

51
A. A. W.

"Truth, Justice and Honor."

PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN,

AT ITS

ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER, 1883.



BUFFALO:

PRESS OF PETER PAUL & BRO., 363 MAIN AND 360 WASHINGTON STS.
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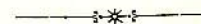
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ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

DEAR friends of the Women's Congress here assembled: On meeting you again in this place my thoughts recur to that earlier meeting here which some of you will remember as one full of interest and encouragement. Our association was then in its infancy, having only completed the first year of its existence. Our hopes concerning it were large but vague. We then felt as keenly as we now feel it the need of a wide co-operation and a good understanding among the thinking women of the United States. We feel even more than we did then the difficulty of a sufficient concert, and correspondence between individuals living at great distances from each other, burthened usually with the heavy cares and responsibilities of private life, and in many instances, with professional and public duties.

Many who would gladly join us on these occasions are kept at home by matters which cannot properly be neglected. Some even of those who would gladly send us their written word are hindered from doing so by the lack of time and of strength. It becomes us, therefore, who are able to meet here, to employ to the utmost an opportunity so precious, and which presents itself at such long intervals. To our spiritual sense, the claim of these absent ones should be ever present. Their good wishes, their prayers are with us. Their sympathy making itself felt from a distance helps and inspires us. Let us endeavor so to think and act in concert that valuable results shall return from our meeting to the many well-wishers who cannot meet with us in this place. They cannot hear our voices nor see our friendly faces. But what shall be done here in love and faith will reach them, and the spirit of our proceedings will be spiritually discerned afar as spiritual things are.

One of the thoughts that come to me on this occasion is that such enterprises as this congress of ours have at first a symbolical character,

a symbolical value. They picture much which they are not and cannot be, the general improvement and uplifting of our sex to wide views of human obligation and power, the great unfolding of the mother heart of the world, which, long in bud, should certainly be ready by this time to burst out into full blossom. We have promised these things—we have not yet attained them. But so blessed a promise, so high an intention, is in itself a boon, because it gives us so noble an outlook toward the future. And if we hold on to these and do not barter our convictions for some cheap and easy success which may in the end prove to be the saddest failure, our symbols will become real. Our holy wishes will embody themselves in holy acts and facts.

Another thought I have which I will briefly give before I call upon those whom you and I are anxious to hear. It is this: Have we not all seen at some time in our lives the few survivors of a generation or of an association meet together to taste the bitter-sweet draught of memory? So many are gone and we only are left! Where is our gallant assembly? Where the numbers who were wont to throng our festivals? Gone, all gone! Time has devoured them. Where joy used to gather her golden harvest, melancholy pleasure finds but this little gleanings: You, and you, and me. But where two or three are gathered together to work and plan for the future, this melancholy has no place. The great meetings, the victorious armies of reform are to come after us. Our little seed corn of endeavor is planted that it may grow and bear fruit. And as once the faithful eleven held with their Master, the simple feast which the world to-day calls the Eucharist, the feast of universal thanksgiving—so we call our roll and take note of the few names answered to, strong in the love of the absent, uplifted in the brightness of the future in which, to our view, the brutal passions of mankind, the delusions of self, and of sense are destined through the work of faithful souls to give way more and more to the high conception and working of the perfect and universal good.

HEREDITY.

REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL.

PERHAPS few things are shown more conclusively to belong to Nature's well-established principles than the universal law that children inherit constitutional types and likenesses. Not man alone but "grass and herb yielding seed after his kind," "beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind,"—one of the oldest records tells us with quaint force and original emphasis.

1. When men first began to observe the order of nature, this must have been the most conspicuous and striking fact that could not fail to elicit curious and delighted attention. The offspring were like the parents, beginning with the lowest plant and running up through all orders of animal life, including mankind. The special type was universally inherited, the lion being always the mother of lions, the lamb producing lambs, and the human parent the little human babe.

2. Curious eyes must early have observed farther that the child usually was specially like its own father and mother, that characters of both parents were blended in the offspring, brothers and sisters having family resemblances, distinctive kinship, that made itself manifest in the midst of much unlikeness of detail and of personal ability, which sometimes did, and sometimes did not prevail in the same family. This law also was more or less noticeable among all the creatures of the great living world.

Up to this point there could be and can be no difference of opinion as founded upon observation. But just here arise many curious and very complex results. One child is extremely like one parent, another, the other, a third strongly resembles both, a fourth is closely like neither; a fifth inherits some one marked parental character, and a sixth another but a very different character. The variations within the same family limits are innumerable and the inherited characters may be peculiar and exceptional; as blindness, deafness, a fifth finger or a missing toe; or the parent himself even may have

acquired the character by accident or by habit, and yet transmit it to one or more of his descendents. But why should one child in the same family inherit characters, normal or abnormal, and another not? Why is heredity,—universal in its broader phases,—so highly variable and not easily calculable in any of its more special features?

We know that nature does nothing at random and that all natural law is found always to be uniform under uniform conditions. Evidently the mysterious new organism is so delicately balanced in its many functions that any strong present wave of influence may turn it in this direction or in that, thus immensely modifying the entire growing constitution.

Any one who has carefully studied the subject in its practical bearings, will admit that many causes, some permanent, others extremely fleeting, can very marvelously influence the new life for good or ill. Curious birth marks and other unusual results are undoubtedly effected sometimes through the strongly excited imagination of the mother. Trifling disturbances when severe enough to unbalance the functions of the expectant mother, have been known to result in a more or less disordered organization to the susceptible, nascent being, as responsive as an echo either to discord or harmony. Fearfully and wonderfully made! Yes; but made to vibrate in unison with hidden waves of influence which come and go we know not whence or whither.

Nothing is more certain than that the children of intemperate parents are often weak, helpless, and defective. If all the elements of their being had been shaken with palsy, there would be no stronger signs of disturbance sufficient to produce organic incapacity. There is much evidence showing that even the temporary intoxication of a usually sober father may entail life long defects to his child. What a fearful thing then to pitch the tone of a new life in discord, or to set the endless rhythm of its being in a minor key. I wish we might all cry aloud and efficiently against the thoughtlessness and selfishness with which innocent children are every day begotten. That the condition of the parents at the conception of the child is often the key note to its whole future, there can be no reasonable question. Permanent characters, confirmed past habits, the recent use or disuse of special faculties, are all known by careful observers to produce marked effects. But these, supplemented by a condition of harmony or of discordance, of exaltation or of depression, if we could read all their varying effects, would doubtless enable us to outline unerringly the organic tendencies of the new being. His heritage is fixed.

Who can wonder, then, at the weakness, at the vicious traits and inclinations of multitudes of hapless beings who seem to have sprung from good and respectable parentage? The seed which is sown, that also is raised to maturity. True there is dense ignorance and obscurity clustering about the causes which do or do not produce similar results under similar conditions, as determined by our superficial observation. That one child inherits blindness from parents each of whom has but one blind eye, and another, the offspring of parents both congenitally blind, has perfect sight, are certainties which perhaps must always lie close to the border land of inexplicable mystery. A slight nervous shock at one time or with one constitution, produces great and visible evils, when a much more violent shock at another time may seem comparatively harmless.

Because unworthy or degenerate states are not always obviously transmitted to offspring, can we disbelieve in the power of heredity? A fall from a great height is sometimes almost harmless; yet one may stumble against a foot-stool and get a broken arm in his own drawing room. One man can meet cholera face to face in its worst stages, with impunity; another sickens at the first breath of the infected atmosphere. But who queries whether or not the law of gravity is always in action? Who doubts whether disease can or can not be contracted in a disease-laden atmosphere? But with the abundant data which science has now accumulated, the certainty of the hereditary descent both of good and bad characters and tendencies, is equally assured.

The child looks, acts, thinks, similarly to his parents because he received from them a physical structure so nicely fashioned after theirs, that it gives him many impulses in similar directions. When this ancestral bias is quite fully and organically matured at birth, its immediate exercise is instinctive. Thus the young bird but just hatched, opens its mouth to be fed exactly in the same way that all of its own species have done before. It chirps the ancestral note, flies with the identical sweep of the wings, and builds the typical nest of its tribe, distinguished from all others, without any teaching, solely because its whole delicate structure, having grown after the well established pattern, can begin at once to work automatically in response to stimuli either external or internal. All instinctive and all automatic action must work through an adapted and sufficiently matured mechanism which responds either to outward stimulus or to sentient demand as readily as dry kindling wood responds to the

lighted match, or as the steel needle responds to the drawing of the magnet. Heredity means the innate fashioning of the wondrously complex network of nervous, living fibres with all their adjusted organs, more or less in line with the dominant parental characters and impulses.

Every crystal forming itself from any of the multitude of different solutions, fashions itself in every angle after a type peculiar to its own kind. And yet the immediate circumstances under which the crystallization is effected always decide whether these angles shall be more or less perfect and aggregated in larger or smaller or more or less symmetrical masses. The parallel in all these respects is close and exact between the inorganic and the organic worlds. The living organism is more complex and pliant than the crystal, and its powers are continuously active and modifiable, as those of the crystal are not. But it would be equally irrational to question the fashioning powers of the environment in determining a thousand details in the one case and in the other.

But even the young chick is a comparatively simple being, as near it may be in some things to the crystal as in others to the young human child. Ancestral impulses here are all on a low and an almost unvarying sentient level. And yet all animal characters, both physical and psychical, are faithfully transmitted.

The human child has an organic mechanism much less mature at birth than that of the chick. Hence it has few ready made instincts, immediate tendencies, or obvious parental characters. Many of these are developed only late in life. Diseases and other peculiarities often appear, or tend to appear, at about the same age at which they existed in the parent. The living, cumulative process is progressively going forward during the whole organized life; and thanks to the intelligence which I believe, has supervised the whole scheme, the ever-changing organism is largely modifiable throughout its whole existence.

But inherited characters are not all physical, are not all involuntary tendencies, are not all blind and irrational impulses. Even the bird has mental powers high enough to enable it to vary its nest building to suit the immediate conditions. Any human weakness, any bias in a wrong direction can doubtless be largely corrected by habit and education; and afterwards by personal intelligence and volition, provided the corrective influence is steadily working in harmony with Nature and her established methods.

But the subject of Heredity is itself so broad that its points can

be barely indicated at best, while all later corrective possibilities are beyond our limits.

There are laws which govern descent, conditions under which they are known to become efficient. At a comparatively recent date science had not found many special laws of heredity. Now, from a large body of data in various divergent directions, it has deduced such laws; though there is still much ignorance as to what conditions make these minor laws more or less practically effective. They work advantage to the descendent only within narrow limits. On either side of such limits, Nature reverses her results. The children of the strong and harmonious become stronger; those of the weak or ill adjusted, more degenerate. We may compare hereditary gain to a narrow current in a wide stream. Whenever there is force enough to carry the water to a higher level, it flows onward. Otherwise it is drained off and flows backward in a reversed direction. The weak everywhere perish in haste, and though hard for the hapless ones, in the long run this is doubtless a general benefit.

The following are some of the accepted laws of heredity:

1. Physically and mentally the child usually inherits a blending of the general traits of both parents. In the larger number of cases the progenitors are neither strong contrasts nor strongly kindred. They are simply fair average people. Their children are average people also, and forgetting small differences which fall on either side of a medium line, they are about as like each other as the different peas in a pod, or chickens of the same brood.

2. Whenever both parents are exceptionally gifted with a kindred type of physical, moral or intellectual excellence, joined with health and energy, their descendents begin life with organizations adapted to develop a still higher form of the parental excellence. Or if both parents are exceptionally dull, vicious, dwarfed, or ugly, after a similar type, and are yet vigorous in constitution, the children will almost certainly inherit the same traits exaggerated. Thus advance upward or downward is secured to the next generation through active similarity of parental characters. It is a demonstrated truth that excellence or defect can be not only propagated, but increased. On this principle special traits have been repeatedly developed among domestic animals; but the advance to be ensured, must be impelled from both lines of descent. Without enough vigor to uplift the character above the parental level, begins degeneracy of the type, leading to that well known kind of weakness, inefficiency, defectiveness, and less than medium energy which

ordinarily results from continued intermarriage among near relatives. Thus, likeness with strength ensures a kindred superiority; likeness without strength ensures a kindred inferiority or defectiveness.

3. When energetic parents who are strong contrasts, are so far complementary to each other that their several characters blend harmoniously in the offspring, they may become greatly superior to either parent, uniting and advancing the best qualities of each. Perhaps the finest genius and the highest originality arise under such conditions of exalted contrast. But in the great complexity of human nature, such results are infrequent and far from easily predicted.

4. Contrasts not well adjusted often produce children inferior to either parent. Both parents may be admirable, and some of the children above the average, but others, possibly, as much below. Eccentricities easily arise under such conditions of delicately balanced or illy balanced contrasts. A heterogeneous people like our own are a standing illustration on a large scale. The national originality, independence, crankiness and individuality, with or without complacency compared with the older, more homogeneous nations, in part at any rate, may be accounted for on this principle. Contrasted energies, vicious and misdirected, may produce the Jesse Pomeroy type; and still another variety are the increasingly weak, with helplessness and inability to resist temptation.

5. Atavism, that is reversion to the type of a grandparent or other distant ancestor, is another form of heredity. It seems to occur under either of two sets of conditions: when there has been disturbance, discordance, or great contrasts among the transmitted tendencies; or otherwise when a degenerate sameness finds its reaction in some mode of grand-parental energy.

6. Another limited form of heredity entails special characters to the same sex only, and more conspicuously to the male sex; as among mankind the beard is inherited by male children alone. Horns, crests, brightly colored plumage, and various other appendages of our far off poor and dumb relations, fall under this restrictive law of sex; which, of late, following the lead of Mr. Darwin, has much occupied the attention of scientific men. We may fitly ask: Why are such secondary characters so often, yet not always, limited to one and the same sex?

It may be proper to explain just here that for many years it has seemed to me probable, most students of science being men, that there must be some unconscious masculine bias in the theoretical portions of many sciences, including heredity. Following eminent

authorities, and being impelled doubtless by a corresponding feminine bias, I have gone carefully through the entire range of animal life in all of its broader divisions, studying large numbers of species and varieties with direct reference to the inheritance of exclusive male characters. The evidence is striking and various in support of the theory that extra male appendages, dependent as doubtless they often are on natural or other selection for their large development, have yet arisen mainly, if not exclusively, where the male was exceptionally vigorous, and very little burdened because of offspring; being habitually a free feeder, looking out unduly for his own interests. The theory assumes that such male appendages are one form of sex balancing or equilibration. Thus, when the male of any species has become as much larger and stronger than the female, and both as large and strong as with their habits and circumstances the best interests of the species demands and can secure, the male superfluous energies have begun to bud into some new form of appendage, which perhaps is shed yearly or is much modified periodically. There is no time here to give examples; but I gave numbers of them in my writings years ago,* and many more could be readily put in evidence.

7. In close connection with this explanation is the assumed *law of cross heredity*,—that form of transmission which descends from father to daughter and from mother to son. Whenever the females of any species, as distinguished from other species of the same genus, have inherited or partially inherited male characters, the inheriting species is found to be exceptionally vigorous; indicating that direct cross inheritance of special extra male characters depends upon the vigor of the female constitution.

8. But cross heredity is a much broader and more general form of descent than the transmission of special male characters to the opposite sex. Taking an average of all general characters, physical and mental, I am confident it will be found, that, on the whole, female offspring more manifestly resemble the male parent, and male offspring the female parent—that the sons more often take the leading traits of the mother, and the daughters of the father. This seems to be Nature's method of holding her sexes somewhere upon the same plane physically and mentally.

