

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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MISS ANTHONY IN THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

THE republicans appear to have a real Quaker Concern over the reception of Miss Anthony and her memorial for woman's right of suffrage, by the recent Democratic Convention. Many of their journals are snarly and snappish about it as cross puppies. In her innocence, she forgot to ask republican leave to go before the democrats to beg a boon which, when she asked of Congress, she was snubbed by pompous republican senators, in some instances, and in others virtually denied the sacred right of petition at all, by the manner in which the petitions were presented; keeping the fact that they were from women and for women, out of sight. Suppose, as the New York *Tribune* says, the memorial of Miss Anthony was received by the Convention with "derisive cheers," and "uproarious laughter;" it was respectfully received by the president, and handsomely read by the secretary; and if the audience cheered and laughed at the good points made against the republicans, that was no fault of Miss Anthony. Her points were well made and defended. No republican, editor or speaker, has attempted to deny one of them. To democratic ears, they were certainly cause for laughter. She was treated better there than by Congress that put the word *male* into the constitution; better than she would have been at Chicago by the republicans. The key-note of republican policy on the subject was sounded by Wendell Phillips in his *negro's hour doctrine*, and re-echoed by Horace Greeley in his *Report on Woman's Suffrage to the New York Constitutional Convention*, last year, and has been acted upon in several republican states since. Colored male as well as woman's suffrage seem likely to be lost as a consequence, and republicans and abolitionists must share the responsibility between them.

A NEW DEPRAVITY.—Of what are not the human race capable? Paris has unrolled a new scroll, "*child mistresses!*" A little girl of twelve, remarkable for musical skill and for personal beauty, is now kept by a titled debauchee at a house in Rue d'Acajou. It is published that at a late meeting of the Paris press it was in consideration to give the names of the villains to the world who are known to indulge in such horrible luxuries. But the majority thought that the government would shield them, because some of them are members of the Corps Legis-

lative, and that the corrupt tribunals would condemn every journal bold enough to denounce these abominations.

It is in history, that a hundred years ago, gouty and debauched old seigneurs, were recommended to use warm baths of infants blood to restore their bleached and shrunken energies, and that the remedy was adopted. And yet the world wonders at, and curses to this day the Revolution which was precipitated by such enormities.

WOMAN'S WAGES.

THE demand of "THE REVOLUTION" is, equal pay for woman for equal work, whether as tailors, teachers, household help, or the higher callings, as some callings are called, for some reason. If God the Creator, be "no respecter of persons," the created need not be of honorable and useful employments. The Western and Eastern journals are telling how liberal and progressive is the city of Chicago on the subject of Education. Comparatively, all may be true that is said, but here are some figures. Chicago employs about 400 teachers; there is a general superintendent with a salary of \$4,000; the principal of the high school has \$2,500; he has some 12 assistants at \$2,000 for the men and \$1,000 for the women; the heads of the district schools, men, have \$2,000 salary; the women principals and chief assistants have \$1,000, and other women assistants \$450 for the first year, \$550 for the second and \$700 for the third.

The *men* may call this liberal; but if the women are competent teachers, they surely are most shabbily paid. Recently we saw in a large Massachusetts town two schools in one spacious building. On enquiry, we learned that the lower room was taught by a man, the upper by a woman, and that the salary of the former was nearly double that of the latter. We asked our friend which taught the best school, and he said "the woman, decidedly;" and which had the largest school, and his answer was again, "the woman, for we all get our children into her room who can, because she is so much the best teacher!" Probably there is not a town in the nation that does not furnish precisely such instances. And fathers and brothers generally are willing to see their daughters and sisters thus outraged from generation to generation. We are heartily tired of the words *liberality* and *magnanimity*, whenever spoken in connection with woman's work and wages.

P. P.

THE Springfield *Republican* thinks the democratic President will only be the "figure head" of the party, if elected. How much more than that, pray, will Gen. Grant be, who confesses at the outset that he has no policy, and no will but the will of the people? To make his mark to the acts of Congress and take the salary is all the nation can yet promise itself from his administration, judged by his whole civil life up to the present hour.

THE WAY THE INDIANS ARE FED.

