's moral character and on woman's intellectual powers, and the conflicting consequences which are necessarily the result of it.

This ceremony, which binds, *by their free will*, two individuals of different sexes, seems to have, on both, the most singular effect; that of reducing the heart of the young man to the *freezing point*, whilst it *inflames* that of the timid and modest young virgin to a degree far beyond what the Bacchants of yore ever experienced; at least if we judge by the conditions offered by the one and accepted by the other. In order to elucidate this, I will make each of them express on what terms they take this engagement. I will do

it by introducing a kind of dialogue between them. I shall have to place in the mouth of the *bridegroom* the language of *our legal books*; very different from the honied words he generally whispers in his bride's ear.

The disdainful young man says, in this transaction to the poor girl, "Well, if you wish me absolutely to receive your favors, or rather that I should bestow mine on you, for we must begin to change language, the leaf is going to turn now. I say, you must give up to me all your fortune; hereafter, all you possess must be mine, and you lose entirely your rights over it." "I will," answers the trembling girl. But this does not soften the cold-hearted fellow; on the contrary, it seems to sour him, he appears to be vexed at finding it so difficult to rebuke her. He adds, in a higher tone, "Not only that, but your person and mind must be in my absolute power, the one for my pleasure, the other to do when I command, and stop as soon as I forbid." "I will," says the infatuated girl. The young man, aside, ("how provoking! nothing will do!") Aloud, "The children who may be the result of our connection, of course, will be yours, as far as the gestation, the bringing forth of them, suckling, rearing them, taking care of them in health, watching them in sickness, &c. &c. But you mind that I reserve to myself all power over them, I shall dispose of them as well as of you, at least until they have attained the age of twenty-one. After that, as I am sole manager and owner of your and my property and of the produce of our common industry, I am insured of their respect and submission, since they will have to depend on my *good will* for establishment during my life time or after my death. As for you, they will return you what they please, that's no concern of mine. I will tell you, however, what we men have provided by our own laws. We authorize our children to show their gratitude to their aged mother, after our death; to *oust her out* of her *long-cherished homestead*, to *take possession of it themselves*, and throw her adrift on the world in her old age." They seldom miss doing it. "Let it be so," says the crazy creature. The young man, aside, ("What! shall I not make her shrink back?") Aloud—"Mind that, hereafter, you must forget even your own name. You shall be called by mine as a *thing* belonging to me. The children you will have shall go by name as belonging exclusively to me, not to you. You must know that by the laws we men of this country have selected and adopted to rule over our women, you are in the same relation to me as the negro slave is to his slaveholder; all that you do or produce belongs to me, you have no right to it. Your being fed, clothed, and sheltered, are all the rights *our laws* grant you to claim, just in the same manner as the negro slave. However, as Nature has placed me with you, in quite different relations, you will find me some times mighty condescending. But, mark me, when you see the smile, fear the wrath! Nature being satisfied, conceit and selfishness will soon get the better of me and induce me to take advantage of all the prerogatives and rights bestowed on me. Then, do remember that you are to consider yourself entirely on my dependence, and inferior to me in every thing; if you do not, I will prove it to you by my not only uncontrolled, but legally supported tyranny. In fact, never forget that the laws made by us men make me your lord and master. Do you consent to it?" "Yes, yes! is that all?" "No, no!" you must mind that you have to mould your temper for mine—patient when I am hasty; carressing and fawning when I am cold and distant; merry when I am merry; serious when I am serious; when I am cross, cheerful. No! that might do. You must—you must—well, I do not know what you must do. My pleasure or displeasure will let you know what you must; for what will do to-day might not do to-morrow. In fact, you must make yourself a kind of chameleon, which will reflect sympathetic hues and shades, to suit my various dispositions. This is rather difficult, it requires a great deal of tact. Assist yourself with the reading of what they call moralist writers; they take an

incredible trouble in drilling wives in those duties. Well, I think I have said all. Oh no! I was going to forget what another less indulgent would have begun with. It may happen, and I suspect it to be pretty generally the case with others, that notwithstanding your following all my directions, you will miss pleasing me. That will be your fault, you know, for it does not depend on me to be pleased or displeased; so I may have to look out for more attractive charms than yours, and may have even to lavish that fortune I got from you to get the good graces of her who pleases me better. You have nothing to say, it is no concern of yours—or rather, it is your fault. Why do you not please? You must put up with it with mild humility. But wo on you? if you smile on those eyes which admire you! your life! your death! nothing can atone for such an atrocious crime! Our laws authorize me to murder you on the spot, if I detect you granting your favors to another, were I to spend my life in brothels and you were fully apprized of it.”

“There are many other items of importance, but they would be too tedious for me to enumerate. Read all the maxims addressed to married women, by moralists, religious books and newspapers. Whatever be their style, whatever be the form their lectures assume, either coaxing or threatening, you will find that all their efforts at drilling wives tend to impress them with all I have mentioned to you. Remember, that it is the *wife*, with all *she possesses* and can *produce*, who becomes the *absolute property* of the *husband*, and *not at all* the *husband* with his *fortune* and what he can produce, who becomes, by any means, the *property* of the *wife*. It is this that establishes the immense difference between me and you. You will hereafter be reminded of it by myself, even when I do not think of it—by every body around you, even by your children, who will soon perceive that I am your master as well as theirs. That they have to study my pleasure, never mind yours. Every transaction of mine or of yours will recall to you the humble, submissive station in which you are held, through our laws, neither more nor less than my slave. The name wife means nothing else but that, and used to be applied, by our Saxon ancestors, to both sexes in the same dependence. We, their descendants, have reserved this name, and what it implies, exclusively for the women we unite our destinies with. The name husband, which we assume with them, of course bears an entirely different meaning; it implies master, lord, sovereign, whose will is the law. Besides the laws of men, all religions make the wife entirely subservient to the husband. Look at the religion of the Jews, of the Mahomedans, and so many others.

“The Christians, for instance, however dissenting they may be upon all other points, are all unanimous and delight in comparing the bridegroom to Christ in his relations to the church, and the bride to the church in its relations to Christ; in a word, making the husband the God, and the wife his worshipper!

“Well, I frankly and honestly confess that I see no foundation in Nature to such pretensions. I cannot believe that the universal Creator intended that the *one* of the *two*, to whom he confided the most important part of the reproduction of her race, should be subservient to the capricious, tyrannical selfishness of the one who was associated to her as an auxiliary help-mate in her arduous task. To these reversions of the laws of nature, which make the mother subservient to the wife in her duties, and make the male, man, consider himself as the main object in the family, good or bad, useful or not, he expects to be indulged, flattered, caressed, and yielded to by his wife in everything. Is it for the good he has done? No, he has done her no good. But he is the husband, she is the wife. I say it is to those reversions of the laws of Nature that discord and misery reign over all the human societies which are founded on the false principles of man. The un-

checked development of his grossest selfishness has degraded his moral character. It is this gross selfishness which has dictated his laws against unsuspecting woman and all the other men in his dependence.

"I sincerely believe that all religious, civil, and moral codes are made to gratify the power then ruling. However, as I am subjected to selfishness and conceit as well as all other men, you must expect that, by degrees, I shall be brought to think that all this is right enough, or if not quite right, 'it would be very *dangerous* to make any *change* in it. We must leave it to the future generations, as our forefathers have left it to us!' However, I am myself a great deal more candid than it is customary. These laws and regulations are hidden behind the coverture, wrapped up in mystic words. Perhaps I would have done better, as I shall want from you the devotedness of a lover and a bosom friend, and that the law cannot press a heart into bondage, to have made you believe that it was only for your good that I was your master, so that you ought to be highly pleased with your station. That I am your protector, &c., &c. Trim this with some kind words, some condescending manners, a few flatteries."

