

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., August 2, 1868.

You kindly invite me to write for "THE REVOLUTION." I should esteem it a privilege to do so if I felt that I could be of service to you. I am more interested in the totality of reform than even in the practical issues of the present time, though I prize and treasure these as means to the great end before us. The woman's movement and the labor movement are invaluable as levers of the social Revolution. Both must be allied, and with them must be connected education, free and universal, and in a sense more extended than ever hitherto. A social providence for the young will probably be the first practical recognition of the duty which society owes to all its members and which is expressed in the word *social organization*.

Meanwhile it is necessary that women should have an equal share in the political as well as social administration before most other reforms can be reached. The force and arbitrary methods of past governments are masculine abuses which will only yield to the presence of woman in every department. There is the central social question of the relations of sex. The present solution is marriage and prostitution. Hardly any solution can be worse, and yet, probably, men alone cannot establish a truer law. We need the equal influence of woman in government, and also her industrial independence, and a just social charge of children, before much progress can be made in the celebration of the true nuptials.

Meanwhile it is also necessary that the laborer should redeem a portion of his time and strength from drudgery, that he may think and learn and so help to solve the social problem. For this end also education must be commended to the people as never before. They must learn that it is difference of education that produces and perpetuates caste more than all else. They must provide a better popular education and prize it more highly. As a plank of the platform of the people's party I have always thought of free education, beginning with the nursery and taking charge of the children of the working classes during working hours (a great economical as well as educational gain). This to be followed by graduated schools, culminating in high schools (open to all passing through the previous grades), and in free colleges open to the best fifty boys and fifty girls each year out of a hundred thousand inhabitants, or say out of each Congressional district. These classes of one hundred collegians each year shall also be cadets of the state (civil cadets, male and female), receiving a minimum support from the government during their three years course. The free colleges, of course, would be scientific and practical instead of classically dilettantish. I am quite prepared to advocate an extension of our system of free schools both at the nursery and college ends. I am not afraid that society will ever do too much for its children.

There are many other issues which from time to time will come into the people's platform. In the practical struggle of the present moment it seems to me important to limit them as much as possible instead of increasing their number. Marriage can hardly be touched now. Free trade at some time will be a practical reality, and at a time after that, all "trade" in the existing sense of getting for a thing more than it has cost to make it, will be considered swindling. In finance, free banking, with no specie, will be a fit transitional institution at some time. It is hard to see how it can come now without giving wings to that speculation which is impoverishing all who are out of the ring of trade.

These, of course, are very cursory and superficial remarks. You may ask to what they all tend? Very clearly in my own mind to the new civilization distinguished from the past in nothing so much as the presence of the feminine element; a civilization of a new order therefore, composite of man and woman cowering throughout, and so filled with the presence and life of God as never heretofore. The ideal form of such a civilization is a perfect organization made up of perfect individuals. Co-operation will be its method, the conjunction of interests and efforts instead of their isolation or antagonism as now. Attraction will be its spring, instead of force. Love its spur, instead of selfishness.

One of the earliest practical criticisms to be made on our present civilization is, that its industrial employment system or wages system, is one of practical serfdom. The abolition of serfdom will follow the abolition of slavery by a constructive Revolution. As soon as the working men and women have intelligence enough to associate and employ themselves instead of working for a master or owner, the present system ends and the products of industry will remain in the hands of the

producers. The extremes of condition will cease, while individual property and privacy and true independence will be far better assured than ever before. I value the "eight hour movement" chiefly as leading thus to co-operation.

This social Revolution seems to me near, and I have cared most to study the measure which will be practical and of imminent importance when that time comes; (and it may come as suddenly as the overthrow of slavery). We have learned that social injustice is an unstable basis for institutions, no matter what the apparent superficial strength.

I take very deep interest in the special questions to which you are devoted, which are included also in the social transformation which I foresee and labor for. Not only is woman to be an equal copartner in the new civilization, but her faith, hope and love, and her influence are indispensable in conducting the journey, painful it may be, between the present civilization and the future.

I hold your work in so much admiration as well as sympathy and respect that I have wished in answering your letter to express my own thought and faith at some length even although necessarily in haste and without much order. I shall be glad if I attain the beginning of sympathy and fellowship with you in the faith of the future.