Doubtless there is need here of much wider, intelligent observation; and there is plenty of room, in the immense complexity of the whole question, for great diversity of judgment in making the estimates. The subject is important enough to merit prolonged,

* The Sexes Throughout Nature.

unprejudiced study. If cross heredity is largely the rule, the ignorance and incompetence of mothers will reflect even more largely upon the sons than upon the daughters. To me, the evidence more than establishes the law, which by its ceaseless operation, enables Nature to compel her sexes everywhere to rise or fall together.

9. There is much evidence moreover that while most species advance in size and strength through the male line, which has earliest acquired these characters and transmitted them to both sexes, that they attain an increased longevity and a prolonged vigor distinctively through the female line. The feminine system in early life becomes adapted to the sustenance both of the mother and of her immature offspring or possible offspring. Subsequent to the child bearing age, the measure of energy which was detailed to the next generation is free to expend itself in adding to the vigor and life of the mother. Hence, although she reaches maturity earlier than the male, her longevity equals or exceeds his. Other things equal, she should have, and there is considerable and various evidence that she does have, greater endurance and relative strength in their later life than he. Her mental vigor, though earlier mature, is possibly, even later in its decadence. This relatively increased longevity (greatly checked by the unhealthy regimen of the modern woman) becomes a small, steady gain transmitted to both sexes.

These various principles or laws which govern the descent of characters by inheritance, all claim to rest upon a very wide range of data. We are almost infinitely impelled to "scorn of miserable aims which end with self." Nothing does end with self! Living wisely, our children may:

"Inherit that sweet purity
 "For which we struggled, failed, and agonized
 "With widening retrospect that bred despair."
 "Living nobly the very example which we set
 "In deeds of daring rectitude;"
 "In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
 "And with their mild persistence urge men's minds
 "To vaster issues;"

will act on from generation to generation helping to make each successively better and grander. For heredity in its broader sense moulds the living organism through the thoughts and feelings of its sentient life; and whoever has helped to advance the culture and the uprightness of a people, has in reality helped the transmission of better qualities to their descendents. Even parentage is not the only, is perhaps not the greatest requisite, in the great regeneration of the future generations. The teacher who can most impressively enforce

the lesson that none liveth for himself, till it becomes a practical every day conviction to all minds, will best aid in the broadest transmission of excellence to the coming races who mutely appeal to us all from the depths of a possible high destiny.

But we must turn from this broader heredity to that which is our present limit and much narrower in its scope.

Mr. Galton who has studied hereditary results perhaps more carefully and extensively than any other person, when he attempted to trace hereditary genius from generation to generation, was disposed at one time to conclude that the female influence was very much inferior to the male in conveying superior ability. However, after farther investigation, he tells us that the balance against the female side was reduced: "exactly in proportion to the number of times I have revised my data."

Mr. Galton counted all of the eminent male relatives of his five hundred and fifteen very illustrious men, in the male line, and also in the female line; and numbering both ancestors and descendents, he found that the former were two, to one of the latter. Mr. Galton admitted that sisters and daughters of great men probably would not marry as generally as sons and brothers; and that with the change of name, it is difficult to trace the kindred of the female line, especially downwards. Acting upon these hints, I counted the eminent *ancestors only*, in both lines, and found from Mr. Galton's own data that they are, as he gives them, exactly equal. Also in his later work: "English Men of Science," Mr. Galton finds rather more noteworthy male ancestors in the female line than noteworthy male ancestors in the male line. One may fairly conclude after a careful study of Mr. Galton's data, that male and female influence are exactly balanced qualities, in all descendents. All other data known to me leads, on the whole, to the same broad inference. The influence of parents, checkered, changing, and variously combined as it is, is every where equilibrated in their descendents.

But we must wait for a larger knowledge before we become dogmatic. The wind still bloweth where it listeth, as it did of old; but to-day we can know a good deal about whence it cometh and whither it goeth. We have learned a good deal also about the transmission of parental characters. But who can yet predict the weather of next week? or who yet knows with certainty what manner of man a child will be from a knowledge of his parents? We need first to learn much more about both matter and mind and their ever changing qualities.



THE MOURNING GARB.

JULIA HOLMES SMITH, M. D.

NATURE is musical, and the human ear directed by each individual soul according to capacity makes of that music just what can be comprehended. The organ of Corti, marvellous harpsichord with myriad strings, is capable of discerning equally the dissonances of savage music or the mysteries of Wagner. The spiritual ear is not less complex than that which perishes with the body. To the savage, the sighing of the wind suggests only atmospheric conditions; the poet hears whispers of love, the wooing of fairies, the moans of lost spirits. In the darkness the untutored mind finds but the time to sleep; the astronomer catches the strains of the wailing planet music, and sees here his opportunity for learning the mysteries of "worlds of light he never saw by day." Light and darkness, heat and cold, sunshine and shadow, springtime and harvest, life and death, follow each other in regular succession, each doing its part in the rhythm of the universe. At the close of the year we find the hours have been fairly divided, and that day and night, joy and sorrow have shared equally the throne of the seasons. The grand hymn of the universe is an antiphonal of sorrow and of joy, of life and of death, and each human soul must do its part in the service, now on one side of the altar, now on the other. To-day the grand major strain of Hallelujah, to-morrow the pitiful minor of despair.

Joy, Sorrow, Life, Death, "who knoweth which is best?" Far beyond human ken is the answer, for the wisest knows not what death means. What we call death of a lower form invariably precedes the development of higher orders, and the changes on the face of the globe caused by the destructive agencies of nature have been the means of making its surface better fitted for man—the highest order of creation of which our senses are cognizant. Inorganic nature makes no moan as her seas are upheaved, forests submerged, continents destroyed, but man in common with many of the brute creation has instinctive affection for his offspring which leads to tenderest care during life, and also being bereaved of his young he mourns for a

season, this mourning being proportioned to the degree of intelligence in the animal as well in its intensity as in duration and power of expression. In none of the lower orders, however, is found the retroactive love which cherishes the parent or the sweet tenderness which binds friend to friend. Hence in man, if a greater capacity to sorrow, is the richest share of joy.

The expression of this grief in bereavement is found to be characteristic as well of nations as of individuals; and given the funeral customs of any people one might almost predicate the degree of advancement in civilization, and to a degree the creed. Among primitive peoples the ceremonial expressions of grief are simple exaggerations of the natural emotions—a carelessness to usual comfort, a distracting agony, fasting, wringing the hands, tearing the hair, beating the breast, etc. Hawaiians gash the body and cut off an ear or knock out a front tooth as a proper toilet for grief, and when a king dies the nation pretends madness, and all manner of crime is committed as a ceremonial expression of the sorrow which is supposed to have driven them frantic, but such wild grief is short lived; "Long live the King" is cried on the morrow and the madness of joy supervenes. The New Zealanders daub themselves with red paint, but wear this ghastly mourning decoration only a short time. Dahomey mourns longer and keeps up the friendly intercourse with the departed, killing a slave now and again that the soul may tell news of those left behind. The Karens regard everything pertaining to death with horror; clothes, books, furniture, every article which the deceased has used is committed to the flames; to touch any article belonging to the dead would be as fatal as the poisoned tunic of Nessus not only to the body but the soul. These burn their dead, and hired women mourn awhile; when their howling ceases there is an end of all signs of grief. The Ethiopians expect the dead to return to the earth, and for a short period wear brown, the color of the good mother who has received once more her own to her bosom: fitting show of sorrow, since from the earth the dead come no more. These have no hope in a future life. Some sort of disfigurement seems essential to the Oriental idea of mourning; they discolor the face, allowing hair and nails and beard to grow, casting ashes on their heads and wearing sack-cloth. From the South Sea islands comes a hint of possible consolation in bereavement, for their mourning dress is black and white, expressing both sorrow and hope.

Without a state religion there yet seems to be among all the

Chinese a certain looking forward to a better life, and this common hope, arising as it does from different motives and different religious creeds, is illustrated in their dress after the death of a friend. They express mourning by sewing white stripes on ordinary garments, wearing white shoes and painting a white stripe on the door post of the dwelling. These symbols are marks of, shall we say woe? Nay, rather hope, for to the followers of Buddha there is far in the future the blessed Nirvana, when, the material part having been purged away and various transmigrations endured, the soul is at last absorbed in the bosom of the Diety. All rejoice that the loved one is gone to be among the gods, with whom he is remembered in their worship. The Chinese followers of Confucius live practical lives, and avoiding all thought of the future, endure bereavement stoically, wearing the white stripe as a matter of form. 'Tis a custom with this people to make preparation for death as we do for the disposal of property, for the dead becomes as gods to be worshipped and so 'tis gain to die. A coffin is considered quite a proper gift from a son to a father, and it is told that a traveller attending a funeral at Pekin found the coffin covered with an elegantly embroidered silk sheet, wrought and presented to the deceased years before by his devoted wife. How many of us would enjoy such a testimonial? The mourning of white stripes is worn only a few months. The fashions in Japan are similar to those of China. Persia mourns in pale brown, the color of withered leaves; while sky blue, which whispers of hope that the deceased has gone into heaven, is the mourning color for Syria, Cappadocia, Armenia and Turkey. The Mohammedans are forbidden to wear mourning at all, or to wail at the grave, for "are not the good rewarded after death, and doth it not behoove the true believer to say, even in the presence of bereavement, 'Allah, il allah, God is good!'" Black and brown were the colors chosen by the Greeks and Romans, but were worn only ten months. Egyptians and Burmese use yellow, signifying exaltation, since these, as indeed nearly all nations, enjoy the sweet hope of a life beyond the grave. The Norsemen and the Gauls in their mythologies, the Druids in their weird rites, the South Americans who build gorgeous temples to the sun, from whom and in whom and to whom are all things, the Red men of America, who are glad to join the departed chiefs in the "Great Hunting Ground," each and all tell of the sweet hope of immortality, of a life better, purer, fuller, than any conceived of here, each in a measure rejoices with the dead who are blessed. It remained for the Jews and the

Christians to choose black as their mourning garb, which tells only of the privation of light and joy, the midnight gloom of sorrow for the loss sustained.

"The series of effects which we call color, are certainly Nature's chief glory: the exquisite shading of the sunset, the many-hued rainbow, the gorgeous flowers are all suggested by the word color, and all tell of happiness. What wonder, then, that bright colors are associated with joy, and how opposite the effect of darkness." Color is not merely covered up by night, but for the time actually destroyed, withdrawn. Under the deep shadow of night, there is no such thing as greenness of grass or golden hue of grain, or blue and scarlet of flowers. If sunshine falls on black cloth the chief part of the vibrations of either are absorbed, hence the significance of black as a mourning garb. The rose light of love, the blue of hope, the purple of victory, are all swallowed up in the night of our despair.

In the first terrible throes of the bereaved heart, grief sees

"No God, no Heaven, in the void world,
The wide, grey, lampless, dark, unpeopled world."

The sorrow-stricken heart cannot forbid the stars to shine nor the flowers to bud in spring, nor the glorious rainbow to span the sky, but it can, and oftentimes does forbid any mental response to these glories. Myriad dewdrops may glisten on the sward, but to the sorrowing they are all tears. The mourner is at first so clothed upon by this shadow of the great grief that the mere thought of toilet formalities is an intrusion, and is necessarily suggested by some friend whose sense of the fitness of things has not been overpowered by sorrow. To high and low, rich and poor alike, comes the imperative mandate of fashion, a demand I have shown as universal as the hymn of death is perpetual, its memorial ubiquitous; and while I admit that sentiment is the great conservative principle of society, and because, of all sentiments, that relating to our dead is the highest and holiest, so with all my soul I protest against the decking of that sentiment in funereal habiliments of black, and compelling the mourner to express her sorrow, so to speak, by the yard.

The sweet thoughts of love are sacred. Not in the glare of the crowded street, but in the shady grove, in the soft twilight, in some by-way of social life the fond lover whispers of his hopes, and the maiden, jealous of the very air, hides her blushes as she responds to his "I love you, Sweet." Do they straightway blazon the story and wait for the world's appreciation the affection each has given to the other! Verily, no. Your heart and mine has its holy of holies, into

whose sacred precincts only the one love anointed high-priest has entered to feed the sacred fire. Our love is all our own. Cannot grief be so? 'Tis an impertinence to ask, do you love your child, your husband, your parent? Yet let either die, and fashion demands an accurate measurement of grief by means of crape on garments.

My objections to the wearing of mourning garb, of what color soever, are:

1st. The reflex influence on the wearer is bad, if the sorrow it expresses is real.

2nd. It is undesirable to surround children and invalids with the symbols of grief.

3rd. The expense is often greater than is consistent with the circumstances of the mourner.

4th. In many instances the crape expresses a sham sentiment or is merely a concession to fashion.

5th. 'Tis like a reburial, when the mourning is taken off.

1st. The influence of mind over body is an important factor in estimating the evil influence of the mourning garb on the health and conduct. Instances will readily occur to our minds of feats of strength achieved under the influence of excitement. Carpenter relates an incident of an old cook, tottering with age; having heard an alarm of fire, she seized a box containing her property and ran down stairs with it as easily as she would have carried a platter. After the fire had been extinguished she could not lift the box a hair's breadth from the floor. Here we see the result of sudden emotion, the body for the nonce responding to the will, which in its turn is wrought upon by the sense of fear. Short-lived power, you will say. True, but a visit to any of our lunatic asylums will show that this same emotional influence does become so persistent and potent as to wreck not only reason but bodily health. Ferrier's experiments suggest that in certain regions of the brain, cells exist in which do reside the different emotions. Here fear, here hate enthroned; there love, there resignation; and whether one considers the brain as the organ of the conscious mind or as all of mind there is, the same truth holds good. If the cells are unhealthy the mental processes will be imperfect; and the health of each part of the body, be it bone, muscle or brain, depends upon the supply of blood.

The capacity of the arterial and venous system of each body is fixed; there can be no more blood created than there are vessels to hold it, else would death result from over-distention in some part.

Therefore an excessive demand upon the life current by one organ is invariably at the expense of some other. One does not find the left arm of a blacksmith as well developed as the right, and the legs of a ballet dancer are grown at the expense of the upper part of the body. Again, the abnormal development of the whole body in the training of the professional athlete is notably at cost of intellectual force, and excessive mental culture on the other hand is sure to rob muscular and nervous systems of some of their force. Apply this reasoning to different organs of the brain. If the attention is exclusively fixed for too long a period upon any one emotion, be it love or grief, the general health suffers. It is noticeable that girls who are married after a long engagement have lost weight and color; the blood which should have been distributed equally through the whole organism has been directed to one special part. The same is true of grief. Hence it behooves those of us whom sorrow has crowned to beware lest her symbols so intensify our grief that we are unfitted for the duties of life. The wearing of the mourning garb has the effect of keeping the attention fixed upon the bereavement and so delaying the healthy reaction which is essential to the performance of life's duties. Common experience proves the truth of this statement, for once clothe our friend in sorrow's garb, and there is a constant appeal made to "rise above it," "do something to distract your mind," "come out of yourself," do try to be interested in life, etc., etc. All the while, the very garments are singing a dirge of joy day by day, and keeping the "heart bowed down."

2nd. The influence of black is depressing to those about us, especially invalids and children. A boy of thirteen saw his mother for the first time in his life wearing a bright colored dress; the young face glowed, the eyes deepened as he exclaimed, "Oh, mamma, why didn't you tell me you were young?" The mother whose loyalty to the dead had led her to shroud herself in gloom had thus unwittingly robbed her only son of the child's right to joyous surroundings. Children have a right to all that is joyous and healthful, they need happiness as a plant does sunshine, and the conventional mourning dress casts a shadow upon the young life just in proportion to the sensitiveness of the organization. Physicians realize the influence of surroundings upon an invalid, and many a grave case has been cured by a simple change of environment. Trained nurses are ordered to wear a colored uniform, and sisters of charity whose holy zeal for the sick and suffering has won through centuries the gratitude of humanity

have many a time caused keen suffering by their uncanny dress. The dead are passed from the realm of our sentient life, to them can come through us no more of joy or sorrow, and the sharpest pang in bereavement is the inevitable remorse, "Ah, if I had only lightened the cares of life, if I had only gladdened the days; alas, if—if—if"—who of us has not made that moan. Why not then take a hint in this direction and avoid the unnecessary shadow black casts over a household. Death seldom makes us utterly desolate; let us cherish what the cruel Reaper spares. These we may still cherish and serve, our dead are forever with the Lord.

