

these infamous laws affect her. When a wife has a civil and political existence, we may talk of a dignified legal marriage relation, but no one, fresh from the reading of even our revised statutes of to-day, can feel a very profound respect for an institution in which woman is a "femme covert," "sub potestate viri."

3d. The social customs that are the outgrowths of these false creeds and codes are alike degrading to woman, demoralizing to the race, and dangerous to the state. Marriage, to-day, is in no way viewed as an equal partnership, intended for the equal advantage and happiness of both parties. Nearly every man feels that his wife is his property, whose first duty, under all circumstances, is to gratify his passions, without the least reference to her own health and happiness, or the welfare of their offspring; and so enfeebled is woman's judgment and moral sense from long abuse, that she believes, so too, and quotes from the Bible to prove her own degradation.

A physical union which should be the consummation merely of a spiritual or intellectual sympathy, respect and friendship, in far too many cases constitutes all there is of marriage, and woman consents to hand down, with no feelings of guilt or sin, the odious moral and physical deformities and diseases of any man whom accident or necessity may have induced her to marry.

The evils that flow from the immorality of such a position—from these feeble, indifferent, joyless, discordant unions—we see on all sides in disease, vice, crime; in the idiot, the lunatic, the blind, the deaf, the dumb; in the melancholy dissatisfaction of the mass of the people who make up the world. Alas! how few healthy, happy parents and children we meet to-day, under our present marriage system! Is our social state so perfect that we should fear any change, any new light, discussion and improvement?

But how, say you, can the relations of the sexes be improved? Exalt woman, make her the sovereign and not the slave of the fireside. Blot out all your infamous creeds and codes that degrade her in her own eyes, as well as in the estimation of the man by her side. Help her to be an independent, virtuous, self-supporting being, by giving her a free pass in the world of work and thought wherever she has the power to stand. Then she will no longer degrade marriage, by accepting it as a pecuniary necessity, but, in freedom, will choose the father of her children more wisely than she does to-day. When she understands the science of life, the laws of reproduction, that like begets like, the lower orders of mankind will be at a discount. When women demand health, virtue, and brains in men instead of a long purse, the supply will equal the demand. "You can't make a soldier," said Napoleon, "out of a sick man." Neither can you make happy marriages out of sick men and women. We cannot have unions," says Emerson, "until we first have units."

The primal conditions of true marriage are moral and physical health. Equality, self-respect, independence, are as necessary to the health of the mind as freedom of locomotion is to the body.

Until men and women view each other as equals, and are wise enough to apply the same laws of science to themselves that have already so greatly improved the lower animals, we shall have infanticide, prostitution, divorce, celibacy, and marriage will be, in most cases, a long, hard struggle to make the best of a bad bargain.

E. C. A.

WHAT POSSIBLE VALUE WOULD SUFFRAGE BE TO WOMAN?

We are often asked the question, "On what do you base your assertion that the ballot can achieve so much for woman. It has not," say they, "done much for man; in this country all white men vote, yet the masses are wretchedly fed, housed, clothed and poorly paid for their labor. Ignorant alike of social and political economy, their voting is a mere form; practically they have no more to do with the government than the masses in the old world who have no representation whatever."

These wholesale philosophers, and we meet them every day, are incapable of any patient process of analytical reasoning. If the moment a man is endowed with the Suffrage he does not spring up into knowledge, virtue, wealth and position, then the right amounts to nothing. If a generation of ignorant, degraded men, whose noses have been held to the grind-stone all their days, do not vote at once with the wisdom of statesmen, then Universal Suffrage is a failure, and the despot and the dagger the true government.

The careful reader of history will see, that with every new extension of rights a new step in civilization has been taken, and that uniformly those nations have been most prosperous where the greatest number of the people have been recognized in the government. Contrast China with Russia, England with the United States. Where the few govern, the legislation is for the advantage of the few. Where the many govern the legislation will gradually become more and more for the advantage of the many, as fast as the many know enough to demand laws for their own benefit. This knowledge comes from an education in politics; and a ballot in a man's hand and the responsibility of using it, is the first step in this education. Even if a man sells his ballot, there is power in possessing something that a politician must have or perish. The Southern slaves must have acquired a new dignity in the scale of being when Judge Kelley and Senator Wilson travelled all through the south to preach to them on political questions.