I may not improbably send you short paragraphs from time to time for "THE REVOLUTION" with the expectation and wish that you will treat them without ceremony.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

W. F. C.

P.S. I should like to add one word on the logical sequence of reforms. Slavery, during its existence, necessarily held all other social reforms in abeyance. The emancipation of the slave had to be effected before that of women or of the white serf was possible. This was simply because slavery connected farther back with barbarism. Even now the labor movement and the woman's movement wait the settlement of the negro question. It seems to me a necessity, though a very disagreeable one, to devote this presidential election to that preliminary. I have already referred to the marriage question as awaiting for its solution the political and industrial enfranchisement of women. I am inclined early to believe that the "peace question" will only become a practical issue when social injustice shall have generally disappeared; the order being to be first pure and then peaceable. Intemperance and excess are reactions from the social death and starvation. Reform here must to a great extent await the lessening of drudgery and the richer endowment of social life.

W. F. C.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE OF AMENDMENTS.

THE fourteenth article of amendment to the constitution of the United States is a singular monument of political cowardice and short-sightedness.

The law-makers who framed it were afraid to provide directly for the impartial suffrage, *even of males*, and so attempted to secure it by indirection; and from sheer want of faith in Woman's Suffrage, they neglected to provide for its impartial exercise, even indirectly.

What is the result? Under the fourteenth article, if any state restricts Suffrage to *white males*, it incurs the penalty of a reduced basis of representation according to the number of *male* inhabitants, *other than white*, excluded from suffrage. But if any state, in the exercise of its undisputed right, should choose to extend the Suffrage to all white citizens of the United States, *male and female*, twenty-one years of age, and to all other male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age—the penalty of a reduced basis of representation would not be incurred, while the white vote in the same number of inhabitants would always count two to one against the colored.

The path of principle is a straight one. If the fourteenth article of amendments after defining citizenship, had declared all citizens of the United States equal before the law, and that no citizen should be deprived of Suffrage except for crime, it would, at least, have met the issue squarely. Instead of this, its clumsy and shuffling language suggests the means by which the lately rebel states can put the negro in a hopeless minority without loss of representation.

It is instructive to observe that this blunder of our law-givers at Washington came from their contemptuous disregard of Woman's Suffrage. It serves also to show the connection of all the liberating movements.

The enfranchisement of the white women of the South without the enfranchisement of the black women, for

the sake of political supremacy, would, of course, only be less dastardly than slaveholding itself. But this proceeding would certainly not be below the morality of the "contumacious democracy" of the South, as at present exhibited.

W. F. C.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION AGAIN.

MISCONSTRUCTIONS and misrepresentations are the commonest things in the world, but by no means the pleasantest. A writer after a time must become so accustomed to having his or her sentiments differently represented, twisted and turned, to suit enemies and opposers, that it ceases to sting; and when the subject is of a character involving little or no principle, it is of small consequence. But to have one's most sacred thoughts perverted, to have the holiest and most cherished feelings deliberately misrepresented, can never become of trivial moment to a lover of right and decency. For a long time, and most earnestly, has the writer endeavored to exert herself profitably for her sex—to advise, cheer and encourage; and in every way to uphold the feeble and oppressed. Looking over different critical paragraphs I not infrequently find the name of Eleanor Kirk handled pretty freely by editors who openly admit their want of sympathy with the woman question; and I am sometimes compelled to laugh heartily at the ingenious perversions of sentences which have been carefully and truthfully constructed with an especial view to their being read and understood as they were written; but these very articles with which I have taken infinite pains, I have reread in exchanges, so twisted and distorted that a recognition of my own creation would have been impossible, but for the frequent use of its author's name. Not long since my attention was called to an extract from a certain weekly paper which embodied these ideas. A woman, so it stated, was endeavoring to procure a divorce from a man, concerning whom she had not the least fault to find. He was uniformly kind and gentle and supported her handsomely; but she had had the misfortune to fall desperately in love with another man. The editor remarked at the conclusion of this most interesting and romantic notice that according to the teachings of Eleanor Kirk the woman should be allowed to obtain a divorce. Now that was a deliberate falsehood and the editor knew it. The idea was to convey a wrong impression of the whole Woman's Rights movement, and confound free loveism and general looseness with the principles, right, earnest and practicable, I am endeavoring to promulgate.