3rd. Custom makes cowards of us all, and the paraphernalia of woe is many times a tax the scantily filled purse can illy bear. Allow me one reminiscence. A clerk who had lived to the fullest extent of his salary, suddenly died, and sympathizing friends in the business house of which he was a member, made up from their small means a purse of one hundred dollars which was presented to the widow soon to be a mother. Did she put the money by for a time of need? Verily, no. The proprieties must be observed. Bombazine and crape, widows caps to disfigure the young face, black bonnet and veil soon made a vast inroad in the tiny store, and the baby boy came into the world branded pauper by the very conditions of his birth—doctor's service a charity, attendance rendered by neighbors. Why should she be so weak, you ask? It might have been you or I, for would either of us have the courage to withstand public opinion? Abroad a royal family dictates the amount of mourning to be worn for each member of a household; in America, where each claims to be a law to himself, let us defy imported customs, not try to express the depth of our sorrow by the depth of our crape.

4th. Much of the mourning is worn in deference to public sentiment and just so far as no real grief is expressed it is a pitiful sham. Witness the following:

Miss Gushington (to young widow whose husband has left her a large fortune): "That is the fourteenth mourning costume I have seen you wear in three days, and each lovelier and more becoming than the other."

Young Widow: "Oh! my dear; I have forty—but such a bother as they were to have made! At one time I almost wished that poor, dear George hadn't died!"

An exaggeration? Not at all. Go to the theatre any evening, and you will find at least a dozen shrouded women whose merry smiles

belie their crape. Walk Broadway after nightfall and see the brazen faces shrouded in widow's weeds who are lurking to make prey of your son or mine. The black gown does not always—alas! one may say it does not even generally—cover an aching heart. Some one has well said the "first step toward a tailor is a step from the shadow of grief."

Thackeray has immortalized the crocodile tears of Lady Kew, and who can forget Mr. Mould's philosophy of a funeral. Apropos of the expense of Martin Chuzzlewit's funeral, he says: "Mrs. Gamp, I'll tell you why it is; it's because laying out of money when the thing is performed in the very best scale binds the broken heart and sheds balm upon the broken spirit. Hearts need binding and spirits want balming when people die. Look at this gentleman to-day." "An open-handed gentleman?" cried Mrs. Gamp. "No, no," said the undertaker; "not an open-handed gentleman in general, by any means,—there you mistake him; but an afflicted gentleman, an affected gentleman who knows what it is in the power of money to do. It can give him," said Mr. Mould, waving his watch chain slowly round and round, so that he described one circle after every item,— "It can give him four horses to each vehicle, it can give him velvet trappings, it can give him drivers in cloth coats and top boots, it can give him the plumage of the ostrich dyed black, it can give him any number of walking attendants, dressed in the first style of funeral fashion. * * *

"How much consolation have I diffused among my fellow-creatures by means of my four long-tailed prancers." Ah, friends, let us dismiss our Mr. Moulds, let us serve our very dead as Joe Gargery yearned to serve Mrs. Joe, "which I meanter say, Pip," Joe Gargery whispered as we were being formed in the parlor, two and two, and it was dreadfully like a grim kind of dance—"which I meanter say, sir, as I would in preference have carried her to the church myself along with three or four others, friendly ones what come to it with willing hearts and arms, but it wur considered what the neighbors would look down on such, and would be of opinion as it wur wanting in respect."

I would fain have all the appointments of a funeral as simple and quiet as possible, sympathizing with Charles Dickens, who in his last will said, "I emphatically direct that I be buried in an inexpensive, unostentatious, strictly private manner, that no public announcement be made of the time and place of my funeral, that not more than three

plain mourning coaches be employed, and that those who attend my funeral wear no scarf, cloak, black bow, long hat band or other revolting absurdity."

5th. The same fashion which ordains the wearing of mourning fixes the period when it must be laid aside, and one stands for a second time beside the open grave, and realizes anew the anguish of bereavement. Who among you has ever put aside the black gown without a kiss to the irresponsible thing, and a tear for the loved one whose very memory now, as far as outward show goes, must be put out of sight! A new requiem is sung—again is the dead buried out of your sight, and the burial is celebrated in violet silk and pansies for remembrance.

Permit me a few words here concerning the disposal of the dead. Custom has varied in exact ratio with the increase of population and civilization. Among primitive peoples the body was taken to a distance from the homes to be exposed to the elements and to be the prey of wild beasts. Later, when sentimental and religious associations began to influence men, a sort of platform was raised and the body laid on that. Later, the dead were put into caves, or holes in the rock, and hermetically sealed, as witness the burial of Sara in the cave of Macphelah. To-day we bury in coffins under ground or in vaults. A Mr. Seymour, believing that decomposition would be hastened, and the well known antiseptic qualities of fresh earth should have better play, has proposed the burial of the dead in wicker-basket coffins with wide meshes, so that the soil can come in immediate contact with the body. In Ziemssen's Cyclopaedia, the plan is heartily endorsed, but has, of course, sentimental opposition. "The dead lie easier in coffins well padded and lined." [The Egyptians embalmed their dead, and cargoes of mummies are brought here to-day, their wrappings to be used for paper rags, the bodies ground to powder to enrich our soil. Modern undertakers aspire to embalming. Could we look forward a hundred years would we choose such fate for our dead.] The Greeks, Romans, many ancient tribes of Europe and Asia burned their dead, and the subject of cremation is much discussed to-day. Epidemic and sporadic cases of disease directly traceable to effluvia from cemeteries, the crowded conditions of graveyards, the increasing difficulty of finding room for our dead in our gigantic cities, have made the question of a final disposition of the body a matter of grave sanitary importance. With modern scientific appliances, a human body can be reduced to a handful of white ashes in a very short time and at very little expense. What method so sensible?

It has been suggested that there could be a furnace near a church where funeral services could be held, near the altar a slide to open into a wall which would represent the grave, and the ashes after cremation could be preserved in an urn. Sanitary and economic reasons are unanswerable. Let the women of the A. A. W. consider this subject well. One shrinks from the prevalent custom of bestowing our dead in the earth where, shrouded in dampness and darkness, a prey to the ghoulish worm, the forms we have tenderly cherished become potent factors in rendering the air unhealthy. Why not employ the purer fashion, and allow the swift impalpable heat to resolve them into elements. A word to the wise is sufficient.

If sentiment is conservative, women certainly illustrate its power. Men make no change in dress when in affliction, but with the heartache well hidden go on with life's duties. Women are expected among all people to do the wailing, the mourning. They are, theoretically, sufficiently at leisure to indulge grief, and one of the strongest arguments in favor of a mourning garb is, "When one is in black nothing is expected; the dress protects from many social demands." Let us scorn the sham sentiment. Disinclination is sufficient protection, and one has an entire right to do what does not hurt one's neighbor. And surely all grief which hinders the doing of life's duty, is a dishonor to our dead, and a defrauding of the living. In this nineteenth century we have yet to learn to view death aright.

To scientist and Christian alike there should be much more of joy than of sorrow in contemplating the death of a friend. When the eye is closed in the last dreamless sleep the scientist should rejoice that "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well," that there is surcease of pain; and true love should be unselfish and rejoice with the dead.

That death has terrors to the Christian shows that Christianity in its genuine spirituality has not even dawned upon most minds. The Christian, if consistent, should rejoice and the spiritual ear should hear a rhythm of celestial melody which sings:

"What though Death may toll
His scornful prophecy of nevermore,
A still small voice is near unto my soul
Assuring me of life for evermore."

Oh, friends, 'tis not from ignorance of the power of grief I so speak. From an experience of depths of sorrow, which please God you may all be spared, I urge a radical change in all ceremonial pertaining to death. Let us learn to look at it merely as one step in life's journey, and praying God for *courage to endure* go on bravely doing His will.

"And friends, dear friends, when it shall be
That this low breath is gone from me,
And round my bier ye come to weep,
Let one, most loving of you all,
Say, 'Not a tear must o'er her fall—
He giveth His beloved sleep.'"

BENEFITS OF SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

THE theme assigned me on this occasion is the benefit which Women may hope to derive from the exercise of the suffrage.

As a sex, like an individual, is at once part of a greater whole, and also an entity endowed with separate needs and capacities of its own, so this question should properly be considered under two aspects, which we may call general and particular. As women constitute one half of society, and under certain circumstances, much more than half, we may best consider, in the first place, the benefits which society may hope to derive from the political enfranchisement of so large a proportion of its members. These considerations will lead us somewhat into the philosophy of things social and personal.

Society, when it passes beyond the brute crowding together of human animals, is governed by ideals, pictures in the minds of men and women representing to them what they should be, and how they should stand related to each other. Now, if we wish to assure ourselves of the progress of human society, we shall need only to consider the progress of these ideals, these governing forms of thought after which the whole multitude of dwellers upon earth are constrained to shape their life and character.

A retrospective view of these would carry us far into the historic domains of the past. Under our present limitations an instance or two must suffice.

Herodotus, for example, tells us of an ancient people who obliged their daughters to earn a dowry through prostitution before marriage was to be thought of. The devout Writers of the Pentateuch considered the bloody invasion and conquest of Palestine by the Israelites an act sanctioned and even commended by divine authority.

How has society grown away from all this savagery! Its elements linger still in individuals, and in tribes remote from the march of civilization. But the record of it brings a shudder of aversion to-day to men and women alike.

I will stop short in my retrospect, which would otherwise carry me far beyond present limits, and will only say, in this connection, that the false ideal dies hard. Mankind are in all ages prone to idol worship, and these dead gods of a fashion which is no longer worthy to govern the world have always many worshippers. Witness among others the Robber ideal, the foundation of many aristocracies. In our day it has abjured the vows and pledges of chivalry, and runs riot in the business of our great cities.

One of the great gains of our country, perhaps the greatest is the new ideal of womanhood whose rising sun illuminates the horizon, touching every cloud with the rosy glow of hope. The light which shows it comes from a region of eternal truth, whose principles, never changing, reveal themselves to us as we grow capable of comprehending them.

The physical structure of women is in these times brought into mention, a mention usually of a very dictatorial and disparaging kind. It will then be germane to our purpose to present some of the points at which the new ideal of womanhood (now as a rule, not as an exception) will visibly influence the bodily condition of the sex. It can be raised to a spiritual body by the quickening and transforming grace of a new divine impulse. This will substitute an active ideal for a passive one. The words passive, passionate are derived from the Greek word *πάθος*, which means suffering, something endured. Passion is in its most immediate sense the opposite of action, the passive of the active.

The womanly ideal which to-day gives way before a new interpretation is essentially a passive and passionate one. In beginning to speak of it, I am reminded of some pathetic lines left by Ada Isaacs Menken, in which she speaks of herself as "dead in this beauty." How much of this dead beauty have some of us seen! The woman investing all her womanhood in its mere externals. Whether she seeks to heighten her attraction by paint and powder, or by weary magnificence of toilette, or by an endlessly cultivated artificial system of movement and appearance, or by all combined, the result is the same. The ornamented ghost of the woman goes about, but she brings no life when she comes. She has none to bring. Her children, if she has children, will inherit her deadness of soul. If they do not, she will

so train them that they will become conventional mummies like herself. More or less good looking, more or less amusing, they may be, according to the variation of their natural gifts. But they will be creatures in whom the higher life has been so systematically poisoned from the start as to leave them in the repetition of a spiritless routine which merely subserves the exigencies of custom and the needs of the physical constitution. Sociologists scarcely take heed of this atmosphere of death which is inherited from generation to generation. But Christ and his apostles had it much in mind. They saw this death everywhere, and the newness of life which they preached was its spiritual antithesis. And as physical life and death are always in the world, so this spiritual death and the spiritual life are always contending for the souls of men and women.

In the body of this death, let me begin with the face, formed to an artificial smile, to a hollow expression of goodwill which it would be considered ill-bred either to question or to believe in. The eyes take note merely of what is most superficial in the world about them. They have a skin deep expression, a defiant shallowness. Margaret Fuller was once a spectator of a State Ball given at a Venetian Palace. From her gondola she, as she writes, saw the great ladies mount the stair, and exchange with their hostess what she calls "the customary grimaces."

Where whole lives are passed in such an exchange, the variations of the countenance come to remind one of a galvanized corpse. But if the face is bound from forehead to chin in the net of a mere seeming, what shall we say of the body, almost every one of whose muscles is rendered unavailable by some stay, or tie, or whalebone? The very source of life, the heart and lungs are compressed, the circulation of the blood is impeded. Free movement this body cannot have. It writhes and wriggles, compromising matters as well as it can with the shackles which everywhere embarrass its motion. The feet are reduced to a mockery of the means of locomotion. Artificially blocked at the back and sorely hindered in front, they are a sorry sight. As to the sacred organs whose office it is to unfold a second generation from the ripeness of the first, they are subject to neglect and injury of every sort. Often their fruitful function is lost, too often, willfully destroyed. Now, this I call the Woman of Death, the woman whose fresh individual life, with its energy and activity, has been given over to those who can bind it hand and foot, and cast it into the hell of pain and disease.

Let us take in contradistinction to this, the free woman, in whom a divine principle of energy has been recognized and fostered. See, through the luminous mask of her face, the activity of the brain that works behind it. Her eyes do not glare—her mouth does not simper. Her glance has a meaning in it. Her lips smile only to express a real pleasure or satisfaction. Her lungs have free play, and her blood is duly oxygenated by full draughts of pure air. Her form has the poise of power. She looks like one who can guide a household. Children can 'she bear and rear. Men will find in her the ally, not of their weakness, but of their strength. She will not be the slave of their passions, but the mistress of her own, aiding them where such aid is needful, to a like mastery. The natural grace of her figure will need no masquerade of buckram and whalebone. Her foot will have the majestic tread of the Italian peasant woman pictured in the verse of Robert Browning, who walks as though she had power to crush the snake and spare the worm.

Her hands? Of these we might have much to say. Next to a human brain, a human hand is the most wonderful of creations, with its variety of movement, its force and its fineness. If the brain receives ten talents, in the apportionment of human gifts, the hand receives five, to be put at interest so as to add to themselves other five. But look at the hands of the fashionable woman! Etiquette requires that they should show no mark of use, and useless they are as the foot of a Chinese fine lady, invented chiefly, it would appear, for the display of fine rings and of polished finger nails.

I do not love better than others to see hands deformed by disproportionate work. But I love still less to see them paralyzed by an ignorance of their proper use. What good purpose do they answer, lying idle in one's lap, or flourished to display one's trinkets?

These ten fingers of ours clamor for work. They need exercise, and must have it, if we would not lose their use. The psalmist thought that it would be a sad thing for his right hand to lose its cunning, but these useless hands of idle women have never had any.

If we desire to see the reign of truth and justice established upon earth, we must insist that women, the guardians and teachers of the race, shall have free access to truth and the full protection of justice. When, as Christians, we say to our Heavenly Father: "Thy kingdom come," we pray for this new state of things. In any other understanding the figure of the heavenly kingdom is empty and deluding.

When the daring to be womanly shall become general among women, among other evils will pass away those miserable caricatures of womanhood which result from a life shaped to satisfy the excess and caprices of masculine views. These are women crippled by their own love of approbation, fearing to lose the favor of men by the exercise of their own judgment, of their own sensibility. They affect tastes which are not their own, raptures which they have never felt; views of society which shew no observation on their part, reflecting only the opinions held by others.

In savage life this denaturalization of women is also found. The women of barbarous nations often appear to be more cruel than the men. This is because the women, wishing to please the men, think to attain this object by imitating and even going beyond them.

