

misery now brooding all around him, which has produced these "Letters on the Laws of Work." And there surely is no wisdom or statesmanship in the government of this country—the *Tribune's* own statement as to its present poverty and destitution being witness—that entitles it to pass so hasty and severe a judgment on Mr. Ruskin. Probably no one knows better than the *Tribune* that every real benefactor of the race has been accounted by those he would bless as a dreamer, a madman, or a devil.

The United States claim to be the freest and best governed people in the world. In material resources no country can compare with them. It has long been their boast that they could feed and clothe easily the present population of the globe. And now it is seen that they cannot even maintain decently their own household. No one man or woman in the nation, no one family, is so rich proportionably as is the nation as a whole. What would be thought of the Astors or Vanderbilts if, with all their wealth, there were actual starvation in their kitchens among the lowest menials, not to speak of the children of the family? And the illustration might be extended still farther. Those who claim to know all about it, say the earth is more than sixty centuries old. How old will it have to be, with all its laws and religion, before it can retire from business—on not a competence merely, as most men desire, but on an independent fortune, every son and daughter provided for and every reasonable want and wish abundantly supplied—its sordid lust and love of gain forever quenched?

Those last words from the *Tribune* cover a frightful secret, did the world but know it. The old slaveholders kept the mean whites around them, permitting them to live on them much like dogs or beasts of prey, only for their votes once a year. In every post and place where men are employed by the government—men (not *women*, be it known) are retained, amounting in all to many thousands, and often on high salaries, only for their votes, as the planters permitted, tolerated the poor whites; and the honest, toiling men and women must drudge and starve to pay them. What is this but taking the children's bread and casting it to the dogs?

P. P.

THE CROWN OF EARLY WOMANHOOD.

BY REV. DR. CHAPIN.

LAST Sunday evening Rev. E. H. CHAPIN delivered an earnest and eloquent discourse on "The Crown of Early Womanhood." In speaking of the true development of woman, he uttered an appeal for her rights, substantially as follows:

The condition of obligation and, the condition of rights are inseparable. Woman is bound to develop her nature to the utmost possible capacity; but, in order to do this, she must have room and opportunity. Here is the true force of all the arguments in our day, on behalf of woman. Her rights imply her obligations; her obligations compel her to demand her rights. But, in fact, her claim is not for *woman's* rights, but for *human* rights. As a human being, she has a right to develop herself to the utmost possible capacity. She claims the human right to be and do the best she is capable of being and doing. No artificial restraint should be put upon the exercise of that right. There is such a thing as man's sphere, and such a thing as woman's sphere; but we are to de-

termine these respective spheres, not by preconceived notions, but by practical experiments. Man has no business to declare what is or what is not the sphere of woman. True, the qualities of her nature are different from the qualities of man. But let results, and not preconceptions, determine of what she is capable. A peach tree can never become a pear tree. The peach tree has its rights, the inherent rights of its nature, and of God's design, to develop all the fulness of its life. But it would be a very absurd thing to enact a law that no peach tree should become a pear tree, and afterwards, fearing that it would, to deny it a certain amount of light, and air and moisture. Yet that is intrinsically no more absurd than some present customs. Woman has simply the right that man has, to be and do the best she is capable of being and doing. The fullest freedom of man's right would never result in his becoming anything else than a man. Woman, if allowed the same freedom, would become nothing else than a woman. There is a divine right to rule in society; not by the authority of kingship, but by the authority of nature. There are men who are made to be rulers. There are men who are made to be prophets and poets. So woman, possessing the rights of womanhood, will act out her nature, and develop the true woman. As to the matter of suffrage, so far as I know the argument, it is all on the side of woman (and the sharpest edge of sarcasm too). But the subject must be decided by practical demonstration. It is said women are not fit to vote. I think they are justified in claiming that they are as fit as the mass of men. Again, it would be unwomanly to vote. It is no more unwomanly to vote than it is unmanly. Further it is said that women do not wish to vote. The majority of them, at the present day, do not; but they have the right, and if they desire should be permitted to exercise it. If woman were allowed full scope to follow out her nature, she would develop a truer womanhood. The essential differences of her mind and moral qualities would become clearly defined. The way, after all, to settle great social questions is not by restrictions, but by freedom. Whatever we may think in regard to woman suffrage, woman requires more freedom than she has, now; for, though there has been great improvement, she is very much limited and oppressed. It is said that woman can't do man's work. Well, if she can't, she won't do it. But where she takes the same kind of work that man does, and does it better than he, her wages are much less. Some of our best teachers are women, and their remuneration is far below man's. Prejudice and injustice prevail in regard to woman's work. She suffers indignities and tyrannies in her labor. She has a right to be and do what she can. Old restrictions upon her honorable employment should be abolished.