The bride, with some degree of impatience—"But you owe me ——"

The bridegroom.—"I know all I owe you, and I will tell it you in a moment. If you keep strictly all the conditions I have mentioned to you, our laws forbid me murdering you (though a good many, in this country, take the privilege, knowing that in this case, if discovered, they run very little risk of capital punishment. The jury and judges being *all men and husbands*, the interest of men and husbands being represented with full power, of course carries the sympathy. The interest of women and wives not being represented, is overlooked). The law bids me to allow you food, clothing, and shelter, that is, as far as I can afford it; for if I have dissipated your fortune and mine, and I choose to be idle, nobody can force from me what I have not got. It is more likely in this case, that it will be your industry which will feed, clothe, and shelter me, besides attending upon me, the children and the household. But never mind, I shall be still the absolute owner and ruler of all the concern; for no other reason but that you are the wife, that is, the servant, and I am the husband, that is, the lord and master! Now we may go."

The bridegroom, aside.—"The bargain is struck. It would seem a good one; however, I feel dissatisfied. I do not feel happy. To be sure, I have acquired a slave and fortune with her; but what is that? one can have slaves, a fortune, and not be happy. I know I shall not be happy! What is become of that idol of my heart? that almost celestial being that I worshipped, who was, in my eyes, above any other living being; whose power over me was my delight? It cannot be this poor creature! My slave, my servant, degraded into a beggar, depending on me for her mere sustenance! whose every action is under my command! She is no more my charming goddess! I am her awful god! But what a difference! her empire was that of love, it was delightful! Oh, I regret it! What is mine? the gross, selfish grasp of wicked, despotic tyranny. It is hateful! It has polluted, soiled, disfigured, prostituted my idol. I can no more burn my incense at her shrine. She may be a convenient subject to me, but she can never be, hereafter, what she used to be to me. I shall have to look elsewhere for an object of my worship, if I wish to be happy."

The bride, aside.—"I am bewildered! I do not know if I dream! Is that the language of a lover, of a bosom friend, as I thought I had secured to myself? How different he speaks to-day from what he did but yesterday! Good heavens, how it sounds like a tyrant, like a terrible master! He says that it is the laws of my country which give him all these awful powers over me. Do not those laws seem to have for their object to turn the tender friend, that Nature has provided to assist woman in that arduous task that

himself has brought to her, into her bitterest foe? But who made those laws? Hush, my mind, hush! Oh, my heart, do love!"

Well, dear, are you still surprised that I should wonder that Miss _____ should marry? Do you not rather yourself wonder that there should be a man in the world impudent enough to offer such conditions to a woman that he does not hold actually under his feet, on the field of battle, covered with the blood of her mother, father, brothers, &c.? and that there should be a woman, not under such circumstances, degraded, imbecile, simpleton enough to accept them? That these laws, evidently the expression of the will of the brutal conqueror, who, although sexual attraction forbade him to destroy woman as he had done her male friends, preserved all possible powers over her to force her to comply with his wishes whatever they were! That these laws, I say, should subsist thousands of years after, being no more supported by violence, but merely by craft and make believe, should be made the free acceptance of the dupe! And that they should cross over the ocean to come to be imposed upon and to rule over the women of America! enforced upon them, not by conquerors, at the peril of their own life, as it is yet among many tribes and nations over the earth. Wherever war and plunder are the main occupation of men, a dreadful destruction of life among men is the result. The women are spared, but enslaved by the conquerors. The same circumstances bring the same results. But that sons, brothers, lovers, husbands, fathers, should presume to enforce those iniquitous laws of the brutal conquerors over their own mothers, sisters, wives, daughters; what do you think of that? And who are those sons, brothers, lovers, husbands, fathers? The republicans of the United States! so proud, so exalted for having repossessed themselves of their natural rights, usurped from them by the grasp of tyranny! Oh, man! how that uncontrolled growth of thy selfishness has thrown thee into inconsistency and folly!

I suspect that the authors of the declaration of "the independence and the rights of sentient beings" were somewhat aware of a gross contradiction in the application of their own principles, as it is now to the sexes; but they left it to the future generations to make it right for the women. They thought they had done well enough in securing it to men. Have their descendants accomplished the task left to them? No! never dreamed of it; if we believe the editor of the Harbinger, who takes great trouble to inform the public, in almost every number, that his school do not propose to have anything to do with the social relations of the two sexes. If wrong, they leave them to the future generations to make them right. Poor women! and if the future generations shift the burden to some other generations, till eternity, when will you see justice done to you? Never, as long as you depend on man. Do you forget that it is man who is your slaveholder? What a folly to depend on him to break your chains: but Nature has put powers in your hands which will break them as soon as you please. It is for you to say on what terms you accept the arduous task of motherhood; not to receive them from him who entails it on you, which is the greatest absurdity contrary to the laws of Nature. Oh, women! when you know your powers, what a deal of prostitution, perfidy, deceit, hypocrisy and fraud will be done away with! How the moral character of man ~~would~~ be elevated! *How will* developed ~~would~~ be the intellectual power of woman! May heaven grant that such blessings for the human society may not be postponed to some future generations!

Excuse me, dear friend, but I would feel ashamed of being a man if I did not show my indignation at the inconsistent conduct of those pretended reformers and philanthropists who proclaim to the world that they are working with their souls and minds for the progress and greatest happiness of the human race; while they pass by the greatest question on that subject, though it ought to be the most sacred to their moral feelings, and that it is

decidedly the most important in extent and in moral influence, and at the same time the easiest to resolve, since it requires only a full public investigation and discussion to be set right. If properly investigated, I doubt if one single man will not feel ashamed of his false position to those beings for whom Nature claimed from him the greatest love and devotedness, a just compensation for their self sacrifice to the good of their race. Why do our reformers shoulder off this all-important question to the future generations? Because they found out that, in this case, not only the black slaveholders, the land monopolists, the manufacturers, and those abominable creditors are in the wrong, but themselves are also guilty, and they don't like to expose it. I hope more from shame than from a wish to take advantage of it. I have no doubt that having awakened your spirit of justice and equity, which is so strong in you, you will earnestly join me in the determination of bringing this subject to full light, and I know that, before a few years are elapsed, all shall be righted. I will communicate you my plan. I want your assistance.

ARTICLE NINTH.

MARRIAGE IN LOW LIFE.

Take a wife unto you, my boys! take a wife unto you! you cannot do better. It is the cheapest help you can get in this country. Besides that, you can have privileges whenever it suits you, for nothing, nor need of courting. She will serve you diligently without wages: but if you could get one with property! that's the cunning of it, my boys! that's the cunning of it. Fear not to coax, flatter and cringe, you'll have your revenge. If diligent and shrewd, this property will help you to make a *big-bug of yourself*. If lazy, it will enable you to live at ease, without labor, at least as long as it lasts. If a drunkard, it will serve to fill up your cup with the jolly boys at the pot-house. Do you prefer gambling? Well, you will be able to put on the black and red, and if unlucky, it is a comfort to have somebody at home on whom to pass one's bad temper; and if she grumbles, a kick or a box on her ear will teach her better. We are not the master for nothing. But if she continues and raises the d—, then, instead of knocking her down, as so many do in this country, which might expose you to some chance of visiting the penitentiary, it is much better to pocket up all you can, and contract debts for what you cannot carry away with you, and scamper off, leaving behind the quarrelsome shrew, with the urchins, to shift for herself. I tell you, boys, take a wife, it is all profit to you. If she cost more than she returns, move off, the whole earth is open to you.