When all has been said and done, I feel that I value the suffrage for women most because it opens before them the whole vista of human opportunity, freed from the incumbrance of disabilities imposed from without, the ignorance which renders these disabilities tolerable being part of the imposition. "So run that ye may obtain" says Paul. But they who are warned to keep far from the course cannot run, much less obtain the prize.

The removal of arbitrary limitations gives added power to all that is most distinctively human in all of us. The philosopher Kant assigns as a reason why the individual should believe in immortality the fact that we cannot lead as good a life without the enlargement given by this belief as we can with it.

I distinctly feel that the largest liberty should be accorded to women as a condition without which they can neither know nor do their best. The limitations hitherto suffered by them are such as to falsify their position.

It is not true, for example, that the interests of women are in any way isolated from the great interests of society. Peace and War, Protection and Free Trade, laws and ordinances of every kind affect women equally with men, and affect the children whose special guardians women are pledged to be.

Neither is the position of an inferior a true one for a woman, who is held to be the repository of the world's truth and honor.

"Where," say men, "are we to look for morality, purity, self sacrifice and mercy, if not among women?" What are we to infer from this? Is it because they are the inferiors of men that they are supposed and expected to be morally better than they?

Or is their conceded obligation to moral superiority a just reason for their political inferiority? Or, if their moral superiority depends upon their political inferiority, would it not be well to impose a similar inferiority upon men, hoping thereby to raise them to a corresponding superiority?

The good which the suffrage will bring to women may be summed up under the following heads: A better world to work in. Better work to do. Better ability to do it.

First then, a better world to work in. Can we over estimate the importance of this first clause? Moral life, like physical life, asks certain conditions, a certain atmosphere. It is one thing to be born into an atmosphere favorable to this life, and another to be born into one deleterious and even fatal to it.

Under the existing state of things children are constantly born into such surroundings of ignorance and vice as must poison and pervert their earliest use of their faculties. Nor does the mischief begin here. In parentage, the present and the future are so mysteriously mingled that the line between them is not easily drawn. The evil of the outer world penetrates to the hidden source from which issues each new generation.

The child born in degradation and wickedness has been sinned against and sacrificed before his birth. The inner world of his parent's relations and character is a sphere in which much of his destiny works itself out. He may be enrolled under the banner of perdition before one of his tiny feet can put itself before the other. Nor are the evils thus generated limited to any class. They inevitably permeate the atmosphere which is breathed by all. The child most happily born and bred will, sooner or later, encounter these currents of evil tendency. He will suffer, in various ways, by the misdeeds of others. Happy will he be if he escape the evil influences which have perverted them, and which they in turn generate and shed abroad.

A better world to be born into is then a first desideratum for a better human life.

Better work to do. The law of labor is universal. We must toil to earn our bread, to manage our business, to maintain our rights. The rich and the poor equally have no life but such as they can create for themselves, and this is not to be done without laborious effort.

I once heard Mr. Emerson say in a lecture that a man had enough to do in this world if he paid his debts and kept himself clean.

Much of the world's work is good. But this good work is accompanied by a great deal of what is recognized as dirty work. In the

tasks of society, every now and then, the dirty work peeps through, like a filthy bed seen beneath a silken coverlet. Sometimes, we see so much of it that we are tempted to ask whether the real work is not, all of it, dirty, and the good work a mere outside company device.

What is the good work of the world? To build up human life and human character. To the first part belong the bearing and rearing of children, the tillage of the earth, the care of useful animals, the fulfilment of sanitary conditions, the manufacture of necessary clothing and implements, the maintenance of law and order.

Under the second head may be classed the whole series of education, the formations of manners and customs, the discipline of religious doctrine, the ministration of the pleasureable and beautiful.

What is the dirty work of the world? It is the pursuit of ends which are entirely private and personal in their character, the acquisition of fortune and position without regard to the rights and claims of others. Out of this grow over-labor and under-payment, inordinate wealth with its correlative, inordinate poverty, and in the train of both of these the evils of rapacity, falsehood, ignorance and crime. Happy would it be for all of us if the good work did monopolize the sum total of human ability, leaving no unemployed powers for Satan to salary with his death wage! But, as we go from our nursery into the life of the world without, the dirty work is about us everywhere, and is offered to us in strange mixture with the good work. Sometimes indeed the two are so mingled that it requires no little wisdom to disentangle the one from the other. Happy shall we be if the soil of the dirty work never touches our fingers. If we are not doers of it, we shall yet suffer from it as it is done by others. This dirty work is often spoken of as necessary to the preservation of society, and it is assumed as a fact that somebody must do it. But this must is one of outward compulsion, not of intrinsic necessity. It is imposed by the corruption and worthlessness of individuals and classes in positions of command, and accepted by the ignorant who know no better, and by the unprincipled who desire nothing better.

This brings me to my third desideratum: "Better ability to do the better work." What is needed for this? Skill and will-education and liberty. Education must teach us what is best to be done, and how best to do it. Liberty must enable us both to acquire that education and to use it.

Where does the suffrage come in here? It comes in as an essential condition of the liberty by which alone the best instruction and fullest activity of human beings can be secured to the community.

Now, this liberty is quite different from that false freedom which would allow the babe to poison itself or to put out its own eyes, or which would permit the child to decline the opportunity of education, or release those best able to bear the financial burthens of the community from their just responsibilities.

The conditions of this liberty reside in the best wisdom of the commonwealth.

These conditions are safe-guarded by the moral power of human society. They are best safeguarded where all are so instructed that the great laws and object of human life are known to all, and where the desire for good which is a leading trait in human nature is enabled to direct itself by a standard which is indeed good for each and all. To this end, not only the abstract claims, but the individual persuasions and desires of all should be represented in the administration of the great trusts of society.

For individuality is a power. Association without individuality is brute force, inertia, *vide* the army and the mob, whether fashionable or unfashionable. The power of individuality and the power of association exist as much in women as in men. The use of these powers has hitherto been impeded by a network of custom and consideration, which has been hard to break through. By a strangely simultaneous impulse which seems to be the ripening of a providential purpose, the individuality of women is to-day asserting itself as it never did before. Their capacity for associated action is also becoming more and more conspicuous. Let these opposite capacities have fair play. Let women have the opportunities of so comparing their studies that there shall be among them the same agreement as already prevails among men, and whose office will it be to grant, whose to withhold the suffrage?

A pitiable plea against suffrage was suggested, last winter, in the fashionable circle of a city which is said to be losing its intellectual prestige. The saying which embodies it is this: "You don't want the suffrage because you won't vote, and your cook will." This suggestion carries us far back in the history of progress. Was not Christianity despised at first as a religion for paupers and outcasts? Might not some conservative of old Judea naturally have remarked to the magnates of the land, "You will not be saved by this new doctrine;

but the beggar at your door will be." How was it in the end? The story of Dives and Lazarus may tell us. The rich and the great prayed to have vouchsafed to them the comfort which the poor had at once embraced, and which they had rejected. If the poor women should first enter into the kingdom of suffrage, the rich women will be fain to follow them, not as antagonists, but as allies. For public morality is as important to the rich as to the poor, and there is no point in government interesting one of these classes, which does not also interest the other.

How should the world at large not profit by the change when the enlargement of public spirit shall be added to the affections and interests which are now assumed as bounding the legitimate domain of Woman? The source of evil to society and of danger to the state is not found in the enlarged views of humanitarian benevolence, but in the intensity of personal interest and desire. When right judgment and adequate will concerning public matters shall be looked for as much in women as in men, much evil will be nipped in the bud, and many dangers avoided.

We could expect little good from the extension of the suffrage to women if we had not reason to suppose that the power which this will give them to labor directly for the public good will be, in the eyes of such as will exercise it, a far dearer boon and privilege than any attainment of personal ends would be.

I pause here to allow a little time for the derision of those who know how men abuse the opportunity of the suffrage, and how the political influence which they exercise is made to serve the greed and ambition of individuals. Kindred evils exist under every form of government. But surely we may say that the public does not aim at cheating the public. The wide interaction and connection of human interests make this impossible. The more widely public political action is made, therefore, the more likely is it to sweep past the eddies of personal passion in the force and fullness of a people's will.

I am glad to think that some of the women of education who oppose Woman Suffrage do so because they think that the good of the state is promoted by their opposition to a measure which seems to them dangerous.

It is better that they should think wrongly about this than that they should not think at all. Few of these opponents have any just conception of the nature of government itself. Few have had, the courage and conscience to ask their own mind, their own

heart what, as women, they are bound to think about the institutions which allow them no voice either in the framing or administration of the laws which can dispose of their persons, their property, and their children.

Still, the plea upon which they unite at present, the danger of increasing the number of ignorant voters, is a more respectable one than that which went before it when it was the fashion to say, "we have all the rights we want."

Really, Madam, is that enough for you, that you should have personally all that you want? Is it nothing to you then whether other women have all the rights they want?

Jewish Esther, installed in the palace of the Persian king, could neither eat nor sleep while her people were exposed to persecution. She might have been supposed to have all the rights she wanted, luxury in every form, homage, safety, honor. But she was compelled to risk all these by her care for the rights of her people.

Esther showed in this the superiority of her race, the blood of Miriam and of Deborah which ran in her veins. Shall we, Christian women of the nineteenth century, show ourselves so far the inferiors of the Hebrew woman of that dark time that, while she could risk all for the salvation of her people, we can sit at ease and excuse ourselves from any zeal, any effort in behalf of our own sex, upon the plea that we have all the rights we want?

Is it nothing, this lifting of a whole sex from the attitude of slavery to that of legitimate sovereignty? The sovereignty of the human over the brutish, of the moral over the material, of justice over the dark passions which constantly contend against her? Man's command of the earth should mean this, and to some extent does so. But all that is brutish in man resists this ennobling process, and clings to the ascendancy of the positive animal nature. And the attitude of this part of humanity to women is one of ignoble compulsion. Women are rendered, in their own despite, the allies and accomplices of much that degrades human nature, detaining it upon the low levels over which vice and ignorance have full sway.

In our own day, in this very decade, much has been done, in the high places of civilization, to bring back the ascendancy of the sensuous over the spiritual.

Mr. Swinburne, in a poem of dreadful import, disparages the worn and wounded body of Christ in comparison with the beautiful body of a woman fair to look upon.

If I blush for the ignorance which institutes such a comparison in such an intention, I blush also for the society in which the *cultus* of flesh and blood beauty is exalted above the divine heroism which consumed the bloom of the Man of Sorrows. Be it remembered, moreover, that, when the man of profligate imagination applauds the poet who thus places the beauty of a harlot above the Savior of the world, the women who take their tone from such men utter no contradiction.

In a different way, Priestcraft lays its burthen also upon the uplifting of humanity and finds its readiest instruments in women. Irrational doctrines, enforced by ecclesiastical authority and commended by the prestige of sanctimony, fetter and forbid thought, dwarf and deprave conscience.

See Isabella of Spain laying with pious hands the corner stone of the Inquisition. Look at Mme. de Maintenon obtaining from Louis XIV the revocation of the Edict of Nantes! These were the acts of women, but of women who had surrendered their judgment to the keeping of men, and who, with all their semblance of power, were made by them the instruments of passions most unholy and irreligious.

One great difference between Europe and America is this. In Europe, official authority is still supreme as it was under the Caesars, or in the rude mediaeval feudality. This authority is no doubt supposed to represent the supremacy of all that indeed should govern human society, and this supposition is often followed where the contradiction of facts makes it an empty melancholy farce.

In America the ideal of justice is immediately presented to every man for his rule and guidance. Whatever human errors and excesses may be seen among us, the fact is undeniable that the presence of this ideal has told perceptibly upon the generations which preceded our own, and is beginning to tell upon the extraordinary conglomerate which makes part of the America of to-day.

This simple and immediate presentation of justice derives from the original declaration and compact of our government.

Some of us do our best to lose sight of it, but it governs, nevertheless, and will continue to govern unless the folly and false taste which draw us back to the superceded ideas and methods of European life should overmaster the good sense which we are bound to inherit from our Puritan ancestors, and the wisdom which the unparalleled experience of our hundred years should have taught us.

Perhaps it is best for us to consider such a retrogression as lying within the moral possibilities even of a race so favored as our own.

The decline and fall of other commonwealths shew us that the powers which build up society have always to contend against certain forces of an opposite tendency, which work for its destruction. And if such destruction should come upon us, it would be in a good degree the work of our women, to whom naturally belongs the early training of all our citizens, male as well as female.

These women, little instructed concerning the true constitution of society, are liable to be constantly misled by their own ignorance and the crafty guidance of others, and thus bring around us, and in our midst, evils which are silken in the weaving, but steel in the breaking.

Let me here instance one thing in which I see the beginning of these evils against whose extension each of us should work and pray. The greatest danger to our institutions is found in the unmeasured irruption into our country of people who have been trained and fashioned under European institutions. Shall we think to counteract this by sending our sons and daughters to Europe to be trained in like manner? Europe is full to-day of American women who are doing even worse than this, who are trimming the minds of their children with hap-hazard accomplishments, but who bring them up with no solid idea of their duty to any country, or indeed to any society.

Now the suffrage, exercised by women, will strengthen in a twofold manner the convictions which are the real foundation of our institutions. It will, in the first place, present the ideal of justice immediately to them, as it already does to our male citizens. It will, in the second place, impose upon them the obligation to use their own best judgment in regard both to men and to institutions.

This new function will not, as so many fear, render the lives of women a feeble parody of the lives of men. This is the picture of the future as these timid ones would draw it. No housekeeping, no fireside companionship, no nursery radiant with baby beauty. No cook, no housemaid neither. No savory dishes, no trim parlors, no well mended clothes. Shirts without buttons, stockings never darned, children untended. Women in offices, in studios, in workshops, in the City Hall, in congress, in the White House, women everywhere but at home.

All this brings us to the question; who makes the home now? By your own account, gentlemen, it is the woman who makes it, and on the same authority, the loss of it would be the greatest that human

society could sustain. Well, what do you give the woman in return for this? You allow her bed, board, reasonable dress and medicine. At your death, a third of your real estate, if you have any. And, living and dying, you deprive her of the political rights enjoyed by your whole sex, of the power to intervene in the choice of legislators, and in the making of the laws which she is bound to obey.

But, leaving this too familiar reproach, let us ask whether we have any reason to expect that Woman, the Home-maker, is asking for the conditions of political enfranchisement only that she may fly from the home, unmake society, and bring the population of the world to an end.

And here, time failing me to dwell upon the home-loving traits which are so strong in women always and evermore, let me bridge the awful chasm with a new thought.

Women have shown in later years much power of invention. In industrial exhibitions, they appear as the patentors of many ingenious articles and instruments. Among these, we may mention such things as a patent halter, a rein-holder, a bedstead which handsomely surmounts a chest of drawers, much metamorphic furniture, and improved apparatus for the kitchen, the laundry, and the toilet. And apropos of the neglected household hearth, let me say that I lately saw, in the Woman's Department of the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' fair in Boston an engineer of our sex engaged in tending the steam engine by which the machinery of the Willimantic manufacturing exhibit was kept in motion. No grim and greasy vision this, but a neat, engaging little person, who appeared much at home with her formidable companion.

The farmer's wife already scrubs, sews, bakes, washes, makes butter and cheese, and with all this bears and brings up the children. If she has power to combine these manifold tasks, each of which includes endless details, she will certainly be able to add to the sum of her labor one small task which will secure its reward and result. She will surely be able to make for herself a quick and easy way from the cradle and hearth to the voting place, and back. Who shall say, in this day of wonders, that she may not invent an automatic machine to collect and record votes, which shall open the door, present the ballot box, and record past question whose the vote is, and where given.