SERGEANT HAYNES, of an Iowa cavalry regiment, lately testified before the Indian Peace Commission of the way he had seen rations issued to the savages. He said:

The Winnebago and Santee Indians were fed as follows at the Crow Creek Agency in 1864: A large vat was constructed of cotton-wood lumber, about six feet square and six feet deep, in connection with the steam saw-mill, with a pipe leading from the boiler into the vat. Into the vat was thrown beef, beef heads, entrails of the beeves, some beans, flour and pork. I think two barrels of flour were put into the vat each time, which was not oftener than once in twenty-four hours. This mass was then cooked by the steam from the boiler. It was dipped out to the Indians with a long-handled dipper made for the purpose. I cannot say the quantity given to each. It was about the consistency of very thin gruel. The Indians would pour off the thinner portion and eat that which settled at the bottom. I was often there when it was being issued, and it had a very offensive odor; it had the odor of the contents of the entrails of the beeves. I have seen the settlings of the vat after they were through issuing it to the Indians, and it smelt like carrion—like decomposed meat. Some of the Indians refused to eat it, saying they could not, it made them sick—that it was only fit for hogs, and that they were not hogs. The quantity of food issued them per day did not exceed eight ounces per head—man, woman and child.

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.

It is to be regretted that the Working Men's Union do not more readily grasp the idea that all their efforts for self-extrication and elevation are vain, until the claims of the more oppressed working women are recognized. Woman has fought her way into every religious, political, social and educational advantage she enjoys, and must now contend for her industrial rights. It is a scandal on the name of manhood that such a truth must be told in this almost two thousandth year of Christian grace, and yet it is undeniably so.

The Worcester (Mass.) *Aegis* has some excellent remarks on this subject, such as these:

Large numbers of young women are now employed in trades, and at other occupations which require industry, application, and skill, who do not have *half* the pay that men receive for similar labor. Woman's sphere is limited; she cannot perform many kinds of labor by which men gain subsistence and competency. But whenever and wherever she can accomplish the same amount of work and do it as well, she should have an equal compensation.

There are many kinds of work for which she is better adapted than man, nay, which seem in the nature of things rather to belong to her, and in the performance of which a man seems out of place. A man behind the counter, handling ribbons and laces isn't a sight calculated to increase our respect and admiration for the sterner sex. There is work enough for all, and special and peculiar work enough for either sex. And there is no just reason why women, because they are weak and not in the way to defend or secure their rights, should be oppressed, and so miserably compensated for their work, as they often are. We sometimes get glimpses behind the scenes and learn how some of the vast establishments of our great cities gain their enormous wealth.

The dazzling curtain is lifted and reveals a background dark with misery, and filled with pitiless wrong.

The iron hand of the avaricious oppressor presses hard on struggling want, till, too often, virtue itself is sacrificed to the almost imperative necessity that a fair and honorable compensation for labor should have averted. It is easy for gilded opulence, riding in its carriage, to sneer at gilded sin, walking on the sidewalk; but the hour is coming when that very sin is to be traced to imperious and frivolous demands of the devotees of Fashion, whose whole lives are a libel and a lie. Sin is oftener the result of seeming necessity than we dream. Remove the temptation which takes this form, the most specious in which it can approach, and you cleanse the world of much of its pollution. Alleviate the misery which is the vestibule to a life of sin; reward honest and struggling labor as it deserves, and the opportunity and the excuse for much of the vice that fills our larger cities, would be at once removed. Let woman have a fair, honorable recompense for her work.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER IV.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF DEGRADATION TO WHICH WOMAN IS REDUCED BY VARIOUS CAUSES.

THAT woman is naturally weak, or degraded by a concurrence of circumstances is, I think, clear. But this position I shall simply contrast with a conclusion, which I have frequently heard fall from sensible men in favor of an aristocracy; that the mass of mankind cannot be anything, or the obsequious slaves, who patiently allow themselves to be penned up, would feel their own consequence and spurn their chains. Men, they further observe, submit everywhere to oppression, when they have only to lift up their heads to throw off the yoke; yet, instead of asserting their birthright, they quietly lick the dust, and say, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Women, I argue from analogy, are degraded by the same propensity to enjoy the present moment; and, at last, despite the freedom which they have not sufficient virtue to struggle to attain. But I must be more explicit.

With respect to the culture of the heart, it is unanimously allowed that sex is out of the question; but the line of subordination in the mental powers is never to be passed over. Only "absolute in loveliness," the portion of rationality granted to woman is, indeed, very scanty; for, denying her genius and judgment, it is scarcely possible to divine what remains to characterize intellect.