That is about the spirit of a conversation that I heard from some young workmen in the back woods of Ohio. They were resting from their labors, drinking and playing *at cents*. They did not suspect that I heard them. There were a few married men among them. I am glad to say they were very little respected in their neighborhood; but what does such a character care for respect? All that they may be induced to do for it is to sham and play the hypocrite abroad; but they will be the worse for it in the secret of home.

Is it not evident that those young men look upon marriage as the means of gratifying themselves—getting comforts and conveniences. If the girl has something, it is soon gone in the dissipations of the wild young man.

If she is as poor as he is, he finds that he has also a task to accomplish; and if it is not as painful and wearying to his constitution as that of the woman, it is much harder than his selfishness had ever anticipated. As his selfishness makes him feel all the hardships of his own position, and renders him callous to that of the woman, he thinks his part a great deal worse than hers. What is the consequence of it? He becomes a surly fault-finder upon trifles. If the wife tries to excuse herself in showing that it could not be otherwise, she will hear him mutter some harsh words. I do not know what will be the consequences if she leaves not herself unjustly used from the beginning; but I know if she does not rebuke injustice from the beginning, I see a dark storm at the horizon which will overwhelm her before long. For unlimited power, unrestrained by nothing, not even the victim who is told earnestly to put up with her burden and carry it with patience and humility! What is the result? Unlimited power is despotism. Despotism soon turns into tyranny. What cruel and fanciful caprices will not tyranny fall into? What made those monstrous tyrants, Nero, Caligula, Henry the Eighth, and many thousands more, on a larger or smaller scale? *Unlimited power.*

O you lawgivers! are you not ashamed to place such a power in such hands, over the mother of the race, to whom Nature has confided its reproduction and rearing, and had provided for her in that task a loving, assisting friend? In degrading woman into the bound slave of man, placing her in his hands pretty much as his prisoners were in former times, you have destroyed the attractive power with which Nature had endowed woman over her male, which made it a delight for him to have a chance to render her any service. We have a faint and transient instance of it even now, in the courtship of a young man who sincerely loves. You have degraded, prostituted woman, made her subservient to man. Then adieu *love, devotedness*; adieu man's happiness. Then woman's miseries began.

"But," you say, "we have not made those laws. They are of most remote antiquity." I know it. Women being the first prisoners that the lust of the conquerors spared, of course their natural rights were the first outraged. But as soon as the conquerors found out that they could turn their male prisoners into *beasts of burden, subservient* to themselves, they spared them as they had done the females before, and your natural rights were *also* outraged. Now I should like to know why, when at the Declaration of Independence and the redeeming of the long usurped natural rights of sentient beings, you passed under silence these same natural rights of sentient beings which had been *also* usurped by men over women. It was an easy matter, which could be done most peaceably, for you had then as well as now only to have the *will*, and it was done. You did not do it, however. But when it was for your own rights, you did not hesitate to bring the curse of war on your native country, to see your cities bombarded, the country laid waste, ravages, murder everywhere. What is the cause of this monstrous difference? Is it not that in the latter case you suffered the injustice, whilst in the former case it is *you* who inflict it?

ARTICLE TENTH.

Reply to Mr. Orson Murray,

Editor of the "Regenerator."

MY DEAR SIR:—I think you came out rather severely on me in your article, "The Marriage Relations." But as those who make up their mind to expose their own ideas to the public eye, ought to be prepared to have them

criticised, if they wish to have them investigated, and by so doing truth finally developed, which is my most earnest desire, I honestly seek for truth, and I shall be as glad to be led as to lead to it myself. As for my being tedious and wordy, which is not very flattering to my vanity, if I have any, I must plead for my excuse, that my views on the subject I treat are so very different from those entertained till now, that I have to seize every chance to elucidate and present them under different aspects, in order to impress them on the mind.

I consider the true relations of the two sexes, at this present time, as the most important question to be resolved for the sake of human happiness and progress. I hope the friends of the cause will have some patience with me. I do not wish to array women against men; but, unfortunately, men collectively have arrayed themselves against women, when in this present age, after the Declaration of Independence and of the natural rights of sentient beings, they have chosen to *rule over them* with laws enacted some thousand years ago and which suited well enough then, since they expressed the true, though accidental, relations of women with men, that of *prisoners*, slaves, and consequently *aliens*, on one hand, and that of *conquerors*, consequently *despots*, *rulers* and *sovereigns*, on the other hand. It is indispensable to expose the inconsistency of such selection, to have it rectified. If I wish women to redeem their franchise, it is not to have them enact arbitrary laws against men, which they could not, since both interests would be equally represented. Arbitrary and tyrannical laws are the result of an unbalanced, represented interest, as it is shown in women, whose interest is not represented at all, and the poorer and industrious classes who are so delusively represented; but I want women to free themselves from tyrannical laws, in which they have been so dreadfully entrammelled in their absence. I do not wish to awake jealousy in woman's heart against man. The false position he legally assumes with her has done it long ago. I do not attack man individually. He is much better than he has tried to make himself collectively; though I must confess that the false relation he has placed himself in with woman has deteriorated his moral character. That men suffer from the complicated consequences of their false measures and the feelings they create in women, I have no doubt, and a great deal more than they are fully aware.

ARTICLE ELEVENTH.

THE PLEDGE.

AN ADVICE GIVEN TO YOUNG LADIES BEFORE THEIR MARRIAGE.

Put your Lover to the test of the Pledge below, and if he does not wilfully and cheerfully sign it, and have it framed ready to be hung in your sitting room, trust not your happiness to him: he does not deserve your confidence, for he is already your Master, in his heart, wanting you as a convenient subject, whose welfare is of very little consideration with him.

A Pledge to be taken by the Bridegroom before the Marriage ceremony:—

“Of the *unjust* rights which, in virtue of this ceremony, an iniquitous law tacitly gives me over the person and property of another, I cannot legally, but I can *morally*, divest myself: I hereby *distinctly* and *emphatically* declare, that I consider myself, and earnestly desire to be considered by others, as utterly divested now, and during the rest of my life, of any such

rights, the barbarous relics of a *feudal* and *despotic* system, soon destined, in the onward course of improvement, to be wholly swept away, and the existence of which is a tacit insult to the *good sense* and *good feelings* of the present comparatively civilized age.

I hereby, besides, pledge my word to the woman of my affection, that I will exert all my influence on public opinion, and if any legislative power is placed in my hands, I will employ it to vindicate her rights, the outrages of which I resent with a double indignation, as they offend my best friend, and make me the offender!"

How easy it would be for women, if they would but unite and connive with themselves and their friends, to overthrow this ridiculous and shameful feudal fabric! standing monument of man's selfish craft, and woman's imbecility! especially in the United States!

A VOICE FROM NATURE.

Woman. Is it true, O Nature! thou doomest woman to sufferings, humiliation, and degradation? Is she the only being of thy creation to whom thou grantest no compensation? Has she not one thank to return thee for her existence?

Nature. Look around thee, contemplate my operations, think for a moment, and thou wilt see how unjust thy complaints are. Have I not endowed thee, like other females, with the power of reproducing thy own race, and poured from my own heart into thine that divine love which will like a living providence watch over the being of thy creation. Thou art my right hand in my most high, my most benevolent works, the giving of life, the rearing and developing of it. Thou standest next to me. In fact, I have shared my power over thy race with thee; for thou must have the will for its beings to exist, and thou must have the strongest determination to maintain, rear, and develop the beings thou hast given life to. It is with thee, if thy race shall continue or not. In making man thy lover, I made thee the tabernacle of his happiness. How comest thou to speak of humiliation, degradation? Who shall be proud if thou art not?

Woman. However, man, the companion thou hast given me, says that thou createdst me for him, wants me to consider myself as a mere appendage of his, treats me as such.