The women of Wyoming get their husbands' dinner in the forenoon, and go to the polls after the washing of dishes. The convenient baby carriage enables those who have children in arms to take them

with them to the polls. I think that the presence of these little creatures in a voting precinct must have a salutary influence in reminding the fathers of the community of their responsibilities. The whiskey bottle and the talk of rough men easily make them forget the helpless ones at home who depend upon them. Who shall dare to approach a man with the drink that maddens or with the money that dishonors, in presence of what he must hold most sacred on earth, his wife and child?

In the Old Testament account of the fall of man, Adam pleads in excuse for his offence the influence of his wife. "The woman whom thou gavest me" and so on. Women to-day for much of the mischief that they do, and for more of the good which they leave undone, may well plead "the man whom thou gavest me did lead me to this." But, in the redemption of society which we hold to be near, this excuse, which did not avail the man, shall be taken away from the woman. She shall become a free, an instructed agent. Having occasion to know what is right and freedom to do it, American womanhood will make itself felt and respected in a manner hitherto unprecedented, and while the changing currents of productivity and of taste may greatly alter the centres of wealth and of influence, we believe that from the height of this equalized humanity there will be no decline, no fall, but on the contrary, that our country, if she be thus lifted up, will draw all the world to her.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

REV. AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL.

The nature and function of Labor and Capital, and their equitable relation, being one of the fundamental considerations in all matters of Political Economy, the query naturally arises, why should subjects of this nature be brought before an association for the advancement of women? Where is the relevancy or fitness of such themes? My answer to this natural query, is, that Political Economy is one branch of that Social Economy in which men and women are alike involved, and in which we have our individual uses and duties. And to ascertain the proper relations which the various social forces should sustain to each other, will enable each one of us, in our own proper domain, to direct our individual power to the most desirable social results.

Beside, if we examine the derivation and meaning of the word "economy" as stated by the careful authors of our Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, we find an astonishing propriety in selecting the economics of civilization, as legitimate themes for woman's investigation and study. From the Encyclopedia we learn that the word "economy" is derived from the Greek, for house-law, or house regulation: that is the adjustment of the expenditure of the household to the income at their command. Webster defines economy as primarily the management of a family or the concerns of a household. Accepting these definitions, it becomes evident that the starting point or basis of Social Economy is in that domain which nature and custom have assigned to woman,—the home.

Having its foundation, then, where woman directs the springs of Social life, it seems exceedingly appropriate that the woman intellect, warmed and inspired by the woman heart, should follow the development of this economic principle as applied to law and government, and embodied in our Republican institutions.

Or if we look at the propriety of our theme from a moral and intellectual point of view, we meet with equal encouragement and sanction. Henry George says, "Political Economy has been called

the dismal Science, and as currently taught, is hopeless and despairing; "but this," he continues, "is because she has been degraded and shackled; her truths dislocated; her harmonies ignored; the word she would utter gagged in her mouth; and her protest against wrong turned into an endorsement of injustice. Freed in her own proper symmetry, Political Economy is radiant with hope." He affirms that the economic and moral law are essentially one, and that the truth which the intellect grasps on this matter is but that which the moral sense reaches by a quick intuition.

Henry C. Cary, our most philosophic and voluminous American writer on this subject, declares that the foundation of a true Social Science is found in the great precept, "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This writer also clearly demonstrates that certain principles which underlie the economy of Nature, and determine her methods of order and movement, are analogous to, or possibly identical with, those which shall formulate the true and perfect Social Economy; so that the laws which determine the aggregation of men into groups, and also their dispersion, are sustained by the same principles that set the heavens in harmony, and dispose the atoms under our feet. As the centripetal and centrifugal forces establish both the equilibrium and movement of the planetary system, so the corresponding principles of centralization and decentralization in the grouping of mankind and the regulation of human power, determine social order and progress, and the balance of social activities.

Certainly no telescopic intellect is needed, to discern the perfect law of association that binds the planets into one system, as based in reciprocity, and establishing mutuality or inter-dependence. For example, it is a law in physics, that bodies attract each other in proportion to their mass. This proportional reciprocity produces balance. This is the law of equity and harmony shining in the heavens above us. This is the justice and the music of the stars.

Spencer demonstrates that all organisms, as they advance to perfection, approximate the condition of a moving equilibrium; and that this fact is as applicable to human society as to organic bodies. If then we study Political Economy in relation to these fundamental principles in Nature's Economy, we discover that it is a Republican form of government, as against monarchical institutions, which furnishes to a people those conditions of reciprocity and inter-dependence, which tend to balance and perfect the order of society. By what

methods all this which is so beautiful and comprehensive in theory shall be practically wrought out, is the problem which confronts the citizens of a Republic. How, among all the activities which develop civilization, shall reciprocity and inter-dependence be properly apportioned, and how shall balance be secured and firmly held by even handed Justice? Evidently, every department of our economic system should some way be placed in practical accord with the principle on which the system as a *whole* is formulated.

A writer in the Science Monthly informs us, that Political Economy deals with the conditions under which national wealth is produced, accumulated, and distributed. This is a true and comprehensive statement, and if these social activities are effected upon the principle of mutuality and inter-dependence we may rationally expect not only material progress, but social harmony as a result. Yet a brief glance at the social condition reveals that we have attained the former, at the expense of the latter. Mr. George fairly states the problem in these questions: "Why does the tramp come with the locomotive, and why are prisons and alms-houses as surely the marks of material progress as are costly dwellings, rich ware-houses, and magnificent churches? Why is it that the enormous increase in productive power which marks the present century, and is still going on with accelerating ratio, has no tendency to extirpate poverty, or lighten the burdens of those condemned to toil? Why is it that it simply widens the gulf between Dives and Lazarus, and makes the struggle for existence more intense?"

Upon these questions, every American citizen should earnestly seek enlightenment. Evidently, as a people, we have practically departed from those politico-economic theories which are based in Nature, and which can only be realized under a perfectly Republican system of government. Evidently, we are greatly out of balance, as in place of the equal guaranty and opportunity which a peoples' government was designed to establish for all classes, rich and poor, we not unfrequently find inequalities and special privilege. What is the matter? Let us begin at the foundation, even in the most cursory investigation of this subject.

History demonstrates that almost the first requisite for social growth and prosperity is the creation of wealth; and wealth takes rise in man's direct co-operation with Nature. "Wealth," says M. Godin, the Founder of the Equitable Association of Labor and Capital in France, "is composed of two elements: the labor of

Nature, and the labor of Man." Mr. George says, "There must be land before labor can be exerted, and labor must be exerted, before capital can be produced. The natural order is land, labor, capital."

If wealth, then, is what makes a high civilization possible, and wealth is the result of labor, is it not plain that the real creative power, so far as regards life here and now is labor, productive labor, lying back of all other social forces, that upon which all depends, that which makes possible and sustains every phase of human advancement. In analyzing, therefore, the elements of human progress, we are bound to give the most reverent estimate to labor. For there are but two stand-points from which to regard labor, and from either we are compelled to give it an estimate, that not only fills us with admiration, but with awe. If we look at it from the stand-point of Nature, we find that there is where God's forces join hands with man's, resulting in productive industry. If we regard it from the human stand-point, we perceive it is God's method of creating and developing society. If, then, in the hurry, and fret, and competition of life, we have ever had any doubts as to the dignity and power of labor, let us revise our opinion here and now.

Daniel Webster, we remember, told the American people, that government was instituted to protect this original, wealth-producing force—labor; and the carrying out of this principle, necessitated the adoption of another, as the founders of this Republic well understood; which was, equal privilege and protection for all classes, rich and poor; even-handed justice; equal guaranty for the rights of manhood, in all departments of activity, from the lowest to the highest degree in the scale of our competitive system. These were the principles of equity, equalness or balance, that were to guide us in the building of this Republic, making us one with the perfect economy of Nature.

Starting upon this foundation, we have had a right to expect that our legislators would keep steadily in view, in all their operations, these basic principles of a popular government. But on investigation, we find that these principles have not only been ignored, but actually subverted. That a majority of our statesmen during the last twenty years, instead of legislating to make inequality of opportunity and privilege an impossibility, or even an improbability have managed to make it a possibility, a probability, and a legal certainty.

I think I do not exaggerate. If we start at the root principles of our governmental system, and proceed with our investigation, into all

the branches of our political life, we find the discrepancy between the branches and the root to be not only saddening, but appalling. Let us not mince the matter in recognizing and stating certain facts. We always breathe deeper when we face the truth fairly and squarely.

We recognize first that capital is the child or product of labor; but we perceive also that there are two kinds of capital. The one kind is employed in industries. It enables labor to become more effective. It assists in creating new wealth for society, and may properly be called *productive* capital. This kind of capital includes agriculture, manufactures, and indeed all forms of industry that increase the wealth of the country.

The other form of capital to which I refer produces nothing. It adds nothing to the sum of wealth in the community. Bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, mercantile capital, etc., their increase or decrease, do not affect the amount of wealth in the country; and as they produce nothing, we properly style them, *non-productive* capital.

Now it is exceedingly important that we have a clear perception of the distinction between these two kinds of capital, in order to ascertain if the proper balance or proportionality between the productive and non-productive forces is maintained in this country, and thoroughly sustained by legislation; as the function of both, is alike essential to national prosperity. For although unproductive capital does not increase the amount of wealth in the country, it takes the wealth produced by labor, and transfers and distributes it among the people. This distributive function of non-productive capital, is as requisite for social growth and prosperity as the wealth producing function of capital employed in industries; providing, mark you, that the distribution is carried on by methods that accord with those principles of equity, balance or proportionality, in which our Republican system is based. But on due investigation it is found that non-productive capital has been operating for some time in this country by methods that utterly subvert these truly Republican principles.

For example: It is estimated by various economic writers, that the annual increase of wealth from productive industry is, on an average from three to four per cent. Others estimate it as high as five or even six per cent. Yet non-productive capital, whose mission it is to serve labor by taking the wealth it produces and transferring and distributing it among the people, and for which service it should

receive a just proportion of the wealth produced, we learn that it receives ten per cent for its wages. Out of what reservoir, friends, does non-productive capital absorb to itself this enormous rate of wages, interest, or profits, as we may choose to term it? Evidently out of the three, four, five or six per cent productive increase of the country. There is no other reservoir. What must be the inevitable result? The annual increase is absorbed sooner or later, and still the bill is not filled. Mortgages are laid upon productive capital, to make up the amount. The agriculturalist and manufacturer struggle against this rapacious monster, and in order to escape financial ruin, they grind down the wages of those they employ, or import foreign cheap labor. And thus the degrading process to industry goes on, labor taking less and less of the annual increase, because non-productive capital absorbs more and more. And all this deteriorating process has been set in the downward current by legislation, and clearly illustrates the unequal (which is only another term for unequitable) relation which the productive and non-productive forces of the country sustain to each other.

One of the most candid of economic writers, and the most correct of statisticians, informed me two years since, that such was the burden of interest alone upon the people, that two-fifths of the products of the country were required to meet it. That means that two days out of every five must be given by every laboring man, woman, and child, in order to meet this single burden of interest on money.

It is said that there are eleven men in our country who possess seven hundred millions, on which interest is collected; that there are five hundred men in New York worth over three millions apiece. That only ten thousand own their homes. This still further illustrates the inequitable distribution of wealth and power in the Republic.

If I give you a little mathematical problem, and we solve it as we go along, we shall discover yet more clearly how, in relation to wealth, centralization dominates de-centralization, thus throwing our social system more and more out of equilibrium, as we advance on the path of material progress.

Assuming that the total property of the country is fifty billions, if it were divided up among our fifty millions of people, it would give us a thousand dollars each. But it takes one thousand of these thousand dollar fortunes to make one of a million. Clearly for every man who becomes a millionaire, there are a thousand persons who own nothing, who live from hand to mouth, who have nothing

in reserve for misfortune or sickness, and who die without means enough to meet funeral expenses. Counting in those who have a little money, enough to meet the expense of a decent exit from life, the number rises to fifteen or sixteen hundred who live and die in poverty, in order that one may be made extremely rich. If this one possesses two millions, then two thousand persons are necessarily made poor. If he accumulates ten millions, then ten thousand others must become paupers and virtually slaves. If this enormous fortune rises to fifty-millions, then fifty thousand—the population of a big city—must live and die in penury. Consider now in connection with this fact, that there are several millionaires in our senate, and hundreds at our city centres, and we have revealed a condition of things that is constantly increasing under the vampire methods by which non-productive capital absorbs the country's increase of wealth. Is it any longer a mystery that the tramp comes with the locomotive, and that prisons and alms-houses are as surely the marks of our material progress, as are magnificent dwellings, rich ware-houses, and costly churches?

The methods by which the production and distribution of wealth goes on in this country is wholly consistent with monarchical institutions which are based in inequalities.

Mr. Hinman, the President of the Democratic Confederation of Great Britain, informed us last year, in the *North American Review*, that "8,000,000, of workers there, produce \$750 dollars each. They receive only \$187,50 each. The remaining \$562,50 is taken by the upper and middle classes; or about three dollars out of every four produced is thus absorbed." Now such an industrial condition, is wholly in keeping with aristocratic forms of government which are based in class distinction; but for the people or statesmen of a Republic to institute such methods here, is, to say the least, profoundly infidel to the idea of the rights of manhood, and equal protection for all classes.

Perhaps no institution so successfully illustrates the harmonious association of the forces that produce and distribute wealth, as the Equitable Association of Labor and Capital, founded by M. Godin at Guise in France. In the summer of 1881 it was my good fortune to remain six weeks as a guest in this institution, thus securing the best opportunity possible for studying the results of the system there adopted.

The purpose of the Association at Guise is to establish a community of interests among its members, by means of the participation

of both capital and labor in the profits according to certain conditions prescribed in the Statutes of the Association. The Founder contributed the original capital stock of nearly a million dollars. About fifteen hundred workmen are employed in the Foundries. The dividend coming to a workman from the net-profit of the institution, is a certain per-cent. annually upon the wages he has received. This dividend is represented by what is termed "certificates of savings," and becomes the workman's share in the capital stock, on which he receives interest payable in specie. Thus the wage laborer in the institution becomes his own capitalist. During the year 1879, the workmen, who are styled "Associates," received each on an average, 600 francs or \$120 in savings stocks; and the "Participants," 300 francs or \$60 each. About two years since they were so prosperous as to receive 18½ per cent. on wages.

The share from the net profit which falls to capital, is a certain per cent. upon the wages of capital; that is, upon its rate of interest. In the redemption of stock which occurs at the annual dividend of profits, the shares of the Founder are the first to be retired by the substitution of the workmen's shares of savings. This is to secure the successive transmission of the capital stock through the hands of the co-operators, and to retain the power over the common work in the hands of those who carry it on. Thus, in time, the Unitary Home of the workmen with all its dependencies, educational and commercial, the vast foundries, the lawns and gardens, will become the property of these once poor, illiterate French peasants and their families.

But as a division of profits between labor and capital is no certain guaranty to a workman of the minimum of existence, if sickness or incapacity overtakes him and his resources are exhausted, Mutual Assurances are instituted in the Association at Guise. First, the Assurance of Pensions, and of the necessities of existence. Second, the Assurance to aid the sick.

The first is to serve the aged workmen of the institution, who have become incapable of labor; the sum accorded to each pensioner, being determined primarily by his years of service in the Institution. Indemnity also is accorded for any accident in the workshop which incapacitates the individual for labor, while the minimum of subsistence is assured for each family, whenever the resources of the family do not attain this minimum.

To the Assurance fund for the aid of the sick, all workmen of

the Association give a certain percentage upon wages received. After six months of regular payment of the fixed assessment, the mutualist who may be afflicted with sickness, has a right to the physician of his choice, and to a daily allowance, fixed at a certain minimum.