DRUNKENNESS IN HIGH PLACES.—The *Leavenworth (Kansas) Commercial*, a radically democratic journal, says an effort is being made to have Yates, of Illinois, resign his Senatorship, on account of habitual drunkenness. The effort should be successful, and another should be made with Senator Saulsbury. Too many of the public places are filled by men who are habitually drunkards. The thing has become so prevalent, so palpable, and so glaring, that we consider it the duty of the press to speak out plainly on the subject. In this respect we need look no further than our own State. We have men filling high judicial and legislative places

who are entirely unreliable, entirely unfit for business on account of their habitual intoxication. The community have been outraged long enough by disgusting bloats in high places, and we think the time for reformation, if it is ever going to begin, should commence at once.

THE WORKING WOMEN OF NEW YORK.

ARTICLE I.

YEAR in and year out, 'mid the scorching heat of summer, the driving storms of winter, the laboring poor pass to their work. With the "strong men," protected by "Trade Unions" and popular sympathy, we have little to do. Our mission is with that large, ill-treated, barely tolerated class, the working women of New York. It is not alone the limited fields of labor open to them of which women complain, but the stinted, grudging remuneration doled out for faithful services. It matters not that the pittance may be the only support of a wretched family, the laborer is a woman—God help her—and she must take whatever they give her. Until recently a woman was considered "out of her sphere," if she attempted any kind of work save with her needle. After the advent of the sewing machine, however, it was found that men could become operators, and the poor victims were for a time still left at the old work of basting and finishing.

Poor, toiling sisterhood! they sang the "Song of the Shirt" so long that their throats became parched, and the work hung limp and loose from their weary hands. When the war for the Union thinned the ranks, it was found that women could keep accounts, set type, write for the press, practice medicine, and do a thousand and one things requiring address, brains and energy.

Even here, however, is the great injustice practiced. Women are not admitted in equal numbers with men, and when admitted are paid inferior salaries. A saleswoman in one of our Broadway stores will receive eight or ten dollars per week; while a man, at the same counter, who does much less to influence trade, receives fifteen or twenty dollars. The latter salary is small enough, it is true. But if the man is entitled to it, why not the woman? Her services are quite as valuable to the firm; why then do they compel her to accept a smaller remuneration? If men have families to support, so have women. If the father is the head of the family, so in many cases is the mother. The good God in heaven knows how many women whose young families depend upon their feeble physical strength, toil up life's hill with bleeding feet. Woman cannot rise to repel the injustice, until her voice is heard in the councils of the land. In a few isolated cases, the women of a community have arisen and protested against the outrage, for it is no less; but they have been hooted at, derided, and finally have gone back to their work, cowed down, humiliated, and silent forever more as to the injustice and wrong.

A down-town merchant the other day found himself without a book-keeper, and, "for economy's sake," employed a lady to fill the position. He pays her five hundred a year; her predecessor received eighteen hundred. She performs the work as well. Why the difference in salary? An advertisement appeared in a city paper the other day, in which a lady copyist was wanted, at—Chambers st. A lady friend who wrote a fine business hand answered the application. Upon stating her terms, the partners, highly respectable merchants, looked at her in amazement, until finally one of them laughed outright, as

he said, "Indeed, you must be from the country, Miss! *Ten dollars a week*; why, my dear young lady, we could get a man for that!"