Nature. Yes! he says, also, that it was for him that I created the earth, the moon, the sun, the stars! I created thee for him as much as I created the pistil of a flower for the stamens which serve to fertilize it. Does not common sense tell you both that man, like all males, being called to the reproduction of his own species, by a transient act, which leaves no consequences with him, cannot be the most important of the two sexes? and his considering himself superior to thee is a conceit befitting the times of barbarous ignorance, but not this enlightened age, in which he prides in submitting everything to the investigation of his reason.

Woman. Nevertheless, in the society we compose, man's laws do not allow me even a civil existence. In our legal sexual connection, I am made a mere appendage of his. I go by his name, as a thing of his. My children go by his name as things of his. Of those children thou hast confided to my maternal love and watchful tenderness, he leaves to me, of course, what he neither can nor is willing to take from me, that is, the gestation, bringing forth, suckling, nursing, rearing, &c.; but he claims obedience and submission from them at my own exclusion. His laws place them under his absolute control, and I have no more right over them than a mercenary

nurse at his own wages. Men know what oppression, what tyranny, a mother will put up with for the sake of her children. It is a chain with which he holds her a cringing slave; but how atrociously unjust and cruel! And how many husbands take advantage of it, to punish the *mother* for the revolt of the wife against the yoke! By his matrimonial laws he takes away from me and possesses himself with my rights on my person, will, labor, property, children! Whatever I do is credited to him; and however arduous and responsible may be my task, nonentity, insignificance, and oblivion are my reward. Thanks to his matrimonial laws and coverture, which, besides all this, throw me mercilessly in the power of his selfishness and tyranny, defenceless against all his vices. Provided he does not kill nor starve me, his laws leave me no room for complaints. He calls all this maintaining, protecting, loving me! Heavens! if *these laws* are the *expressions of his love*, what could his hatred do? What does he mean by maintaining me, when, besides his seizing all I possess, and the produce of my external labor, I am called his housekeeper, as he is pleased to denominate me, from morning till night, in the highest as well as in the most humble station of life, to exert myself in his service, in all kinds of industry, from the most arduous drudgeries to the most refined elegance, according to his wants, means and desires? Protecting me! in depriving me of my rights as a *sentient being*, and assuming a coercive power over my *person and will*! Against whom do I need more protection? Loving me! in depriving me of my most sacred rights over my children to assume them himself, though those children, to whom he has contributed by a moment of self gratification, owe their existence to my own sufferings, and the continuation of it to my untired labor, love and devotedness. Under the pretence of education, my sons are estranged from me and made to believe that their mother is an inferior being, incapable of developing their moral and intellectual powers. They return from college, *persuaded*, because they have studied Greek, Latin, and *crafty laws*, that *they* are very *superior* to their *mother*, whom they consider as being inferior to themselves as well as to their father, and then of course set about despising her as such; thus degrading their moral character by the monstrous crime of the greatest ingratitude.

Society, regulated by the *laws of man*, treats me with an utter neglect, disregard, and contempt. Repelled from all paths of honor, credit and wealth, the meanest and most unrequited drudgeries are the only means left to me to maintain myself and family. But, O Nature! the heart-rending of a mother is to see the son of her troubles, love and care, as soon as he ceases to need her, forgetting all he owes her, join in riveting her fetters, and insolently call on her to account before his tribunal for the infringing of his laws, which she is hardly allowed to know at all. And, O shame! he does not blush to make laws to authorize himself, when his father is dead, to oust his aged mother out of the old homestead, in which she gave him life and reared him, to take possession of it himself, turning her adrift on the world, with a broken heart, old, infirm, poor and homeless! This same son will not hesitate, after that, to join the National Reformers in *proclaiming the sacredness of the homestead*, and declaring that the most needy creditor, whose credit is his honest labor, should never dare to lay any claim on it. What insults, what miseries and opprobrium are not cumulated on woman's head? What a heart-rending it is for her who thinks! The lowliest woman with the power and inclination of doing good to her race. It cannot suit thy justice that her race should return her *outrages for blessings*! It is impossible. What can be the cause? What is the remedy?

Nature. Poor creature! War, horrid war, first brought all this on thee. Thy simplicity continues it. I have myself contributed to it, in endowing thee with much gentleness, much passiveness. Intending thee to be the bestower of life and what contributes to embellish it, who would have

thought that the ignorant selfishness of thy companion and sons would take such ungrateful and perfidious advantages of thy too amiable qualities? Man is the *only one* in *my creation* who has thus reverted my most just and beneficent laws for thee and thy race—his morals being depraved, and his cunning sharpened by the consequences of war; whilst thyself, designingly kept in ignorance and dependence, hast been made the complete dupe, not only of him whom I had destined to be thy admiring lover, thy devoted friend, thy willing, cheerful and efficient helpmate, but even of thy ungrateful sons! It is an outrage to me, whose laws it reverts. Thy false national and family position retards immensely the progress of thy race, in nullifying in thee the half of that race, the intellectual and moral influence that thou oughtest to exercise over it. It renders thee incapable of accomplishing the high and important part of the task I have confided to thee. How can she acquit herself of it, that poor slave whose mind must be besotted by a thousand absurd prejudices, not only to put up at all with her position, but to surrender herself *wilfully* to the *worst* of it? This unjust usurpation over thee destroys your mutual happiness, in substituting discontent, jealous bickerings and wranglings, to the warm, delightful devotedness that my motherly love had placed in your hearts, and which, I repeat it again, the ignorant, narrow selfishness of man could alone smother, like, as in a garden, rank weeds will the more lovely flowers. Hark, woman! thy passive and indolent confidence in thy lover has induced his animal propensities to take advantage of thy simplicity, to make thee subservient to him instead of devoting himself to thee as it was his destiny. A tender but ignorant mother, thou hast spoiled thy child. Not repressing his over-growing selfishness, thou hast made a monster of him! He disowns thee and joins in chaining thee to despoil thee. He stings the breast which nourished and cherished him. Stand up, O mother of mankind! stand up to thy rights! Assume thy dignity and the position I have assigned thee. Have the *will*, and thy chains fall at thy feet as by magic. Know thyself, and thy companion and children will know thee. I have placed in thy hands the gifts of *love, happiness and life*; close in those treasures until justice is done to thee. The task I have imposed on thee is great, is sublime; but severe, even cruel, if any of the compensations I intended for thee are withheld from thee. Love, respect, veneration from thy race, thou art indeed entitled to. To refuse thee a full equality, in that society of which thou formest so important a part, is most absurd, most ungrateful, and most wicked in man. I command thee to claim thy rights, and I, Nature, will assist thee.



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Albany, N. Y.

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2

CIVIL RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

LECTURE

BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL,

BY

WILLIAM R. MARTIN.

FREEDOM THE ONLY SOLUTION — ENGLISH vs. AMERICAN THEORY
AND PRACTICE OF LAW.

Compliments of A. X. PARKER.

ALBANY:
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(Ms. B. 1. 830.)

LECTURE.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I approach this subject with a proposition which is undeniably true, but to which I do not expect a general assent, which as a statement of general principles will be received with due respect, but which in its application to special cases will fare like general principles and be accepted with all sorts of limitations. The proposition which I lay before you is this, that in all civil, economic, and social questions, the single and complete solution is freedom. Now, the civilization and experience of the human race has advanced so far in this nineteenth century, that, in respect to some of these questions, this solution is universally admitted, and as to others of these questions, there is an immense sea of discussion between them and any solution at all. In order to draw your minds clearly to this proposition, I will illustrate it by the questions which are universally admitted. I should qualify it by adding, in free countries. Take the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience, the entire independence of the church from the state, and the entire independence of the church from any human power, interference or dictation. This is religious freedom, and we can accept it as coolly as we do a mathematical axiom, and as implicitly; yet men have died for it before now. If the one man on this earth who claims to be infallible, or rather who wants the rest of mankind to accredit him with infallibility,

could have his way, he would not hesitate to test his infallibility in a contest with religious freedom. When the Emperor of the French said, not many years ago, when he was at the point of entering on a new war, "the empire is peace," some witty Frenchman made this comment on it: "Of course the empire is peace; we have made peace, and we will make it again."