Mutual Assurance is also established among the women of the Association according to prescribed rules. The women of the Unitary Home elect from among themselves nine delegates, who with nine men elected by the workmen, form the committee for the administration of these Assurances. Thus, we perceive that in this Institution, not only is wealth distributed according to the proportionality of forces producing it, but we find also the successful operation of reciprocity and interdependence as expressed in these Mutual Assurances.

This Institution has been in operation for more than twenty years, and has never had a police case, or experienced a strike; for workmen do not care to strike against themselves.

I have no time in which to tell you how M. Godin, through years of seeking for the true methods of associating labor and capital, went back to Nature and man's relation thereto for his lessons, and how little by little, he wrought these lessons into his enterprise. In the face of dire discouragement, public and private, he has carried it forward to an ever increasing success. How could it be otherwise? The methods of the Institution had the whole economy of the Universe behind them, and it was impossible to fail.

Godin has at least opened the gates to the Gospel of Life and Labor. He has brought the Golden Rule down to terms of business. This is the ripened fruit of all the religions of the ages. It inspires within us an undying faith that peace on earth and good will to man shall some day be more than the song of angels breaking the silence of an evening in Judea. It shall be the living reality of a happy, industrious world.

HISTORIC ART.

MARY E. BAGG.

THE charm and worth of *History* is, that it discovers to us man; and a record that stops short with his mere exploits fails to meet the requirements of to-day. One may be learned in dates, successions of kings and dynasties, yet miss the lessons which this study so richly yields. Collections of isolated, unrelated facts are valuable unquestionably, for the use of those who have a genius for deducing principles, and for linking causes and effects; but as history is *now* being written, individuals, marches, sieges, battles, victories and defeats, are of minor importance, and the memory is not laden as formerly with masses of these details; but the mind is taught to note the *results which events* have had, in moulding nations and races, in fine, the *effects wrought by them* on humanity and the world.

The charm and worth of the study of *Historic Art* is, that it discovers to us *inner* man. In the thing made, the maker reveals *himself*. As we penetrate his motive, we become burdened with his mission, we feel his enthusiasms, live his interior life, share his hope, and forgetting time and space, we recognize in the elders of our humanity one spiritual kinship. For there is a *spiritual* descent of man, as real and as fascinating to trace, as his *physical* descent.

Kitchen middens, lake dwellings, fragments of pots and bones, help us to reconstruct the *physical* life of the races that have disappeared. The notable art forms of the ancient world help to introduce us to the *soul* life of these races. For they wrought themselves into their work, it illustrates their creed, and is the record of their controlling ideas; and their mind hidden in matter, it is *worth while* and *possible*, for us to uncover; and herein lies the charm and worth of the study of Historic Art.

It is a shallow mind that can content itself with studies of material, dimensions, form, color, finish, that makes no search for the central idea, aspiration or purpose, which impelled the artist designer to expression, which forgets that monuments, cathedrals, sculptures, come by inspiration, and exist for inspiration. In her

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desert solitude sits the Sphinx, a monstrous mass of stone; and wide-eyed wonder is the poor homage paid her, while the world waits for her yet unspoken word; but when her secret shall be opened to us, when we shall know of her mission, and of the pressure that forced the believing soul thus to utter himself; then shall the master's inspiration be ours, then shall we follow his registered thought and intent, as strains of music follow an ancient score.

Too often it is taken for granted, that what a Pagan believes is Paganism pure and entire; and no effort is made to discover what of truth and beauty his creeds and worship may include. And, too often it is taken for granted, that what a Pagan conceives, builds, carves, or paints, is purely Pagan; and however imposing or pleasing, must of necessity be, in purpose unworthy, and in influence harmful. Ancient art and ancient faiths are to be regarded, not as curiosities—grotesque, capricious, insane or useless; but as embodying, and capable of exhibiting, the religious beliefs and moral sentiments, which in their time were of utility to mankind. The best works of this character have no vital word for us, they touch no fraternal chord, except we study them without the prejudice which denies to their makers, the possession of soul instincts, spiritual insights, and possibilities of successful search for the best and highest man can reach. Until we recognize their likeness to us, we cannot be just, nor sympathetic, nor loving to the early peoples. We cannot understand nor enjoy their works, nor discern the relation which their art bears to their sense of beauty and of conduct, nor its revelations of their subtlest thought concerning themselves and their highest conception of the Powers Invisible.

All souls being identical in essence, their needs and longings are the same. Occupied with the same problems, they find, I am satisfied, with similar solutions. A like significance in emblems common to all times and countries, affords a presumption, that, certain fundamental conceptions relating to God, man, duty and destiny, are a common possession of humanity; and evolved or evolving therefrom, various systems appear, widely differing, but at heart one, in the ideal effort to serve the soul; and the record of these may be deciphered with more or less facility, in the best and most abiding works of men's hands. Reading backward from these inanimate forms, to the thoughts that willed them into being, the conviction is forced upon us, that in all ages, men have stood face to face with the eternal verities.

Very briefly, I shall now attempt to show that, in works of art of ancient times may be read, first, Man's conception of the Powers Invisible; second, his thought about himself and his relations to the universe; third, the nature of those heroes, helpers and deliverers consecrated to the serving of their race; fourth, Man's belief concerning the future life; fifth his sense of duty or conduct.

The universal sense of higher powers found among peoples widely sundered by time and place, has found expression in the attempt to fix in visible form, the attributes which they conceived their gods should possess; and these gods and symbols of gods, betray such remarkable identity of conception, as testifies to identity in quality of mind and soul and need. As under many titles the sacred names are voiced in varied tone and accent, so under differing forms, the notions of the god-like have been enshrined in material substance. The thoughtful Gazer will not smile at the many-headed, many-handed god of heathendom. Rather, he will reverence the intent that called into existence the hideous image; and he will grant its worth, as teaching the worshipper that his god looks in every direction, that he sees and knows all; that his arms of power reach everywhere; that his hands of blessing give oil and wine and corn; that his hands of justice scourge the guilty. Brahm, as a four-headed god, bears in his hands the Vedas, his written message to his people; a rosary, suggestive of the necessity and efficacy of prayer; and vessels for purifying, intimating that enlightenment and prayer must be accompanied by stainless living. Siva carries a rope for strangling the wicked; a necklace of skulls makes him a terror to evil-doers; ear-rings of serpents indicate his subtlety or wisdom; and he bears the Ganges on his head. This stream is life-giving, life-sustaining, and he who bears it up is a giver and supporter of life. "The impersonal Brahma, the divine self," is typified by a wheel, and it is said of him, that, "as all the spokes of the wheel are contained in the nave or circumference, so all things are contained in this divine self." Flaxman gives this illustration taken from Hindoo art. The god Vishnu reclines on a floating leaf surrounded by bursting lotus blossoms. His foot drawn up until the toe touches his lips completes a circle, emblematic of eternity, and of never-beginning, never-ending existence. In Egyptian art, in frequent use over doors and windows, is found this beautiful symbol of the kingdom and of God. The ornament is made up of a ball, two asps and two wings, all symmetrically arranged. The ball represents the sun, the mover of life, or

Creator; the asps by their hood or crown, figure dominion and might, and their serpent form tells of destroying power; while the wings widely extended denote all-protecting brooding care, or providence. In Egypt too, Kneph as Creator, figures as a potter with a wheel, on which "he forms the divine limbs of Osiris." Here too, omniscience and rule absolute, are represented by an eye with a sceptre, while vultures and eagle-headed men, from their keenness of vision are fit emblems of the All-Seeing.

Egyptians, Hindoos, Persians and later races, considered every perfect thing to have three parts; and we find in the most ancient times and countries, three balls or three circles, or three fishes forming a triangle—all these imaging the triune nature of God, His wisdom, power and love.

A triangle formed of three fishes is a sign of Deity in its completeness, as the father, the mother, and the proceeding or thing created.

In Greek art, the supreme gods appear in gigantic form, as personifications of law, fate, retribution. In the Jupiter of Olympia, serpents set forth his wisdom, the sceptre implies dominion, the winged Victory signifies his power invincible, and the olive wreath declares the bountiful giver. Early Christian art exhibits the divine attributes scarcely less crudely than does heathen art. The Creator is shown from making Adam from clay, as a venerable man breathing into him the breath of life, as a hand extended from a cloud, as an all-seeing eye; all these and many others teaching by visible tokens, the omniscience, omnipotence, providence and justice of God.

Man's acquaintance with his own nature, and his speculations concerning his origin and destiny, may be distinctly discerned in numerous sculptures, monuments and temples of the old world. An Egyptian image in porcelain, combines the figure of Pthah (supreme god of nature); horns with hawk's eyes (the sun-god); and the ram's head of Neph (god of spirit). It is supposed that this trinity images the three-fold nature of man; attributing his material body to the god of nature, his intellect to the sun-god, and his spirit to the god of spirit.

Widely distributed, we find this symbol which affords a perception of duty. This is a triangle decorated with a dove, a hand and a cross. The dove prompts to personal purity, the hand to service, and the cross to self-renunciation.

A prayer wheel resting on a lotus, enjoins virtuous living as underlying the hope of favorable answer to prayer. One may tire of

simply *looking* at the many-times repeated combats that line the colossal stairways of Persepolis; but interest wakens when we discover that here is illustrated a central doctrine of one of the great religions of the world. These encounters of bulls and lions, men and griffins, exemplify the dualism in nature, and emphasize the antagonisms in man. The opposing forces of nature war against the *physical* man, enemies without and within assail the *spiritual* man; and these conflicts occupy the life, from the first stair of existence to the dizzy topmost height when the din and dust are lost in the mist that hides the whither. There is the chiselled record of the experience of mankind, true of all who *have* lived, and of all who *now* live.

The Chimera, occurring everywhere in ancient art, is a symbol of many adverse powers *combined* against man; while single enemies equally abound, figured as dragon, harpy siren, spoiler, hydra and others. A bull overcome by a lion is carved upon a rock-cut tomb in Myra, 400 B. C., and it means just what we mean when we chisel a skeleton and scythe, or Death with his dart, or a skull and cross bones, or a spent hour glass.

In Greek art also, the warfare of life finds illustration. The Parthenon crowds its metopes with battles between men and centaurs, between gods and their enemies. And the groups of the Laocoon witnesses, that the serpents, Sin and Ignorance, in the dim past waged, as they now wage, deadly warfare, with youth in its beauty and confidence, and with manhood in the climax of its vigor. In the art of later dates and in literature we have the same story, in the contests between Michael and Satan, St. George and the Dragon; while Paradise Lost, Faust, and many myths of the middle ages give other renderings of like import.

Man's weakness in the presence of these enemies of his physical and moral life, has created a universal sense of his need of help and guidance; and in the art of most peoples we find revelations of tender, wise, heroic souls devoted to the uplifting of their kind. Under various names these helpers, leaders, heroes, deliverers, take on the likeness to their race, age and country. We have all seen German, Italian, French and English Christs, each betraying the artists' partiality for his national cast of feature. In the contemplation of these, the discriminating eye dwells but momentarily on form or coloring; but it seeks in the portrait the expression of the *mind and soul* of Christ; and these soul likenesses by their similarity prove that one ideal has been before each artist. So Historic Art grants to unpreju-

diced scrutiny, a sense of identity in the quality of those enlightened, dedicated ones, who have pitied, loved, and brought deliverance. Their images and the legends that cluster round their birth, tell us that purity, wisdom and love must conspire to make the perfect man possible. The Virgin Mother and the beneficent child appear in the art of all the olden times. In India the mother is seen with the babe, standing on the empty seed vessel of the lotus, implying that he is the perfected, ripened fruit of earth's fairest flower. In China, as Queen of Heaven, the Madonna bears the babe and cross. The divine infant sitting upon a star, proclaims his wisdom, purity and heavenly origin. The marriage of Isis and Osiris took place in a lotus blossom, and Horus their child who is man's intercessor, was born of a lotus, in a thicket of papyrus. Now, papyrus is an emblem of spotless perfection. The *power* of the Rescuer is thus shown in a relief from Nimroud. The hero attacking a fabulous monster, bears in each hand a double trident, signifying his lordship over the waters; a sickle hangs from his shoulder, symbolizing his sway over earth and her increase; a sword is carried at his waist, manifesting his authority over men. Four wings hint the hero's intelligence, victorious power and protecting care. In Egyptian and Assyrian art, he is sculptured as holding in one hand a scourge with which he chastises his kneeling enemies, whom he holds by their gathered locks of hair. He often bears the crozier, sceptre, and cross, all being emblems of Buddha as guardian, ruler, minister. In Indian art we find a figure of India's Anointed which is peculiarly suggestive of the character of India's Anointed One. The great teacher sits upon a cross which rests on a wheel, both being supported by an open lotus flower. The lotus typifies the beauty of his holy life; the wheel representing the sun and also the law, speaks of the prophet's enlightenment and subjection; the cross betokens his self-sacrifice for the good of others. Older than Matthew Arnold's definition of culture, older than the classic utterance of which Matthew Arnold's formula is the echo, is this trinity of purity, illumination and helpfulness which India has sculptured as her highest ideal of perfected humanity.

The belief of man in an after life is to be traced most distinctly in *Egyptian art*. In the art of other peoples of the long ago, fewer works expressing this faith are found, but enough such to prove its existence. On the rock-cut tomb of Darius near Marghab, is this design. On the facade in high relief is carved a figure of the monarch

upon his throne. Above him in fainter relief appears his shade or essence. An altar stands near and over it hangs the sun. As the up-leaping flame upon the altar tends towards its source the sun, so the essence or soul rises, seeking union with the source or fountain of soul. In Persian art the sky-piercing cypress is not a funeral emblem, but points out the departure of the soul heavenward. The Greeks imaged the return of the spirit to God, as a flask of water broken into the sea. In Etruria coins have been found on which are impressed the soles of the feet, indicative of a springing from earth to heaven. The designs upon the Portland vase reveal somewhat of the unknown life, the recognition of friends across the chasm being unmistakably and touchingly declared. In an Egyptian battle scene, the souls of the slain ascend in the form of hawks; and this bird united to a human head, and carrying in its claws two rings, is said to be an index of the two Sothiac cycles of the soul's transmigrations. Birds bearing palms denote suffering souls ascending to better regions. Pomegranite and lotus decorations are very common as types of immortality, their abundance of seeds insuring perpetuity, continuance, renewal. The phoenix, scarabeus and many others express the same idea. Egyptian art is generous in its symbolizations of man's relations to the powers divine, and of his views of life here as affecting the life to come. Works in clay, metal and stone, mural design, and decorations on the cases and wrappings of mummies, tell very clearly, what the inscriptions and the Book of the Dead confirm, concerning these matters. The judgment of the soul is especially impressive. Here are the scales of judgment, one containing the heart, the other a figure of Justice. Horus watches the plummet, while Osiris sits as judge, and Thoth, the lord of time and measure, writes the sentence.

It is not alone the deepest things of the soul that man has put into visible, tangible forms. His affections, emotions, and romance are thus spoken, while many art products of antiquity seem purely ethical. A most significant and beautiful bronze brought from a Buddhist temple in Corea, fulfils this intent. A stork stands upon the back of a tortoise. In his beak he holds the stem and buds of the lotus. Above him rises the full-blown flower, bearing in its centre a spike of bronze on which is mounted a taper. It is widely believed that the tortoise upholds the earth above the waters; hence he is an emblem of material existence or physical life. The stork held in high esteem for his care of the aged birds and of his young, is a type of the natural affections. The taper is a token of the illumination of soul

which comes to those who love and serve and live uprightly. Among the household gods of Japan, we find this nice distinction made between the God of Content and the God of Riches. The God of Content reposes his rotund figure comfortably among his flasks and skins of wine, a picture of ease and satisfaction; while the God of Riches, worn and lean, is encumbered, oppressed and walled about by bales of merchandise, flasks of oil and piles of fish. Japanese art is eloquent of thought and feeling, and exposes very definitely the domestic and friendly relations of this interesting people. *Greek art is quite as full* in its revelation of *humanity*; and its ethical lessons take such true and impressive forms that they still move the world. In the marbles of Greece, India's stern doctrine of Karma or consequences finds strikingly realistic expression. I need instance only Prometheus, and the soul-stirring group of Niobe and her children. These have their being, but to emphasize the certainty and swiftness of retribution.