The stamina of immortality, if I may be allowed the phrase, is the perfectibility of human reason; for, was man created perfect, or did a flood of knowledge break in upon him, when he arrived at maturity, that precluded error, I should doubt whether his existence would be continued after the dissolution of the body. But in the present state of things, every difficulty in morals, that escapes from human discussion, and equally baffles the investigation of profound thinking, and the lightning glance of genius, is an argument on which I build my belief of the immortality of the soul. Reason is, consequently, the simple power of improvement; or, more properly speaking, of discerning the truth. Every individual is in this respect a world in itself. More or less may be conspicuous in one being than another; but the nature of reason must be the same in all, if it be an emanation of divinity, the tie that connects the creature with the Creator; for, can that soul be stamped with the heavenly image that is not perfected by the exercise of its own reason? Yet outwardly ornamented with elaborate care, and so adorned to delight man, "that with honor he may love," the soul of woman is not allowed to have this distinction, and man, ever placed between her and reason, she is always represented as only created to see through a gross medium, and to take things on trust. But, dismissing these fanciful theories, and considering woman as a whole, let it be what it will, instead of a part of man, the inquiry is, whether she has reason or not. If she has, which, for a moment, I will take for granted, she was not created merely to be the solace of man, and the sexual should not destroy the human character.

Into this error men have, probably, been led by viewing education in a false light; not considering it as the first step to form a being-advancing gradually toward perfection; but only as a preparation for life. On this

* Vide Milton.

† This word is not strictly just, but I cannot find a better.

sensual error, for I must call it so, has the false system of female manners been reared, which robs the whole sex of its dignity, and classes the brown and fair with the smiling flowers that only adorn the land. This has ever been the language of men, and the fear of departing from a supposed sexual character, has made even women of superior sense adopt the same sentiments. Thus understanding, strictly speaking, has been denied to woman; and instinct, sublimated into wit and cunning, for the purposes of life, has been substituted in its stead.

The power of generalizing ideas, of drawing comprehensive conclusions from individual observations, is the only acquirement for an immortal being that really deserves the name of knowledge. Merely to observe, without endeavoring to account for anything, may (in a very incomplete manner) serve as the common sense of life; but where is the store laid up that is to clothe the soul when it leaves the body?

This power has not only been denied to women, but writers have insisted that it is inconsistent, with a few exceptions, with their sexual character. Let men prove this, and I shall grant that woman only exists for man. I must, however, previously remark, that the power of generalizing ideas, to any great extent, is not very common amongst men or women. But this exercise is the true cultivation of the understanding; and everything conspires to render the cultivation of the understanding more difficult in the female than the male world.

I am naturally led by this assertion to the main subject of the present chapter, and shall now attempt to point out some of the causes that degrade the sex, and prevent women from generalizing their observations.

I shall not go back to the remote annals of antiquity to trace the history of woman; it is sufficient to allow, that she has always been either a slave or a despot, and to remark, that each of these situations equally retards the progress of reason. The grand source of female folly and vice has ever appeared to me to arise from narrowness of mind; and the very constitution of civil governments has put almost insuperable obstacles in the way to prevent the cultivation of the female understanding; yet virtue can be built on no other foundation! The same obstacles are thrown in the way of the rich, and the same consequences ensue.

Necessity has been proverbially termed the mother of invention; the aphorism may be extended to virtue. It is an acquirement, and an acquirement to which pleasure must be sacrificed; and who sacrifices pleasure when it is within the grasp, whose mind has not been opened and strengthened by adversity, or the pursuit of knowledge goaded on by necessity? Happy is it when people have the cares of life to struggle with; for these struggles prevent their becoming a prey to enervating vices, merely from idleness! But, if from their birth men and women are placed in a torrid zone, with the meridian sun of pleasure darting directly upon them, how can they sufficiently brace their minds to discharge the duties of life, or even to relish the affections that carry them out of themselves?