So religious freedom is not, after all, so firmly established in the world that we might not, if infallibility could have its way, be obliged to establish it again. Still, we here, in a free country, may regard religious freedom as a settled principle. What will be said about civil liberty, the right of self-government? After six thousand years of the world's history, a little short of a century ago this principle was established. It had been the dream of philosophers and the speculation of heroes, and here and there, through the centuries, it had received splendid practical illustrations; but we established it on a grand scale, and, as we fondly believe, for all time. It came up on a question of taxation — the use of stamps, against which our fathers rebelled, but which we take quietly enough. We insisted that there should be no taxation without representation, and on that question we established civil freedom so thoroughly, that, by sheer force of impetus, having acquired the right, we have gone on representing and taxing ourselves so that we are the most heavily and needlessly taxed people on the earth; and no one even thinks of writing a second declaration of independence about it. Still, no one here will question, that, in theory and practice, civil liberty is a very satisfactory state to find one's self in. The freedom of the press was the result of very severe contests in English history. We believe in the absolute liberty of speech, that a man may utter whatever sentiments he pleases, and that he may print and disseminate them as widely as he can afford to; coupled only with this limitation and safeguard, that he shall be held responsible

and punished for any injury that he inflicts upon any person in the use of his liberty. This idea prevails very extensively in England and in this country, but the empire in France did not believe in it. There, one might have a meeting to indulge in a lecture, or a talk, provided he had a police authorization; and he might publish what he pleased, provided it also pleased the government censor; he might debate in the legislature, provided he did not criticise or reflect on the government; and he might report what was said in debate, provided he followed the form of words set out for him in the *Moniteur*.

Now, too, we are told that Bismarck, the greatest man this year on the continent, does not favor the liberty of speech or of the press, but thinks better of the spirit of subordination, of patriotic unity of feeling with the administration. Still, I will put down freedom of speech as universally accepted in all countries. If I name free trade as the next illustration, I am sure to meet a strong diversity of opinion. When we read the axioms of political economy, it is not difficult to believe that every man is better off when he can buy what he requires in an open market at the lowest price, and sell what he produces in the same market at the highest price. We can readily believe that the citizens of New York would be no better off if a line were run along Broadway, and no man could trade across it without paying heavy customs duty. We can carry the same doctrine as far as the boundary of a State, and can see that nothing would be gained by interrupting the free trade that exists between New York and the other States of the Union, by a line of custom-houses along the boundaries, and exacting from 20 to 200 per cent duty on every article that crossed the borders either way; but when we come to the shore of the Atlantic ocean, the line that separates us from the countries of Europe — which happen to be the countries who produce the articles which we most want — we lose

faith in our principles. We give up our principles and feed heartily on the indigestible pabulum that the *Tribune* serves out to us, and are more than half convinced that 200 per cent duty on foreign salt, and the same increase of price on home-made salt, is the very triumph of political economy ; and that it is the highest exercise of the human intellect to comprehend it.

On the shore of the Atlantic the principles of free trade receive their limitations ; good enough abstractly, they do not apply to the goods we send or those we receive from over the water. These come in a thousand practical questions and expediencies, which limit the applications, and, to many minds, the soundness of the principles of freedom in trade. We are going through the same course on this question that a century ago our fathers were put through on civil and religious freedom and free speech, and it will take another century, more or less, for us to believe in free trade. Free labor : on such a proposition, I suppose there will be a still greater reluctance. Is freedom, simply freedom, the solution of the labor question — of all this controversy between labor and capital ? Why, if that is all, we have it now, for labor is free, and the laborer is a freeman and a sovereign. That is true, but it is also true that many of the laborers were brought up in Europe, and not in freedom ; and they are not yet free from the prejudices and modes of thought of the old country. They believe that there is an irrepressible fight between capital and labor ; that capitalists and laborers, as classes, are arrayed against each other. They forget that in this country there are no classes, but that each man is a freeman ; that there is no barrier between capital and labor ; that there is no division between them, but that the division is between skill, capacity and enterprise, and the lack of them ; that wherever these appear in this country the laborer who has them soon becomes the capitalist ; that the way is open to all of them ; that what they need is enterprise and training ; that there is capital

enough in the country, and enough in the hands of the laboring classes—the amount of savings bank deposits in this city and Brooklyn, \$200,000,000, shows that. And so they array capital in a fight against labor, and reduce every man's day's work to the low average of an indolent man; effectually crush out individual enterprise, which is their only hope; reduce themselves as a class, and amuse themselves with delusions of strikes and co-operation, in utter heedlessness of their birth-right or rather their naturalization-right, and that they are free-men. They do not yet know what it means.

I shall not detain you with any more illustrations. I have prepared you, by presenting you some on which there is great doubt and diversity of opinion, for the doubt and diversity which will beset us when we come to ask whether this solution will be found applicable to the topic of this evening—the wrongs of women. All questions of which this freedom is the solution are not equally clear, but I hope that I have so far carried your convictions that you will be predisposed to inquire whether freedom may not be the true solution of all these questions; to have faith in freedom; to see what it has done for the human race so far; to contrast it with the powers which have usurped its place—all the forms of civil and religious despotism; and to be ready, just as fast as you can find good grounds for it, to settle into a firm conviction that freedom is the universal solvent for the difficulties of the human race. If I pause a moment to define freedom in these aspects, I shall call it sovereignty; the equal right of each citizen to determine and pass upon all these questions according to the laws of the State, which has itself been thus established; the right to vote, which is the act of sovereignty. When I ask you whether this furnishes any solution to the questions that have been raised in regard to the civil disabilities, the social inequalities, in the condition of women, whether civil rights to women, giving them the right to vote, would be

just in principle and give effectual relief, we are met at the outset with a serious objection. Woman, it is said, in nature and character, is a different being. The conditions are different, and the solution, which may be an universal remedy in the affairs of men, does not apply. She is a being of so different and so superior a sphere, that you might as well apply human laws to the angels; your principles are well enough, so far as they go; but the case being altered, that alters the case. Here is the whole question. You are familiar with the whole line of argument which fastens upon the characteristics of each sex — physical, mental, emotional, the intuitions, modes of affection, and moral instincts — and concludes that they are so essentially different as to require different rules; and that the practical working of the scheme to admit them to men's rights would be inharmonious, unbecoming, and disastrous. Little more can be said about this than that it is substantially true.