What is called art study is claiming its share of attention at the present time; and while it is in the air, we do well to seek the best methods for its pursuit. A setting forth of these methods does not fall within the scope of this paper; but it may be suggested, that, an attempt to understand or appreciate a people's best works, should be preceded by such acquaintance as may be possible, with their country, climate, customs, ideas and religion; for all these throw light upon their art, as their art reflects light upon them.

Aristotle says, "Art is the reason of the thing without the matter." For example, we take lasting hold of the reason of the thing when we perceive that, the evolutions and modifications in architectural forms and ornaments, are to be referred to peculiarities of climate, and to the compelled use of such natural material as best served man's purpose of shelter and decoration. And again, we take lasting hold of the reason of the thing, when we find between the symbol and the thing symbolized such innate resemblance, as is a delight to the imagination, and a surprise to the intellect, so that it is at once accepted by all and remembered forever.

Emerson says, "A happy symbol is a sort of evidence that your thought is just." And again, "Good symbols are missionaries to persuade mankind." Their language is almost universal, and a chastened fancy will discern unsuspected values in many well known to primitive times, as well as in those in later use. Of peculiar significance are the wheel, scarabeus, egg, circle, triangle, boat or

ship, tortoise, cup, phoenix. All these and many others richly re-pay investigation. Pleasing to the poetic sense, they warm the heart, for they give a feeling of nearness to those who used them. We eat of the bread imperishable that nourished them, and drink of the wine that has gladdened the heart of man through all the ages.

The rose window of a cathedral is dull, leaden, patchy, confused, to one who views it from the *outside*; while he who *enters* is flooded with its wealth of light, color and imagery. So Historic Art exhibits its choicest, to those only who penetrate to its innermost, with minds ready to accept and enjoy whatever of illumination, warmth and quickening may issue from sympathetic study of the grand and significant productions of the centuries. And, "without this warm sympathy with the past," Max Muller says, "There is no prophet and no philosopher."

WORK OF THE RED CROSS.

MISS CLARA BARTON.

IN the consideration of a subject as vast, and old, as that of International and National Relief in War, we can arrive at any just conclusions only by tracing it back to its beginnings, and determining from the history of its past; the necessities of its present, in short, to go back and find how nations have been accustomed to deal with this subject of war relief; how they have treated their soldiers fallen in battle, how they have provided for their necessities, and sufferings; how they have cared for the myriads who flocked at their bidding, and learn from this, if possible, if we of the present generation have aught to consider in this matter.

But, unfortunately, we find the field of research barren and unsatisfactory; overrun, through all the ages by a wild growth of ignorance, barbarity and misconception, which has choked out all wholesome fruit of humane effort. From the earliest historic accounts, the soldier who has fallen in battle "with his face to the foe" has been regarded as rather the subject of envy than sympathy; he has been supposed to die painlessly, gloriously, with an immediate passport to realms of bliss immortal; if wounded, and surviving, the honor of his scars had been cheaply purchased, though he strolled a limping beggar; and he who suffered himself to be captured alive, was worthy of, and merited little else than the forgetfulness, imprisonment and hardship which his condition entitled his captors to inflict.

Although war has been the rule, if not largely the occupation of the peoples of the earth from their earliest known history; though the slaughter and privations of its victims in battle, the sacking and burning, famine and pestilence, of its sieges, and the captivity, enslavement, torture and degradation of its captives have crowded the literature of the world; only a small portion of the thought of the generations of the past has been devoted to the subject of devising or affording any means of relief for the wretched conditions resulting from the methods of national or international warfare; and even that

which has been given, seems to have been so lightly regarded as to have found little or no place with the historian. * * * *

The incentive to help and heal another in distress is spontaneous; generally the result of sympathetic impulse and kindness,—a thing of the feelings and consequently of sudden growth. But the faculty to organize and reduce to system and practice these spontaneous emotions is quite different,—a thing of reason rather than impulse. Thus there were probably surgeons and nurses, long before there were any military hospitals, or special places for the care of the disabled. * * * *

Through the Middle Ages the search is weary and fruitless, and but for the ephemeral light which burst out and rested like a shekinah on the banners of the Hospitaller Knights in the terrible wars of the Crusades, the darkness would remain nearly unbroken until less than three centuries ago, when the growth of civilization had led the nations to comprehend the grave responsibility resting upon them as the creators of armies, and the promulgators of war. The result was the creation of an official sanitary service,—the foundation of the present military medical service and staff of armies; and this, in comparison with all that had gone before it, was considered so great a step towards supplying the sanitary necessities of soldiers that nothing further could ever be required. As the governments took the initiative, it was naturally left to them to do all that was needful. The medical service gradually developed and improved, thus justly gaining confidence among the people, who naturally, not averse to shifting responsibility, became accustomed to consider themselves incompetent to deal with questions of humanity relating to war. The lines of demarkation, strong as the iron of their guns, between the military and the people, not only favored this conclusion on the part of the latter, but rendered it a seeming necessity.

Thus the pitiable neglect of men in war appears to have constituted one of the large class of misfortunes for which no one is to blame, or even accountable, assuming that wars must be. The military acted up to the measure of its regulations, if not at times overstepping; its surgeons, humane and noble, have been the first to pity, and the bravest to proclaim the necessities and destitution of their wretched patients. It has been one of the evils and wants which the march of human progress alone could reach and supply.

Of the hospital or relief work in the wars of Napoleon I. there is little recorded. His method was swift marches, overwhelming

slaughters, new levies, and great wretched heaps of misery suddenly left where they fell like the wrecks of a tornado.

But we do discover that the women of Germany found time to move in the formation of relief societies; and in 1813 the ladies of Frankfort united together to found the Frauenvereine of that city, with the express object of ensuring more complete arrangements for the wants of the sick and wounded, and to assist in providing for the friend or foe. the military hospitals of Frankfort without distinction of friend or foe. It is a happy fact to possess that this society has never lost its existence, and has come promptly to the front with every uprising of the Fatherland from that day to this.

The year 1854 brought the ever-memorable war of the Crimea, and the world looked on with trembling heart and bated breath, whilst the great allied powers of Western and Southern Europe pitted themselves against the Emperor of all the Russias. Once more the old sad story,—the relentless war of races,—the Anglo Saxon, the Celt, and the Latin, against the wild and myriad hordes of the Slave. Scarcely had they met when the allied hospitals reeked with death. But the times had changed; human progress had evolved a "Press," whose lever moved the world. The newspaper correspondents threw back upon astonished England the terrible fact of the entire inadequacy of her military medical field service. Facts are stubborn and figures true. Both government and people awoke as from a dream; and when the letters of Lord Sidney Herbert, the British Minister of War, and Florence Nightingale, crossed in transit, the one begging civil help for military distress, the other begging leave to render it, they marked an era never before reached in the progress of the world; and when, two weeks later, Miss Nightingale, with her forty faithful attendants, sailed from the shores of England, it meant more for the advancement of the world, more for its future history, than all the fleets of armies and navies, cannon and commissary munitions of war and regiments of men, that had sailed before her in that vast campaign. This unarmed pilgrim band of women that day not only struck a blow at the barbarities of war, but they laid the axe deep at the root of war itself.

Upon the details of this mission one scarce need enter; the world knows by heart the story of Scutari and the Barrack Hospitals, and how, under the intelligent direction and labors of this civil volunteer corps, disease lessened, gangrene disappeared, and pestilence fell away, as the moth and mildew and poisonous vapors of night

flee before the purifying rays of the morning sun; and how, under the strong support of the military head, and England's gracious Queen, this work went on until the hospitals of the entire British armies in the Crimea, from awful depths of misery became types of what military hospitals ought to be.

The great example had been given. The slow but willing world had learned its lesson at the cost of its teacher; for when Florence Nightingale, covered with the praises and honors of the world, bending under the weight of England's gratitude, again sought her green island home, it was to seek also a bed of painful invalidism from which she has never risen, and probably never will. At such cost is the good work of the world accomplished. But this seed of costly sowing had taken root, and would not die.

* * * * *
Ten years more of desultory observation brings us to the brink of our own war, of which it is scarcely necessary to speak. Most of the persons present lived then, and need no reminders of the distressing inadequacy of medical and hospital field service to the emergencies of active warfare, nor of its utter inability to cope with the difficulties by which it found itself confronted within one month after the firing upon Sumpter. Neither need they be reminded of the uprising of the Sanitary Commission, of its struggles for existence, its strife for military recognition, even under all the evidences of its great humane necessity; of its thirty-two thousand relief committees dotting all our land, its contributions, its fairs and bazaars, its ingots of gold and its widows' mites; its expansion in scope, until it included not only the wants of the soldier in the field, but the home he had left; its growth in military recognition and privileges of access, till its huge four-horse wagons were galloped and halted on the very edge of battle, and its fearless bands, with young, strong life and blood to give if need be, uncalled and unexpected, like messengers from Heaven, sprang from them under the very guns, and hour by hour, through the thickest of the fight, bore their rescued and bleeding burdens through the rain of shot and shell to the place of safety and care provided for them.

It is probable that no other act of our country ever won for it the amount of moral credit and respect from other nations which has resulted from this unparalleled display of active humanity. It has taken the acknowledged precedence of all that went before it.

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The times, they tell us, produce the men; and thus, when Monsieur Henry Dunant, inspired by the memories of Solferino, stood

before the learned "Genevise Society of Public Utility," in Switzerland and asked it to consider the question of organizing permanent volunteer relief societies in time of peace, whose aim should be to afford relief to the sick and wounded in time of war, by supplementing the regular military establishment of surgical assistants by voluntary aid; and also asked that a system of neutrality between belligerents be instituted for the protection of hospitals, official and volunteer nurses, hospital supplies, surgeons and the wounded themselves, and an international convention for that purpose was successfully convened by the members of that society; the chord was struck that spanned the world. From this movement emanates the present great and certain system of neutral and international relief in war,—the Treaty of Geneva, and the societies of the Red Cross; and it is scarcely too much to predict, nay, one fondly hopes, and firmly believes, that it marks the coming of, and points the way to that blessed era of peace when men shall know each other, and reason together, and the nations shall war no more.

After what has been said, the interesting details of this important movement can be quickly related.

It was to the direct influence of the work published by Monsieur Henry Dunant, entitled "Un Souvenir de Solferino," as well as to the personal exertions of that gentleman, that the movement which led to the International Congress of 1864, and its results, were immediately due.

Monsieur Dunant, a Swiss gentleman, was travelling in Italy on his own account, in the year 1859, and was in the neighborhood of Solferino on the day of the great battle of the 24th of June. The aspect of the battle-field, the sufferings of the vast numbers scattered over it, and the occurrences which he afterwards observed in the hospitals, where he remained some days assisting as a volunteer in attending upon the wounded, deeply impressed him.

Notwithstanding the liberal provisions which had been made by the French army, in surgeons, means of transports, surgical stores, and sick dietary, and in addition, the aid afforded by the inhabitants of the places to which the wounded were first brought, Monsieur Dunant saw, that owing to the vastness of their numbers, the wounded were left for days without attention or surgical relief.

The scenes there witnessed and published, led to a call for an International convention in the city of Geneva, and resulted in a code of nine articles, which being accepted and ratified by the various

European powers *form* the text of the Treaty, a word in regard to which may not be out of place.

The first naturally provides for the security of the hospitals in which the wounded might happen to be collected, that they shall be held neutral, and be respected by belligerents so long as sick or wounded remain in them.

Articles 2 and 3 provide for the neutrality and safety of all persons employed in the care of the wounded in hospitals,—surgeons, chaplains, nurses, attendants,—even after the enemy has gained the ground; but when no longer required for the wounded, they shall be promptly conducted under escort to the outposts of the enemy to rejoin the corps to which they belong, thus preventing all opportunity to roam free and make observations under cover of neutrality.

Article 4 settles the terms on which the material of hospitals,—field and general,—shall be regarded, and that field hospitals shall not be subject to capture.

Article 5, with the view to quiet the fears of the inhabitants in the vicinity of a battle, who often flee in terror, as well as to secure their assistance, and the comfort of their homes for the care of the wounded, offers military protection, and certain exemptions to all who shall entertain and care for the wounded in their houses.

Article 6 binds the parties contracting the Treaty not only to give the requisite care and treatment to all sick and wounded who shall fall into their hands, but to see to it that their misfortunes shall not be aggravated by the prospect of banishment or imprisonment; they shall not be retained as prisoners of war, but if circumstances admit, may be given up immediately after the action, to be cared for by their own army, or if retained until recovered, and found disabled for service, they shall be safely returned to their country and friends, and also that all convoys of sick and wounded shall be protected by absolute neutrality.

In order to secure the neutralization of hospitals and material, and the nurses engaged in the service of the wounded, it was necessary to fix upon some common sign by which they could be recognized by all parties and all nations uniting in the treaty. Thus,

Article 7 provides a flag for hospitals and convoys, and an arm badge for persons. The design proposed was a red cross upon a white ground. The reasons for this selection were two-fold: First, it was typical of the Christian principle of the international charity embodied in the articles of the Convention. Second, it was a compliment to the country in which the Congress was sitting, this being the national flag

of Switzerland with the colors reversed,—her flag being a white cross on a red ground.

In order to show that the parties carrying this flag have a right to it by treaty as well as to indicate the country to which they belong, it must be always accompanied by the national flag, and in order to guard against wrongful use of the arm-badge, or brassard, it is left to the military authorities to issue them.

Articles 8 and 9 provide for the details of execution being left open for the subsequent admission of other governments.

This treaty received the signatures of twelve governments at first, which were soon increased to sixteen, and subsequently to double that number.

The International Conference of 1863 dealt with the subject of the National Relief Committees, so warmly urged by Monsieur Dunant. Its resolutions provided for the formation of central committees in each country, with power to form sub-committees, to establish relations with the government, to make themselves acquainted with all improvements in the means of helping wounded soldiers, to train volunteers for hospital service, to collect materials and intercourse with each other, in order that any improvements or inventions in wounded when necessary, to keep up friendly relations and intercourse in field transport, likely to be serviceable in campaign, made in one country, might be made known in other countries, just as improvements in the implements of destruction are mutually observed, and generally without much reserve communicated between nations on friendly terms with each other.

In time of war these committees become the agents of the public at large for affording aid, through the proper authorities, to the sick and wounded.

There is, it is believed, no civilized nation which has not, to-day, its central committee, existing and acting in accordance with the resolutions of that conference.

In monarchical governments these committees or societies are generally under the patronage of members of the royal families. Of their work of unparalleled activity, unselfish devotion, and holy beneficence in all wars, among all peoples, from their institution to the present moment, there is neither time nor space for me to speak. The work of the International Relief Committees of Europe during the Franco-German war could no more be portrayed in this paper than could the four years' work of the Sanitary Commission of the

United States be represented here. It would be historic mutilation to attempt it.

It is something, however, to know that the needless sufferings of that terrible conflict were almost entirely averted; that no record of military abuse or cruelty stains the annals of its history; that wounded captives were nursed in the same hospitals with wounded of their captors; that prisoners of war were well treated and faithfully returned; that the national committees and societies under the treaty vied with each other in the munificence of their gifts, and their promptness of relief; that true to the magnanimous and holy spirit of Christianity, there was no respect of persons in that great gala day of charity. The jewelled fingers of the princess, and the hard hand of the peasant woman met and labored side by side, unquestioned and unquestioning in their God-given mission. Aye! side by side they wrought, as side by side their dead lay on the fields.