Pleasure is the business of a woman's life, according to the present modification of society, and while it continues to be so, little can be expected from such weak beings. Inheriting, in a lineal descent from the first fair defect in nature, the sovereignty of beauty, they have, to maintain their power, resigned their natural rights, which the exercise of reason might have procured them, and chosen rather to be short-lived queens than labor to attain the sober pleasures that arise from equality. Exalted by their inferiority (this sounds like a contradiction) they constantly demand homage as women, though experience should teach them that the men who pride themselves upon paying this arbitrary, insolent respect to the sex, with the most scrupulous exactness, are most inclined to tyrannize over, and despise the very weakness they cherish. Often do they repeat Mr. Hume's sentiments, when comparing the French and Athenian character, he alludes to women. "But what is more singular in this whimsical nation, say I to the Athenians, is, that a frolic of yours during the Saturnalia, when the slaves are served by their masters, is seriously continued by them through the whole year, and through the whole course of their lives; accompanied too with some circumstances which still further augment the absurdity and ridicule. Your sport only elevates for a few days those whom fortune has thrown down, and whom she too, in sport, may really elevate for ever above you. But this nation gravely exalts those whom nature has subjected to them and whose inferiority and infirmities are absolutely incurable. The women, though without virtue, are their masters and sovereigns."

Ah! why do women, I write with affectionate solicitude, condescend to receive a degree of attention and

respect from strangers, different from that reciprocation of civility which the dictates of humanity and the politeness of civilization authorize between man and man? And why do they not discover, when "in the noon of beauty's power" that they are treated like queens only to be deluded by hollow respect, till they are led to resign, or not assume, their natural prerogatives? Confined then in cages, like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock-majesty from perch to perch. It is true, they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange. But, where, amongst mankind has been found sufficient strength of mind to enable a being to resign these adventitious prerogatives; one who, rising with the calm dignity of reason above opinion, dared to be proud of the privileges inherent in man? and it is vain to expect it whilst hereditary power chokes the affections, and nips reason in the bud.

The passions of men have thus placed women on thrones; and, till mankind become more reasonable, it is to be feared that women will avail themselves of the power which they attain with the least exertion, and which is the most indisputable. They will smile, yes, they will smile, though told that—

"In beauty's empire is no mean,
And woman either slave or queen,
Is quickly acorn'd when not adorn'd."

But the adoration comes first, and the scorn is not anticipated.

Louis the XIVth, in particular, spread factitious manners, and caught, in a specious way, the whole nation in his toils; for establishing an artful chain of despotism, he made it the interest of the people at large individually to respect his station and support his power. And women, whom he flattered by a puerile attention to the whole sex, obtained in his reign that prince-like distinction so fatal to reason and virtue.

A king is always a king, and a woman always a woman; his authority and her sex ever stand between them and rational converse. With a lover, I grant she should be so, and her sensibility will naturally lead her to endeavor to excite emotion, not to gratify her vanity but her heart. This I do not allow to be coquetry, it is the artless impulse of nature, I only exclaim against the sexual desire of conquest, when the heart is out of the question.

This desire is not confined to women; "I have endeavored," says Lord Chesterfield, "to gain the hearts of twenty women, whose persons I would not have taken a fig for." The libertine who, in a gust of passion, takes advantage of unsuspecting tenderness, is a saint when compared with this cold-hearted rascal; for I like to use significant words. Yet only taught to please, women are always on the watch to please, and with true heroic ardor endeavor to gain hearts merely to resign, or spurn them, when the victory is decided and conspicuous.

I must descend to the minutiae of the subject.

I lament that women are systematically degraded by receiving trivial attentions which men think it mainly to pay the sex, when, in fact, they are insultingly supporting their own superiority. It is not condescension to bow to an inferior. So ludicrous, in fact, do these ceremonies appear to me, that I scarcely am able to govern my muscles when I see a man start with eager and serious solicitude to lift a handkerchief, or shut a door, when the lady could have done it herself had she only moved a pace or two.

A wild wish has just flown from my heart to my head, and I will not stifle it though it may excite a horse laugh. I do earnestly wish to see the distinction of sex confounded in society, unless where love animates the behaviour. For this distinction is, I am firmly persuaded, the foundation of the weakness of character ascribed to woman; is the cause why the understanding is neglected, whilst accomplishments are acquired with sedulous care: and the same cause accounts for their preferring the graceful before the heroic virtues.

Mankind, including every description, wish to be loved and respected for something; and the common herd will always take the nearest road to the completion of their wishes. The respect paid to wealth and beauty is the most certain and unequivocal; and of course, will always attract the vulgar eye of common minds. Abilities and virtues are absolutely necessary to raise men from the middle rank of life into notice; and the natural consequence is notorious, the middle rank contains most virtue and abilities. Men have thus, in one station, at least, an opportunity of exerting themselves with dig-

* And a wit always a wit, might be added; for the vain fooleries of wits and beauties to obtain attention and make conquests, are much upon a par.