Take an ideal man, who possesses the manly elements of nature and character, and fulfills manly duties, and the ideal woman, whom it is so much more agreeable to contemplate. Their relations are perfectly adjusted, and work with perfect harmony. As against the outside world the man is diligent, laborious, and successful, and his home, wherever he constructs it, is filled with the good things which make home attractive and living there a happiness. He has a clear and active intellect, and can hold his way against men of mind, and, at home, bends to the quick intuitions of the woman, and fills her mind with the results of his learning. He has a firm temper, an iron will, and an unswerving integrity in dealing with the world; and, at home, a will with just force enough to make itself felt; a fairness which brings cheerful obedience, and a tender watchfulness of feeling that leaves no wish unanticipated. With such a man, what is the ideal woman? She has a heart full of sweetness, a love of art, of music and of song, and a cheerful

vivacity of spirits that gives to her home the indescribable charm that can only be spoken of as "her presence;" she has a religious sense of duty, and a performance of it never separated from charity; a docility of intellect that imbibes all that her husband knows without learning it. I refrain from dwelling on the picture, but leave it to your own thoughts to fill it out; it may be summed up by saying that such a woman is a being to fall in love with a man, and for a man to rise to the height of loving. In the ideal state, as completely realized as it is possible in human nature, the woman has her desires, so far as this world goes, satisfied, and for a strong man to love such a woman fulfills Richard Steele's marvelous phrase, "to love her is a liberal education." In the contemplation of such an ideal, a man has the same feeling as when he stands upon the broad sea-shore at moonlight, with the surf rolling up at his feet, glittering and sparkling in the moonbeams. It is beautiful to look at, with its fascinating beauty of light and foam, and broad background of grandeur and fathomless depth, its horizon that reaches to and touches the very stars of heaven. It is charming to step into it, to feel that flashing spray, the south wind blowing on the brow, and to hear its monotone that one never wearies of; but one step too far, and all is over. It is at such a moment that a man comprehends the power over his own nature of the being God made for him.

I cannot pretend to tell you how a woman feels. Six thousand years' use of the human language has not been adequate to express it. You find, as the result, two human beings in the most perfect condition of human existence, realizing Plato's idea of the two halves of a globe together, meeting face to face and touching at every point, presenting a rounded surface to the outside world, a perfect and a single sphere. Now, when the advocates of this argument, founded on the peculiar characteristics of women, have brought you to this point, they will ask

you, with a tone of triumph, what such a woman wants with the ballot? Why does she want to fulfill the correlative duties in the jury-box and in the militia? They will bring women of this sort, or women who appreciate the situation of such an ideal woman, as willing witnesses that they do not want to vote; that it is abhorrent to them; that you might just as well think of bringing the angel Gabriel down to the sixth ward to go to a primary meeting and vote; even to become a candidate; and they will horrify you with what would be the election cries, such as "Vote for the angel Gabriel and municipal reform;" or this, "Down with the angel with the ring around his brow." That argument is answerable. Such women do not need the ballot; they would not vote if they had the right; they abhor it. But there are other women not in that condition. The moment you picture a man, and add to him the traits that make him a perfect man, and picture a woman and clothe her with her wonderful beauty, you have two beings that stand at the farthest distance apart, as unlike each other as possible, and yet, at the same moment, they stand with relations so adjusted that the two can make but one. The duty that animates them lifts the woman at once into such a position of independence, being wholly supported and protected from the world outside by the man, that she never knows what it is to want any thing of the world.

But you have already anticipated what I am going to say — that all women are not in that condition, nor are all men; and that as a class the measures taken in this world for their good are not to be adjusted to those who do not need any thing, but rather to those who do. How few women are in that condition. I do not speak of the ideal condition in its fullness; but how few are independent of the outside world, held up and protected by men, with all their material wants supplied, and saved from the curse of labor and from the competition and toil through which bread is eaten. I shall not undertake to

state any proportion, but they are so few that we may well consider the situation of the other class. The bulk of the female portion of the race have, to a greater or less extent, many of them entirely, to depend upon themselves for support; to earn their own bread as men do, under the original law of the year one. They have to do it because there are not men to whom they are attached to do it for them. They are the widows left destitute, women who have neither brother, nor father, nor relative near enough to regard their support as a duty. Many of these women have children and others dependent upon them. There are others who have men who owe them this duty, but the men are vicious, incapable, unfortunate, unable to work, and the duty is not performed; and, what is more, men who are supported by the women; men who rob and maltreat the women they should support. Then among women themselves there are all gradations of poverty, ill health, ignorance of the way of working, lack of skill, and lack of competency to acquire skill to work profitably; so that, besides and apart from the women who do their work at home and are supported there by men, there is the vast majority who have to earn their bread in this cold world for themselves and for others; and these are the ones who feel the great wrongs of legal disabilities to hold and save property, and of the impediments and obstacles in the way of their labor, and of acquiring skill in their work, so as to earn larger results—the wrongs that ought to be remedied.

I have not said much about abstract rights; but there is one absolute right which I think it will be conceded that even woman has, and that is, to earn her bread by the sweat of her brow, and to have it, I may add, when she has gained it. That right has received two interpretations. Some hold that it means the duty to get just enough bread to save sweat—that is, to get enough to live on, and to save all that extra labor; while others go in for the sweat, and want to gain more bread; they are

willing to work without limit in order to accumulate substance. Now, I do not believe that any man will place women in the former class ; whatever is said about them, they are credited with a willingness to do hard and faithful work, their own work, in taking care of the house provided for them, and also to do man's work in supporting the house. This brings us to the point. In this weary world women have to do man's work, and they have a right to a clear field. Now, since the number of the sexes is about equal, and remains so, it follows, from the bare fact that women have to do man's work, and that men do not do it ; that men do not do the share incumbent on them in a well-regulated family ; that men are in fault ; that they do not fulfill their duty to women ; and this makes the claim of women unanswerable by men. It gives them an absolute right, as against men, to relief of some sort. It is one of the most obvious of facts, that, among men able to work and to provide for themselves and their due share of non-workers, women and children, there is a large proportion who do not fulfill this duty, who do not even work sufficiently to support themselves alone ; so that, taking men as one sex against the women as the other, through any community, the men do not do the share of the work that falls to them in a well-adjusted family relation, and the women do their own work and a part of the men's work also. I have said that this is man's fault ; it is also his injustice.

Now, under these actual circumstances, what is it that is claimed for women ? Not that young men able to work should marry and assume their due share of responsibility — women are far too noble ever to demand that — but they ask, that when they enter into the domain of man's labor, and do that share of his work which, by his neglect, is thrown upon them, they shall have a fair chance ; and there are a few things that they particularly demand to put them on a level with the men whose failures they make up. They ask a good education, an

education and training in every sense as fully adapted to the development of their minds and the training of their powers as the education of men is adapted to them, so as to fit them to do their work. In the second place, they ask a special education to fit them for the trades, arts, and professions which they are capable of following, so that their labor may be skilled and not unskilled labor, and so reap the higher rewards. Thirdly, they ask that these arts, trades, and professions shall be opened to them, so that, as far as they prove themselves capable, they may perform this skilled and more profitable labor. Fourthly, they ask that men may give up many occupations and forms of labor which are not manly, not suited to them, and which women are capable of filling, and that men should betake themselves to hard and manly labor. And they also demand the same right to possess the fruits of their labor or of the labor of their fathers and mothers, to hold property, and to deal with it, that men have. These are substantially — for, all through, I am avoiding details — the demands made for women. Will these demands be complied with? It is possible, that after light enough has been thrown upon this subject men may see it and be noble enough to grant them. Surely the past thirty years in this country and in England has shown great progress in this direction. But will they do it all, answer these demands wholly, or leave women under embarrassments and disabilities for which there will be no solution, except giving her freedom? Each of these are alike in the power and hands of men to give. If she has freedom, men must give it; if she has justice, it is for men to do it. Will they give her justice or will they deny her justice, and then give her her freedom, a man's freedom — the ballot?