Now, please allow me to express my views once more upon the marriage question; I have already done so numberless times, but on this occasion let me speak so plainly that there may be henceforward and forever no chance for misconception or falsehood. I believe in marriage; believe it to be a glorious and blessed institution, and the men and women who are congenially joined in wedlock are among the happiest and most useful of the race; but the mantle of our charity, broad and comprehensive as I would like to have it, can never be made large enough to sympathize with a woman like the one described above. Marriage should be for life, unless circumstances so develop themselves that it becomes an absolute *sin* for the parties to live together as husband and wife. It is entirely beyond my ample imaginative limits even to comprehend how a woman can help loving a kind, affectionate, sympathetic husband—to say nothing of her falling desperately in love with some other specimen of the genus homo while married to such a one. In my opinion a woman sufficiently hardened in iniquity to make such a statement as the above, richly deserves the opprobrium and detestation, not only of every decent person in the community where she resides, but of right thinkers everywhere. A woman has no business to marry a man she does not love and sincerely respect; and her own innate sense of dignity and decency should protect her from the fascinations of other masculines while thus legally bound. There may be many such women as the one just described, but I doubt it; and, Mr. Editor, I scarcely believe that the circumstances you so elaborately detailed are true. My experience has been large and varied, and I have yet to meet the woman fool enough to confess love for another man while living with a kind, loving, appreciative husband. Such, if such there be, are fit subjects for a lunatic asylum, and should be restrained by their families and friends from still more indecent demonstrations. These are Eleanor Kirk's sentiments, and she is not ashamed of them. Twist them into something else if you can! Incline your ear little further, oh! ye carping critics. I haven't quite finished. Marriage is for life I said, when circumstances do not render it a sin to live together as husband and wife. If a woman finds she has made a mistake in her marital relations, and instead of the man she sup-

poses she has wedded, finds a brute and a rascal, it then becomes her bounden duty to make tracks just as fast as she can. A wife's duty ceases the moment a man is abusive—the moment she discovers him to be untrue, and it is a sin against God, against self-respect, against the community to bear children for such a scamp, to place herself in a position to be enfeebled by disease and sent to an untimely grave as hosts of pure, noble women have been. Anything is preferable to such a life—the workshop, the factory, the poor house, even! My time is up for this week—and I must stop short; but more anon.

ELKANOR KIRK.

WOMAN IN HISTORY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 13th, 1868.

SURAN B. ANTHONY: A few days ago in a conversation with your talented correspondent of this city, Mrs. Julia Archibald Holmes, I learned for the first time of the existence of "THE REVOLUTION," and that it is devoted to the elevation of woman and her delivery from the thralldom in which she is held by an unnatural and corrupt state of society. I consider it not only a duty, but a pleasure to subscribe for your paper, and also to endeavor to extend the circulation of a journal possessing the courage to condemn the abuses of civilized society, and especially those relics of barbarism which proclaim that woman is, by nature, inferior to the self-styled "lords of creation." If all those who claim that woman is not by nature capable, if her shackles were stricken off, of competing successfully with her brother in the social and political arena, were to study faithfully the history of the race, and note the examples of genius and heroism it offers, where opportunity has existed for their exercise, they would form a different judgment. Semiramis, Catherine of Russia, Elizabeth of England, Joan of Arc, are examples often cited among many others; the former being the first who proved herself capable of holding the reins of Empire. She has been the most traduced and villified of her sex. But her own subjects who, perhaps, knew her best, after her death, worshipped her in the form of a dove, the emblem of innocence, fidelity, chastity, and purity; the form which the Holy Spirit assumed when Jesus of Nazareth was recognized as the Son of God.

That you and your noble coadjutors may succeed in your patriotic efforts for the purification of the government through the enfranchisement of your sex and the consequent elevation of the human race, must be the prayer of all true friends of progress and reform.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

SHOULD THE SEXES STUDY TOGETHER.