The thinking men of England, as they philosophize on the abuses of their government, see plainly that the only way to abolish an order of nobility, a law of primogeniture and an established church, is to give the masses a right by their votes to pitch this triple power into the channel; for all the bulwarks of aristocracy will one by one, be swept away with the education and enfranchisement of the people. Gladstone, John Bright and John Stuart Mill see clearly that the privileges of the few can be extended to the many only by the legislation of the many. All the beneficial results of the broad principles they are advocating to-day, may not be fully realized in a generation, but, to the philosophical mind, they are as true now as if already achieved.

The greatest minds in this country too, have made most exhaustive arguments to prove the power of the ballot and recognized the equality of all citizens, in our Declaration of Rights, in extending suffrage to all white men, and in the proposition to farther extend it to all black men. The great republican party (in which are many of the ablest men of the nation) declare that emancipation to the black man is a mockery, without the Suffrage. When the thinking minds on both continents are agreed as to the power of the ballot in the hand of every man

it is surprising to hear educated Americans ask, "What possible value would Suffrage be to woman?" When, in the British Parliament, the suffrage was extended to a million new voters, even Lord Derby and Disraeli, who were opposed to the measure, said at once, now, if this class are to vote, we must establish schools for their education, showing the increased importance of every man who has a voice in the government, and the new interest of the rulers in his education. Where all vote all must be educated; our public school system is the result of this principle in our government. When women vote, Harvard, Yale and Princeton will throw wide open their doors.

Women are not anomalous beings outside all law, that one need make any special arguments to prove that what elevates and dignifies man will educate and dignify woman also. When she exercises her right of Suffrage, she will study the science of government, gain new importance in the eyes of politicians, and have a free pass in the world of work. If the masses knew their power, they could turn the whole legislation of this country to their own advantage, and drive poverty, rags and ignorance into the Pacific Ocean. If they would learn wisdom in the National Labor Conventions and not sell their votes to political tricksters, a system of Finance, Trade and Commerce, and Co-operation could soon be established that would secure the rights of Labor and put an end to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.

Labor holds the ballot now, let it learn how to use it. Educated women know how to use it now, let them have it. E. C. A.

THE ANNA DICKINSON OF THE WEST.

The following correspondence between Lieut.-Gov. Stanard and other gentlemen with Miss Phoebe W. Cozzens explains itself:

St. Louis, March 18th, 1859.

To Miss Phoebe W. Cozzens, St. Louis, Mo.:

Miss Cozzens: Heartily appreciating the ability displayed in your efforts to secure to woman the elective franchise, and those qualities which have been combined with this to gain for you a very high reputation as a writer and debater, and desiring as well to testify our appreciation of your efforts as to secure to ourselves the pleasure of hearing you, we unite in cordially inviting you to deliver an address in St. Louis, at such time and place as will suit your own convenience.

E. O. STANARD, and others.

St. Louis, March 29, 1859.

Lieut.-Gov. STANARD, Hon. JOHN M. KRAM, Rev. W. G. ELLIOT, Rev. JOHN MONTEITH, Hon. EMIL PRETZELIUS and others:

GENTLEMEN: Your very complimentary letter of the 18th instant has been received. I thank you for the honor conferred upon me, in your high appreciation of my efforts in behalf of woman.

It will give me great pleasure to comply with your request, and I will deliver an address upon that subject at Mercantile Library Hall on Tuesday evening, March 30th.

With high respect, I am gentlemen,

Yours very truly, PHOEBE W. COZZENS.

Miss Cozzens is a charming girl, about twenty years of age. We hope to have the pleasure of listening to her here in New York, at the Woman's Convention in May. She is now studying law in St. Louis, and is a student of great promise.

The following shows progress on the part of the London Morning Star:

"The Victoria Magazine is, we think, illogical in its recommendation that, should the civil service be thrown open to both sexes, married women should be considered ineligible for appointments therewith connected."