It may seem to you, at first thought, a strange attitude that women should ask justice from men, or freedom, and that men should deny justice to her and give her freedom. But it is not strange. It is quite in the order

of God's providence in the world, and in this lies the probability that women will be free, and before many years be voting at the elections; and you will see in a moment that is not strange. For many long years, by the torches and the fires of the anti-slavery agitation, light was thrown on the wrongs of the slave, and justice for him was asked. Driblets of justice were meted out, but full justice was refused; and so, by a revolution through blood, a convulsion in which we who saw it could not discern the workings of Providence at the time, the slave was made free and a citizen. A perusal of the declaration of our independence will recall to you how, through the generation that preceded it, justice for the colonies was demanded from George III, and refused; and then we took what but few at first would have thought of asking for — our freedom. I am not going to burden you with historical illustrations. The process by which a just claim arises, and a political or civil right is demanded, resisted and fought for, and finally vindicated, accomplished and secured, is familiar to you by many instances of revolution, and many of constitutional or civil reform. It is the controversy between conservatism and radicalism; in which conservatism holds on to and exalts old principles, and radicalism starts a new measure and finds a cleft in old principles into which to insert it, and through which it takes a deeper root and hold than them all. It is in the very nature of systems of abuse or injustice to grow up like an inverted pyramid, with a broad base uppermost of wrongs, which men endure until they find upon how small a point they really rest, and then the whole system topples over. Thus the Magna Charta was wrested from King John. Thus, and by the slowest of processes, by a most patient and enduring people, was the right of free speech won in England. From the prosecution of Wilkes for libel in 1763 by the English government, until their prosecution of Cobbett, and their defeat in 1831, that government waged a long,

persistent warfare against the liberty of the press. The people were on the side of the press from the beginning, and when Wilkes went to the pillory they were there to encourage him, and they made up a collection for him amounting to £200. The contest lasted so long, because Lord Mansfield took away from the jury all but the fact of the publication of the libel, and held that the criminality of the libel was an inference of law, which it was the province of the court alone to determine. It required all the sarcasm of Junius, the eloquence and noble courage of Mr. Erskine and of Mr. Fox to vindicate the principle; and, after all, it was not until 1831 that the freedom of the press in England was secured. The right of suffrage in England is another right which, when it becomes established, will have gained its place through the struggles of a century.

In 1793 Lord Abercromby, a Scotch judge, in the trial of Palmer for sedition, said: "The right of universal suffrage the subjects of this country never enjoyed, and were they to enjoy it they would not long enjoy either liberty or a free constitution. You will, therefore, consider whether telling the people that they have a just right to what would unquestionably be tantamount to a total subversion of this constitution is such a writing as any person is entitled to publish." Public opinion has made some advance beyond that expression of it on the suffrage question in eighty years; but there will be much and long controversy yet before the English will believe that a man should vote because he is a man—a principle which we regard as being at least a century old. We do things differently here. From habitual and universal reading of the first few sentences of the Declaration of Independence, and not more of it than that, there is an ingrained belief in the American mind in abstract principles as a basis of human right, and that all which contravenes them, or interferes with their free working, is a grievous wrong. It has become our national habit to

reason at once on abstract principles, and not on questions of expediency or of consequences. So we have taken to constitution making, or amending, as a matter of course. No constitution here is warranted to wear for more than twenty years; once, at least, in that period we overhaul all our fundamental principles of government, and modify them to suit the advancing spirit of the age, or rather make up a new statement of our organic law entirely.

The Englishman glories in believing that his principles of government have roots fast in the depth of twenty centuries, and will not disturb one of them short of a century of agitation and angry discussion. We make our written, organic law over again, so as to conform it to the eternal principles of truth and justice, twice in a generation. It is these principles that we believe to be eternal, and not the grooves and ruts that our fathers ran in from the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. We are discussing and testing our civil law with the scientific and philosophic principles and bases of moral and civil right, as constantly and closely as the theories of a past age are tested by the discoveries of modern science. This is a characteristic of our country and of the spirit of our people. It furnishes one reason why we wish to give to this law school the character of a school of instruction in the science and the philosophic progress of the law, as well as in that law which is brought into daily use in the courts and in the affairs of men. It is in this spirit that we will take up the demands for the women. I say the demands for the women; for when once the people fairly take hold of the question and get a sense of the justice of it, it will no longer be necessary for the women to make their own demands; the free working of this idea will bring forth its own fruit. Public opinion moves slowly. It takes many conventions, much newspaper writing, many lectures, and finally the idea which is struggling for its

birth assumes a determinate form ; then it takes a logical grip, and a single word, such as General Butler's "contraband," or a terse, short sentence, like those that President Grant uttered in the war, clinches the convictions of the people, throws light over and through a confused and bewildering question with a logical and convulsive power that tears away the doubts and reveals an obvious truth to every man's judgment. The whole people at once make a simultaneous step together, and are one level higher than before. So they will take hold of this question that the women present, and if there is any justice in it, or denial of right in it, the men will take it in their own hands.

The men who have it in their own power to deny suffrage, to deny justice in whole or in part ; to grant as much justice as they please, or to grant freedom — the very men who have all this power in their hands will be ready to form convictions and to act. There will be differences of opinion, doubt, and discussion, a minority ; but there will be also a majority and action. There will be certain questions that will be laid aside, or rather will not be regarded, in this country as controlling the main question. We will not here determine our judgment on the question by a calculation of the results and consequences of the working of suffrage if it were given to women. These are the modes of discussion and determination prevalent in England. They follow from the utilitarian philosophy, of which you may see a recent development in Austin's jurisprudence ; and they test the merits of a measure by the calculation whether, taken in its direct and indirect results, in its remote and collateral consequences, and with a broad view, it will tend to the greatest good of the greatest number. This thought will give you the key to the whole line of the English discussions on this topic. But such is not the American method. We are not prone to judge of the moral quality of an action, or the justice of a measure, so much by it

consequences as by its accordance with settled principles of right. I can give you a familiar illustration of the difference between the English and the American methods; and I do it, not because the English method is of any consequence here, but because the American method will be set more clearly and strongly before you by the contrast.

When the Alabama was about to set sail from Liverpool, it was clearly to the interest of the greatest number of Englishmen that she should sail, and that the supremacy of the American commerce should thereby be impaired for the next generation; and so it was right that she should sail; and the law officers of the crown were set to work to frame arguments and to find precedents to vindicate and justify this right, and they did so to the satisfaction of every English mind, until quite a recent date. When it turned out that, perhaps, England might be engaged in a war, and this country be a neutral, it became evident that it would not serve the interests of the greatest number of Englishmen to allow any new Alabama to slip out of an American port to burn up British commerce, and, therefore, it was not right. Great Britain is, therefore, disposed to agree now with us on our principles of international law, and to pay for the lesson she has received at the international law school. Napoleon the First once called England the nation of shop-keepers, for which they succeeded in paying him off at Waterloo; he was merely a little too soon. In the Crimean war, where they fought side by side with the French, they found that the French, in the end, won all the military glory, while they had the honor of paying for it. This is an honor they do not make little of, and it is the honor with which they are willing to crown themselves in this Alabama business, if we will only be considerate enough to allow them to do so. Now, I use this to contrast the American method of acting promptly for

a just principle, because it is right, as we did when we gave up two archtraitors in the Trent business.

Another question that will be laid aside will be the equality of the sexes. We are too practical to concern ourselves with so transcendental a speculation. The man who undertakes to prove that the two beings who are so much alike, and yet present in every feature and attribute such charming contrasts, in which each is superior to the other, has a problem more impossible than the attempt to prove when two bodies will meet, which are inclining toward and approaching each other, by diminishing by one-half the distance that separates them for each constant quantity of space they traverse. Since it is evident, from the Scriptural statement, that the silence on a great occasion in Heaven lasted for one-half hour only—that the distinctions which exist here are not lost in the life to come, it will be unwise to attempt to solve the question in this life, even if it were at all certain, that, if it were solved, and the equality proved, it would not at once become the absorbing question to re-establish the differences. A third question which will not control us, will be, whether women have the abstract right of suffrage, the inherent, natural right, by the same title by which men claim the right. I do not believe that men will even care to go so far as that. They will be conscious that they have and possess the right themselves, and that they have the power to confer it upon woman, if they will; and it will not be necessary for them to solve the question. But the strong point which will move the hearts of the people of this country will be the justice of the demand; for it will be a demand for justice, or else for freedom. That is the very burden of the cry to-day.