MY DEAR MRS. STANTON: Allow me to say in reply to the many queries on the subject of educating the sexes together, and particularly in reference to a desire you expressed to me, when passing some time in your society under the roof of a mutual friend at Peterboro, that the Cornell University should commence its labors with an organization of both sexes, that the Cornell University, as I understand it, is neither a college nor a school, but a combination of both: in which every liberal art and science is to be, not exclusively, but universally taught. The mental as well as the physical and material. Indeed, the word University signifies an assemblage of colleges and schools. It is a body selected from the head of these colleges and schools to govern the whole. It is a mistake, then, to call it a "free Agricultural College." This is only one of its many departments, of which you can easily satisfy yourself by a careful perusal of a "Report of the committee on organization, presented to the Trustees of the Cornell University, October 21, 1866, by the Hon. Andrew D. White." That an University founded upon the liberal principles of the Cornell, would be of great service in the cause of woman's higher education, I admit; but I am not in a position to state whether an association of the sexes, in the pursuit of such education, would be an advantage either to society or the country at large. In the study of poetry, music and dramatic literature, in which I am especially interested, I think it would be an advantage to include the presence and association of the fair sex, whether in the schools or at the public lectures. Indeed, should a professorship of these refining branches of education be established at Cornell University, it would, I think, necessitate the admission of ladies to that especial course.

I have no objection to the development of the mind, to the utmost, in either sex, but in the woman, I would very much prefer that the heart should be thoroughly cultivated. There is, in both sexes, too little stress laid on the education of the heart and the affections, in pre-

paring for a life which is to be spent in personal aggrandizement in developing the physical resources of a new country. Yet, a cultivation of the moral and intellectual sides of both man and woman's nature has much to do with the formation of a pure domestic and social life, and of their ultimate rest and happiness.

Society, however, is always in motion, and every accident in its progress contributes to effect a Revolution, by which the infallibility of its constitution is deposed. I am inclined to believe, that were there now no monopoly in learning, the education of the sexes might be equally developed, and the sources of information thrown open alike to the man and woman. I think, whenever a woman desires it, her impulse towards the improvement of her mind and condition should be carefully and generously encouraged, and the stately and formal advances of scholastic pursuits of man be shared in by every mother, wife and sister. I am not in a position to say in what way or to what extent this view can be carried out, but the altered character of the times suggests to us the necessity of modelling our institutions to the gradual but certain Revolution which the world is silently undergoing. I feel, however, that in the education of woman, the future ought to combine with lighter literature, practical knowledge and solid erudition; by which her usefulness, not alone in the domestic and social, but in every sphere of life, may be rendered complete, and by which the fabrics of the state and society may receive the best disposition of her strength and ornament.

Schools accustomed to recluse and attracted exertions, and statesmen giddy in the vortex of politics, isolated from the influence of the feminine sex, are but little acquainted with the powers of woman's mind; or how far, properly and completely developed, she would give, in association with man, a wholesome direction to every phase of existence, social, religious and political. Attributing too high an influence to his own powers, man neglects to avail himself of the powers which woman possesses, through her effective agencies, in the affairs of life. A closer intercourse with them in educational and practical life, and the tuition of experience, however, will eventually give to the general mind a better appreciation of woman's influence in every sphere. Of this I am fully convinced, that the age will yet learn to bless any favorable opportunities extended to woman, by which, in all her relations to the state, she may, with equal rights and privileges, present to the world the approaches to various and consummate refinement. I am, most truly yours,

JAMES PROH, MUS. DOC. OXON.

6 Lafayette Place, New York.

IMPRISONMENT OF GEO. F. TRAIN.

AN IRISH LETTER.

Editors of the Revolution:

MANY thanks to you for your kindness. I received the last number of your truly national journal. It speaks volumes. It is now becoming so popular and universal that I am convinced you must put more steam on so as to have it published two or three times a week. All the papers in these kingdoms copy from "THE REVOLUTION" and not a few of them speak favorably and in praise of it. The cause which it advocates is making rapid strides and is now a popular and national question. It is unquestionably a wonderful Revolution. See what a few well-informed and energetic people can do, aided by Mr. Train's motto, the three P's—Patience, Perseverance and Pluck, and having besides—truth justice and right on their side. There is scarcely a portion of the world where your cause is not advocated—and such being the case, it must and will ultimately succeed in despite of every obstacle. I read your grand address which was presented before the democratic convention, and although it was represented to be received with a kind of jocularity indicated by laughter, yet it was an unanswerable argument in your favor; and the suggestions and doctrines enunciated and put forward so ably remain uncontradicted and unrefuted, so that on the whole you may congratulate yourselves upon the achievement of so signal and so glorious a victory. It was absolutely necessary that such a national journal as "THE REVOLUTION" should start in order to put down humbugging politicians who so long trafficked upon the credulity and duplicity of a hard working people, and to elevate and instruct the popular will to that social and political scale which is necessary for a free and independent population. I hope the good sense and patriotism of the people will prevail at the forthcoming presidential election, and that the Irish voters in particular will do their duty by turning the balance of power in favor of the candidate who is favorable to your excellent programme and to the interest of Ireland and Irish