Another important class of working women are the female composers. It is everywhere conceded that they set type as well, frequently better than men; yet the latter receive *forty cents a thousand ems*, while the unfortunate women must be content with twenty-five and thirty-cents. So it is in the other fields of labor. No matter how well the woman's work is done, she must be content to have it depreciated. Within a certain sphere she is to toil her life long, half requited, and when she dares to step outside that sphere the scoffs and sneers of the sterner sex follow her. She is denied the work she can do, ill paid for what she does, and derided when she enters competition in the higher fields of labor. To moralize upon the fearful injustice practiced toward women, to theorize upon remedial measures, is not the subject of these articles. We shall, however, give facts and figures, which will go far to prove that not alone to foreign lands should our missionaries wander, to teach the natives of Hong Kong and New Zealand; but here in our midst should the good fight begin, and for woman who has borne her wrongs so patiently, the noblest and best of our present legislators should make ready the way for the grand battle, which shall win the victory against oppression at home and abroad.

QUERIES ON THIS AND THAT.

Editors of the Revolution:

Thine following remarks by an observing traveler appeared last week in the *New York Tribune*:

OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

Sir: Upon arriving in your city a few days ago I was struck with the number of obscene publications published here, tacked up on every news-stand and on the door of many a shop, thus thrust into the faces of respectable ladies and gentlemen. The sale of them, if I rightly judge, is immense. Look back on Greece, and Rome, and France, and beware. Appreciate the danger, and fight it off. Worse than the cholera or plague, it is an epidemic that attacks society, high or low, and peculiarly and more destructively the young. I have seen girls mingled with the throng that gazed snake-fascinated on the rough pictures at the stands. *Something must be done*, or the disease will not be confined to New York alone. But I warn you, New Yorkers, for your good. Devise some plan, organize an association for the prevention of crime.

HARTFORD.

As the obscene publications alluded to are destitute of literary merit, sickening to sound judgment, and disgusting to the finer sensibilities, weakening the intellect, perverting the taste, and developing the lower propensities of our nature—thus utterly disqualifying persons, young and old, rich and poor, for the stern duties and virtues of this life, and shutting out every hope of happiness hereafter—we wish to make the following inquiries:

1. How is it that, out of the thousands of professing Christians in this city who are blessed with means, talents and influence, there are none endeavoring to suppress by proper authority these immoral and shameful publications?

2. How is it that ministers of the Gospel, teachers of morality and religion, who ought to be going about preaching the Gospel to every creature, who are the recipients of handsome presents and large salaries for supposed influence, virtue and talents for doing a "great deal of good" in the community at large and in their particular calling or sphere of usefulness, do not raise their voices and demand from

their congregations and the city authorities the complete annihilation of these frivolous periodicals and this licentious literature?

3. How is it that our City Fathers, of whom perhaps three-fourths will be seen in their pews on Sundays, can, with clear consciences, bow themselves before their Maker, ask for wisdom from above, etc., and daily pass and repass these pictures on our sidewalks, the toleration of which causes indignation and disgust in the minds of the moral and virtuous, and which the City Fathers must know are corrupting the rising generation and vitiating the tastes of our young men and women?

4. How is it that clergymen, preachers, missionaries, elders, deacons and Scripture readers are doing nothing to dry up these streams of death that are pouring from the press in torrents?

5. Can no society of energetic men and women be formed for the suppression of immoral innovations? Doubtless the passions and practices that have paralyzed the industry, corrupted the morals, and effected the ruin of many a nation, are raging in the breasts of millions in our country. We are warned by the voice of all antiquity, and the example of all republics. The threatening which the arm of Jehovah held out over the first Christian nation, is still suspended by the hand of justice over its successors:

"The nation and kingdom that will not serve me shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." And a voice, solemn as the voice of warning and of woe, seems to come up from the sepulchre of nations in response to the declaration.

A practical remedy for the prevention of this corrupted literature would be the formation of a society composed of earnest and energetic men and women, who would act as a vigilance committee and prosecute by law all publishers, printers and vendors of obscene books. It is by the union of men, minds, and means, that the great achievements are performed in the world of business, science and politics. A few officers cannot administer the principles of government, but many functionaries are required. As Young Men's Christian Associations do not interfere with but aid all Christian denominations and promote general good, so would a society for the prevention of crime and the suppression of existing social evils in our cities assist materially in city government by abolishing those annoyances which officers of the law hesitate to reform. Are there twenty individuals in our midst who will send in their names and address to "THE REVOLUTION" with a view to forming a society whose special efforts shall be to purify this city of some of its immoral filth?