If every man in the State fully performed a man's duty and a man's work for himself and for those dependent on him, or those whom he ought to maintain, then the order of the family would be kept up, and woman would not be called upon for any other duties than those she per-

forms in the family for the children whom she loves, and for the men who protect, support and defend her from the world. But the leading fact in the case, on which the whole matter hinges, is this : That woman has to go out of the family into the world in competition with men for the support of herself and the children and the men dependent on her, and she does it without a complaint. She has thus to do man's work, and to do it because of man's failure in his duty, because he is unequal to his work ; and not only fails in it, but stands in woman's way, not only as a competitor, but stands in her way filling the places that she is capable of occupying, and himself holding back from the places of hard work, which he can and ought to but is afraid to occupy. Here is where the demand for justice comes in, and she is entitled to the fullest preparation in education for her work, the widest field for engaging in all the pursuits she wishes to enter, and the full possession of the wages of her labor. And she has this rightful demand more strongly, because she may not look for a life of labor in the business into which she enters. She is of weaker purpose and of less physical endurance, and she may be the sooner disabled from work. She may at any moment be appreciated and won by some man, and set up as the crown of his household. This result, which she is too noble to ask for, or even to depend on, she cannot keep out of prospect from the very necessity of her nature, and yet she may never attain it. Without the ambition of a man for work for its own sake, and without the feeling of an unbounded field opening before her, she needs, in going to her work, the same sympathy and encouragement that men are so ready to give her in the family and in society, but which the sense of competition leads them to withhold from her when she goes forth in the morning to her work. Here is the point of resistance. It is here that man will be unjust. It is here that the controversy on the question of giving her justice finds its fire and fuel

against her. The injustice and indolence of man, in giving her occasion to work at all, prompts him to resist her when she crowds him at his work. This competition drives her to the kind of work that requires the least skilled labor, and is the most poorly paid, and leads him to oppose granting to her the education and technical and professional instruction which will qualify her to compete with him. The days when a man was great according as he lifted the ax against the great trees, the days of that sort of heroism in labor have so far passed in the cities along the Atlantic coasts that the occupations, trades, and pursuits which a woman could fill if they were open to her, are crowded with men who are not capable of going into the wilderness and hewing their way by hard work, not capable of doing the most highly skilled work themselves, but they are only equal to doing ordinary unskilled labor, such as requires no special or technical education or apprenticeship; and thus they stand exactly in the way of the women who are seeking to be superior to their sex, and to do that sort of man's work which is easiest and which it is practicable for them to do. This resistance will be felt at every point at which woman seeks to work in man's field. They are not content to work, as Ruth did, among the gleaners, but are heroic and strong for their work; and as education and special preparation for the arts and business occupations is increased for them they will everywhere be pushing for new fields which are now held by men. This is the precise situation to-day, and the pressure and competition will be more marked because already the means of education are greatly enlarged, and it will not be long before special schools of instruction and preparation for the trades and pursuits, arts and professions which women are capable of following, will be furnished them—a movement of the greatest importance, and already begun.

This leads to a view of the situation on which I especially desire to fix your attention, in the light of what I have already said. I have explained how I thought the public mind would seize the idea of justice on which this demand of woman is grounded, and seize it with a conviction that would be deep enough to lead to action; but while this is going on with the men of ideas—for I am now giving this qualification to the thought—while the men who think first, and whose utterances other thinking men listen to, and the newspapers disseminate; while around such a nucleus public sentiment of the more intelligent classes is rapidly forming—a public sentiment, that, by law, women should have justice—at the same time among the working classes this controversy of resistance will be going on, and the prejudices and competition, the injustice and opposition of these classes will be roused to the utmost against yielding to the demand for justice. What will be the result? Not, for a moment, any bloodshed or violent collisions; but an immense political revolution. Special cases illustrating this injustice will form the topics of the annalist and the novelist, and will give sharpness to the public impressions, so that the injustice of man and the grievousness of the disabilities of women will stand out in distinct light.

The difficulties of dealing with the question in detail will become apparent, local and class interests will be arrayed against every special remedy. All sorts of expedients and compromises will be tried, but, as they always do, will only stimulate the demand, for they will satisfy no one. The delay of justice will be held to be a denial of justice, and somewhere, and at some time, a crisis will come. When this comes it will be in precise accordance with the temper of the American people to solve the question with their accustomed solution and give freedom to woman. It will be the more likely to come to this because the temper of that sort, rather than the

spirit among working-classes to resist them, will be found in legislative halls. No one in this country needs illustrations of the way in which, on such occasions, when the public heart is aroused, the law, even by changes in organic law, will swing round in advance of public opinion. It is, of course, equally true, by the same argument, that if the Legislature and the public sentiment will secure justice for women quickly, and as fast as specific measures may be proposed, such a crisis, calling for such a solution, would not arise; but in either case, woman will have the justice she is so clearly entitled to. The first is the end, the second is the means of that end; she may well say that, if the end is secured, she will not then ask for the means to secure it. I am not attempting to foretell events. I am content simply to call your attention to the working of natural causes, to look at this question in a practical, historical light, and at some fundamental principles on which it is grounded, and that they have not ceased and will not cease to be active forces in determining our institutions.

I close as I began. I trust you will never lose your faith in freedom, in education as the safeguard of our freedom, and in justice as the duty we owe to all. "Love me all in all, or not at all," is the woman's song all the world over. If you ever understand that, you will do it without any teaching. If any man here has ever heard it from the lips of a woman, he knows it means not only depth but exclusiveness. It teaches him his relations to one woman, and if he fulfills his duty he does well; but there are women who have no man to whom to say it—brave, heroic, patient, womanly women, who do man's work and ask for justice, and to whom every man owes justice. I have been constantly calling your attention to the difference between the English and the American methods of treating questions of the class to which this question of the civil rights of women belongs, and I do it because you will not, so far as I

have read among all that is so ably written in that country on this subject, find any support to the ideas which I have presented to you. They proceed according to the theory of the utilitarian philosophy, set forth by writers with whom we are familiar—Paley, Bentham, Mill, and Austin—by which they judge of a measure according to its consequences, and not by its accordance with principles. I do not think their method prevails, or will ever prevail to any extent, in this country; but you must keep this philosophical distinction in mind in all that you read of the very able and eloquent discussions on this topic from England. They will not lead you to the fundamental position that freedom may be a solution for a civil or social problem, nor lead you to seek for the just cause in a controversy, and to be led to action by your mere sense of justice.

Mr. Ruskin, in his lectures on art at Oxford, not twelve months ago, uses language, which I am about to quote to you, in reference to the abuse of freedom in art by painters who transgressed its rules and discipline. I will not quote his language without also telling you that he thus qualifies it in a succeeding paragraph. But I leave you to judge of the temper of an English audience, gathered at a university lecture, and of the tone of men of intelligence and culture, when he could say to them: "One thing more, of which nothing but evil ever comes or can come—liberty." I do not believe that there breathes an American who, with any possible mental reservation as to its meaning, would ever utter those words. In the strongest contrast to it I put to you the proposition that in liberty is found the true and sole solution of many civil, economic, and social problems; and I commend to your study the question, the logical conditions of which I have attempted to set before you, whether it may not after all turn out to be the best practical solution for the wrongs of women as it has heretofore been proved to be for the wrongs of men.

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