men, and that will make England regret for her insolence, tyranny and persecutions not only of Ireland and Irish-Americans in British jails, but more particularly her audacious outrage upon the person and feelings of that distinguished and patriotic American citizen and indomitable and uncompromising champion of human rights, Geo. F. Train; who is still a prisoner in an English castle, notwithstanding that he has brought forward documentary and other evident proofs of the illegal and arbitrary imprisonment to which he is subject. His case was brought before the British Parliament and will therefore become an international question; he is working up the popular mind to fever heat, and believe me, the seed he is now sowing broadcast will soon produce fruit, and fruit that will be bitter for English palates. Mr. Train will I think be home in October as they cannot keep him much longer in duration. As I posted before—the war clouds are gathering thickly in the political horizon, and will, ere many weeks, burst upon Europe with a tremendous crash and then God speed the right.

Yours sincerely,

F. T. B.

Dublin, Ireland, Aug. 5, 1868.

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

THE CONFISCATED LETTER.—JAMES M'HENRY THREATENS THE "COSMOPOLITAN" WITH LIBEL, IF ANY MORE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ARE PUBLISHED SHOWING PAYMENT OF EBBW VALE CLAIM.—A NOBLE COUNTESS SAYS MY IMPRISONMENT IS GREAT OUTRAGE.

DUBLIN, FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA, }
August 15, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

The storm is gathering. The wind is rising. The Alabamas are getting alarmed. Victory is not far off.

THE HEAD AND TAIL OF THE LETTER SHUT OUT OF THE "COSMOPOLITAN" BY JAMES M'HENRY'S THREAT OF LIBEL.—TEN THOUSAND POUNDS GIVES PLUCK TO AN EDITOR.

DUBLIN, FOUR COURTS, MARSHALSEA, }
July 25, 1868.

DEAR COSMOPOLITAN: What surprises me more than anything is, that after so long a residence in England you should believe in fair play, or have the pluck to allow an American to expose an infamous attempt to blacken a man's character. A man with ten thousand pounds at his banker's can afford to show up all shams, crimes, "hars and knaves," but there are few journals that have that balance.

TRAIN OIL, SWAMPING THE "COSMOPOLITAN."

Before you get through with this matter, your so-called friends will bear down upon you, those who never paid even their subscription, and say, "you are ruining yourself." "It will kill the Cosmopolitan." Don't allow "such floods of Train oil to be poured down the throats of your readers?" "Who wants to see such stuff?" "All chaff," and "the man must be crazy." If from previous letters you are not convinced that I have been badly treated, I will soon send you papers that will astonish even yourself.

THE AUSTRALIAN PROPERTY.

This letter will only show where I was in Australia, and my position when I introduced Mr. McHenry to the Atlantic and Great Western men, but in the next I will bring his sworn affidavit face to face with his sworn agreement, which ought to make even a man of strong nerve turn pale at the exposure.

Here follows letters to David Charles MacArthur, manager of the Bank of Australasia, and William Milliken, the Secretary in London. Their replies. Letter to Clark Bell, and his reply, and sworn affidavit from Italy, that he paid James McHenry in full the Ebbw Vale debt four years ago.

MY FINANCIAL STANDING AT THE TIME I PLACED THE ATLANTIC AND GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY IN THE LONDON MARKET IN CONNECTION WITH MR. M'HENRY.

McHenry having failed for a million sterling in 1854 was in no position to meet London bankers, and I, consequently, had up-hill work for a long time to make them forget his former fiasco. That history comes up under the