T. P. P.

THE GOOSE AND THE GANDER.

UNDER the above unique and expressive heading, the *London Saturday Review*, of Jan. 11th, has a two-column article on the woman question. Though presenting no new phase of the subject, nothing particularly original except its title, the article is well worth noting, in consideration of the fact that it appears in the leading literary journal of Great Britain, if not of the world—a journal which serves up weekly repeats of the double-distilled extract of English conservatism.

While the gander of the *New York Tribune*, who all his life, or while there was no ghost of a chance for the success of the movement, has supported it, and now, when there is some hope

of success, opposes Woman Suffrage, and the *London Saturday Review*, that staid pink of all conservative proprieties, gives a feeble squeak in its favor, it may well be said that we are in the midst of a Revolution.

The following extracts are from the article referred to:

Female Suffrage, as we know, is merely a question of time. Before very long, no doubt, there will be a feminine reform bill, during the course of which Mr. Disraeli will explain that Female Suffrage has always been the one idea of the conservative party. * * * Some social philosophers still maintain with M. Comte, that it is man's business to maintain woman, and to relieve her from the necessity of providing for her own wants. But this theory seems utopian and impracticable, when we try to think of applying it to the world in which we live. * * * All theology, whether Christian or Pagan, has been in the habit of representing woman as designed chiefly to be a sort of ornament and appendage to man; and the allegory of the creation of Eve, though Oriental in its tone, does, nevertheless, correspond to a vague feeling, among even civilized nations, that woman's mission is to fill up a gap in man's daily life. Nor are they merely the opinions and laws of the world which have moulded themselves on this basis. The whole imagination of the race has been fed upon the notion, until the relations between the two sexes have become the one thing on which fancy, sentiment and hope, are taught from childhood to dwell. It is not an extravagant inference to suppose that centuries of this imaginative and sentimental habit have ended by affecting the brain and the physical nature of humanity. * * * It is well to reflect seriously before making up our minds to treat with undignified contempt all the vagaries of those who wish to alter the social condition of woman. At present women are too delicate adjuncts of life. As Prometheus said of horses, they are the ornaments of wealth and luxury. They add perfume and refinement to existence. But, after all, it is an important question whether the conversion of women into this sort of drawing-room delicacy is not sacrificing the welfare of the many to the intellectual and social comfort of the few. * * * For every woman who marries happily, a large percentage never marry at all, or marry in haste and repent at leisure. It remains to be proved that it is wise to teach and train the sex to fix and to stake all their fortunes on the chance of the one rare thing—a lucky matrimonial choice. * * * It would be a poor exchange to take from women all their reserve and innocence and refinement, without giving them free play in the world. They would be coarse and wicked caricatures of what they are now. The change, to be tolerable, would have to be effectual and thorough. It would be necessary to change the whole current of their ideas, and the whole view of man about them also; to persuade the human race to fix its mind less on the difference of sexes, and to become less imaginative on the subject. If so sweeping an alteration could be effected, perhaps it might be worth while to consider whether woman's absolute independence would not strengthen her character and add permanence to the world's natural wealth. One thing is certain, that if woman is to continue forever in her present condition, the moral and social condition of large numbers of human beings must remain hopeless. No social philosopher can ever do anything but despair of real progress if he is to take for granted that women are always to play the part in life which they play at present. The emancipation of the goose is an experiment, but it is not surprising that many enthusiasts should believe it to be an experiment well deserving of a trial.

This conservative gander cackles better sense than many recreant radical ones on this side the water. They should remember the source whence emanates the sentence that admits the hopelessness of large numbers of human beings if women are to remain forever in their present condition. The writer would have come nearer the truth if he had said the condition of the human race "must remain hopeless if women are to remain in their present condition," for no part of the social or political machinery can be out of joint without affecting the whole.

In the Kansas State Senate an act has passed allowing any person, without regard to sex or color, to practice law in all the courts, if possessed of the requisite qualifications.