Empress Augusta became the active head of the Society of Germany, which position she still continues to honor. The beloved Grand Duchess, Louise of Baden, only daughter of the Emperor and Empress of Germany, was untiring in the conduct of the noble society she had already formed and patronized. Her many and beautiful castles, with their magnificent grounds, throughout all Baden, were at once transformed into military hospitals, and her entire court, with herself at its head, formed into a committee of superintendence and organization for relief. I have seen a wounded Arab from the French armies, who knew no word of any language but his own, stretch out his arms to her in adoration and blessing as she passed his bed.

Switzerland, which received the entire fleeing fugitives of Alsace-Lorraine, and the outcomers of Strasbourg after bombardment, and into which Bourbaki threw his whole army in defeat, not only nourished and sheltered these, but gave of her money and *materiel* as from a bottomless well. There was no end of her bounty.

The Committee of England, under the direction, I believe, of the Duke of Sutherland, made more than good her great record of English philanthropy. No higher praise could be bestowed.

For the Treaty itself, it is all important to know that it stood every test of military trial; that no instance of infraction of its regulations or of advantage having been taken of its privileges is recorded. From that time there has been no expression of doubt or fear. The harness had been tried.

Of the part taken by the United States in the work of relief in this great conflict, unfortunately, one is not able to speak in this con-

nection, as she was not a party to the Treaty, and had no national society.

A word in explanation of our position may be just. This convention took place while the United States was itself at war, and not disposed to form peaceful alliances, and for various causes, which time will not permit me to explain to you, she remained outside this compact until the spring of 1882, when, after years of toil, pains and anxious entreaty both from home and abroad, by unanimous action and vote of the United States Senate, the Treaty *was* accepted, and the great American nation, through the voice of its government, solemnly pledged itself in the face of a waiting world to be hereafter, as humane, as fair, as honest, and well behaved in its quarrels as the Spaniards, the Egyptians, and the Turks.

It is devoutly to be hoped that both young America and the Soaring American Eagle, will be found able to submit to this whole-some restraint, and not mourn too hopelessly over the lost privileges of *guerrilla warfare*, the firing upon hospitals, the capturing of surgeons, the starving of captives, the slaughter of convoys, and its pet system of privateering upon the high seas. I admit these were all sweet morsels to give up, long enjoyed and jealously guarded, but they were all signed away in a day, and an ocean telegram despatched across the Atlantic on the 1st of March, 1882, to announce the welcome fact to the nations of the East.

Now friends, as this happened to be the result of a woman's work, it must have been all a blunder, for you have always heard it said that women don't know very much about anything, and nothing at all about war.

Previous to the acceptance of this Treaty by our government, but when assured by President Garfield that it *would* be accepted, an association had been formed in Washington, known as the American Association of the Red Cross, and designed to act in accordance with the Treaty, in the same manner practiced by the National Red Cross Societies in other lands.

Realizing the immense power, which such an organization in this country, would represent, combined as it would be with the government, it seemed a waste to limit its action to war alone, and therefore the Association was formed with the scope of the relief of all great calamities liable to befall a people, the magnitude of which shall place them beyond the ordinary channels of relief, not in any degree assuming the work of these, but only coming fresh, full-handed, vigorous, with reserved supply and force to take up the burden which

all others are unable to carry farther. In short, a type of the welcome relief of the fire engine, when pails and buckets no longer avail.

This Association has, as might be expected, met with unprecedented success, both in its work, and in the spread of its organization.

In less than two years it counts upon its roll over thirty powerful auxiliary societies. State, county and town, extending from New York to Louisiana and numbers some thousands of the best philanthropic workers in the country. It is united with the Howards in the south, and with them forms to-day a vanguard against the spread of pestilence.

These societies have done good service in every great calamity since the existence of the organization.

In the fires of Michigan, the Mississippi floods of '82, the Ohio and Missouri floods and cyclones of '83, in which they have applied, of their own raising and through the hands of competent field agents, over \$30,000 dollars, not mentioning the large quantities of valuable supplies, besides a sum nearly half as large contributed this year, by the Crown of Germany, and people of Berlin, for the relief of the German populations despoiled by the floods in the west.

This royal contribution was sent to President Arthur and by him, as a member of the National Association and chairman of its board of consultation, was at once passed over to the "Red Cross" for distribution. I am happy to state, that the mission has been faithfully fulfilled, and returns accurately made.

All auxiliary societies, must be recognized by the National Association, and wait its call for general action. One sees at a glance how wide spread is this movement, and how permanent its organization must be, as founded in the government of which it becomes a part, it can only die with it, that its counselors and active friends, are, and always will be, the *Heads* of the nation, that its kindred associations are among the leaders and philanthropists in all lands, that it becomes the recognized almoner of the benefactions of nations and that it cannot fail to become if it be not already so, the acknowledged head of all movements dedicated to mere physical humanity throughout the world. Germany, France, Switzerland, Russia, Austria and Italy, hold it so already, and England, not satisfied with what she already had, has just instituted, under the direction of Queen Victoria and her Court, a new branch of the "Red Cross," designed to increase the scope of the original, a movement which will never be needed in this country, as we took care to organize with the fullest scope possible. In this we have set

an example which it is gratifying to see other nations so soon hastening to follow.

Realizing from the first, these latent powers in our organization, and the inevitable field of greatness which lies in its future, that it was a child "to the *manor born*," its friends have not held it to be either necessary, or wise, to unduly urge its progress or to strive to increase its numbers, or its domain; feeling that it were perhaps best that its progress should be more slow, and intelligent, thoughtful and voluntary, striking its young roots deep in kindred soil, and reaching out its tendrils to the support of hands made willing by the promptings of kind hearts and congenial spirits, never fearing but in its own good time its cooling branches shall shadow the whole land, resting the weary, sheltering the needy, protecting the helpless, bearing its own God-given fruit of *Peace on Earth* and good will to men.

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY.

MRS. CHARLES R. LOWELL.

I THINK I may say that I accepted the very kind invitation to write a paper upon "Scientific Charity" to be read before the Congress, almost entirely for the sake of the title given to my subject.

I was inclined at first to welcome most heartily this recognition, that there is such a thing as "Scientific Charity," but in thinking more deeply about it, I became convinced that *all* charity *must* be scientific charity,—that is, that what might be called unscientific charity, is not charity at all.

In order to make this clear, we must agree upon some definition of charity, so that we may understand clearly what sort of action *is*, and what sort is *not*, included in the term.

Putting aside the large and all-embracing meaning of the word, when it is used to describe a generous and loving attitude of the mind towards all mankind, and considering only the narrow sense which we are now to study, we ask: "What is charity to the poor, and what must it be?" First, it must be voluntary. No benefit conferred because it could not be avoided, could be called charitable. Were the poor to take by force, the possessions of the rich, although they might benefit by them, neither of the parties to the transaction would delude themselves with the idea that *charity* had been bestowed, or received. One of them would call it *justice*, and the other, *robbery*.

Second, charity must be absolutely free in another sense. The persons towards whom charity is exercised, cannot have an acknowledged claim upon the person exercising it. For instance, we should not say any man or woman was charitable to father, mother, sister or child, whatever might be the suffering on the one hand, and the devotion on the other. Nor should we say that a master was charitable to his servants, or work people, unless he did for them more than they had the right to claim. A master may be kind and just, and fair and considerate to his workmen, but not charitable, unless he voluntarily exceeds the measure of his duty towards them.

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Third, charity must go farther than kind feeling; it must be kind action, it must do good to the object of it. No amount of kind feeling could convert an injurious act into a charitable one. If, for example, a kind but careless man, were to send vegetables from his garden to a poor neighbor, and the gift should prove to have been sprinkled with Paris Green, and the man and his family to whom it was sent, should die, the act of giving the vegetables could not be called a charity, although the intention had been full of kindness and only the giver's carelessness prevented its doing the good he had meant it to do.

Fourth, charity must, further, I think, be exercised towards a person inferior in circumstances to the benefactor. We cannot be charitable to our equals, in the sense of the word with which we are dealing.

Charity, then, as I define it, is a voluntary, free, beneficent action, towards an inferior in worldly position.

By this definition of Charity, I have put out of the pale, all official or public relief, which is necessarily, money taken from those who do not want to give it up, and bestowed upon others. It has not the voluntary element. No one in paying his taxes, takes any pleasure from the thought that a part of them is to go to the poor; he objects to pay them, and cuts them down as low as he can. There is no charity in the matter, and it is a mischievous misnomer to speak of "public charity."

I believe it to be a measure sure of necessary self-defence, for the community to relieve the poor with public funds. But there is no room for charity in the transaction; and those who dispense the public funds, cannot by any possibility, be charitable in behalf of the taxpayers.

I shall therefore, in this paper, say nothing in regard to public relief,—since that subject is quite outside its scope,—except to express my strong conviction,—stronger and stronger the more I learn and see,—that there is no wisdom in giving public relief, except under such conditions as will make it absolutely distasteful, and no justification for any other course. This precludes, necessarily, all "official, out-door relief."

Public relief should be given only within the walls of an institution, for several reasons. Among others, because, in no other way, can so satisfactory a test of destitution be applied, and also, because in no other way, can the recipients of public relief be so easily and surely brought under the educational and correctional influences, necessary to make them independent again.

By my definition, moreover, I contend that I have placed all indiscriminate alms-giving, and all systematic dole-giving outside of the pale of Charity. Charity must be a good, a good forever, to him who receives it. However benevolent may be the motive, if the action be not beneficent, there is no charity. Alms-giving and dole-giving are hurtful, therefore they are not charitable.

Alms-giving and dole-giving are hurtful to those who do not receive them, because they help to keep down wages by enabling those who do receive them, to work for less than fair pay.

Alms-giving and dole-giving are hurtful to those who do receive them, because they lead them to remit their own exertions and depend on others, upon whom they have no real claim, for the necessities of life, *which necessities they do not receive after all!*

In this last fact lies one secret of the injury done. False hopes are excited; the unhappy recipients of alms become dependent, lose their energy, are rendered incapable of self-support, and what they receive, in return for their lost character, is quite inadequate to supply their needs. Thus they are kept on the verge almost of death, by the very persons who think they are relieving them, by the kindly souls who are benevolent, but who will not take the trouble to be beneficent as well.

"The poor starve *because* of the alms they receive," said an East End London clergyman, after he had struggled through the fearful winter of 186-, when alms were poured in so lavishly upon the district, that people from other parts of London and from the country, rushed in to receive their share, and rents were raised in the middle of the suffering winter, in the horribly crowded and miserable neighborhoods because of the demand for lodgings.

The nature of doles, is, to be insufficient, and uncertain—they would cease to be "doles" and would become "pensions" were they to assume a regular character, and to be sufficient to meet the ascertained wants of the recipients, and in certain cases, pensions are an excellent manner of bestowing charity.

Were it possible for charitable societies to support entirely such people as they decide to help, the effect on the latter might not be any worse than if they had fallen heirs to an adequate income from any other source; although it is a known fact that sudden inheritances often do destroy good habits among the rich and poor, but even then the effect on others, would have to be considered.

The extraordinary and fearful result of assuring to every family, however improvident and however vicious, a comfortable support, was demonstrated, beyond a peradventure, during the first thirty years of the century, in England, where industry and sloth, providence and vice were put upon a level by the Poor Laws, which provided, in effect, that no man should suffer for his faults, and as a necessary corollary, that no man should reap any advantage from his virtues. There is no more significant bit of history than the report of the Poor Law Commission of 1834, which showed to England the terrifying decay of industry, temperance, providence and natural affection, not only among what are technically called "the poor," but among a frightfully large proportion of all the men and women who labored for their daily bread.

The great point to be considered is what is possible. Could all men be made comfortable and happy, by an equal division of wealth, there can be no doubt that the division ought to be made. But it has been proved, and surely it scarcely needed proof, that no amount of money, scattered among people who are without character and without virtue, will ensure even comfort.

It is for this reason that nothing should be done under the guise of charity which tends to break down character. That is the greatest wrong that can be done to a poor man. The struggle is hard at best. He needs *all* his determination, and strength of will, to fight his way, and therefore, nothing that deprives him of these qualities can be called charitable.

Having thus proved to my own satisfaction, and I hope to yours, that to pretend to feed and clothe the poor is not charity, or even to actually feed and clothe them, except in special instances, you may well ask me what I do include under that term. I shall have to defer the description still a little longer, however.

Before entering on any discussion as to how to deal with "the poor," we must form some definite idea of who the poor are.

Here is a mistaken and dangerous, but I fear, not uncommon impression, that in every community there exists a given and constant number of individuals who may be classed as "the poor," who are absolutely helpless, and whom it is somebody's duty to feed, clothe, and generally care for.

The line of division between this mass of suffering people, and everybody else, is supposed to be clearly defined; and that the former are to be treated on quite different principles from the rest of the

world. Thus, while it is thought to be a good thing to drive a hard bargain with the widow who does the family washing, and make her earn her dollar by a hard day's work, it is also thought to be a good thing to give a dollar, without enquiry or equivalent, to the widow who passes her days in idleness, and her nights in debauchery. The fact that the first widow may in time come to contrast her lot with that of the second widow, and may prefer the latter, seldom occurs to the alms-giver; nor does he know how desperate a temptation he is presenting in this daily, to his fellow-men.

As a fact, we have the miserable company of hopeless paupers that is imagined by the common mind; but it is, most unfortunately, not fixed in quantity. It is perpetually being augmented by the weak, and foolish, and wicked, who have watched the course of benevolent persons and societies, and who can no longer resist the temptation, constantly held out to them to give up the unpleasant struggle, and accept the gift so freely offered, of a living without labor.

Therefore, the problem before those who would be charitable, is not how to deal with a given number of poor people; it is, how to help those who are poor, without adding to their numbers, and constantly increasing the evils one seeks to cure. To solve this problem, under whatever circumstances, whether in a sparsely settled neighborhood or in a crowded city, the principle adopted must be the same, although the action will have to be different.

The fundamental principle is, that all charity must tend to raise the character, and elevate the moral nature of those towards whom it is exercised, and must not tend to injure the character or condition of others.

Clinging to this principle as a guide, there are several rules which it is well to follow in practical work. I will mention two of the most important only.

The first is, that each case is to be radically dealt with. That is, finding fellow-beings in want and suffering, the want and suffering are to be removed, if possible. The cause of the distress is to be sought out and dealt with. And only too often it will be found, that the cause is a moral one, and that only moral means can effect a cure.

This first rule that each case must be finally disposed of, shows one fundamental difference in the mental attitude of those who believe and those who disbelieve, in "dole-giving." The former regard it as a natural condition of things, that a certain part of the community should not be self-supporting. They think it even desirable that there

should be "the poor" to look after. They accept the degradation and suffering of other people with calmness, as inevitable facts, and, to satisfy their own feelings of pity, they offer their inadequate doles, never casting a thought beyond the present day, or even inquiring whether permanent and efficient help might not be almost as easy to give.

The other set of people on the other hand, regard each case of extreme poverty as a wrong, an unnatural evil, and one which they should use every effort to eradicate. It shocks them that men should be unable to live by their own labor. They do not give doles, knowing that this will often retard, or entirely prevent, the energetic action required on the part of the sufferers themselves, to lift them out of their difficulties.

The dole-giving acts upon the receiver as insufficient watering in dry weather acts upon plants. The latter die *because* they are watered, and are thus tempted to keep their roots near the surface, instead of sending them deep down where they will find moisture and nourishment. With the plants you must either give them efficient help, or, let them depend upon themselves. To tempt them with a false hope that you will supply them with what they need, and then fail them, is cruelty.

The methods by which this first rule is to be carried out, are, as I have said, very different under different circumstances.

Of course, the first necessity is a thorough knowledge of all the facts, because until these are learned, radical treatment is impossible.

In the country, or even in a village, this knowledge exists; it is not necessary to take any special means to acquire it. In fact this naturally-obtained knowledge, makes the whole problem of helping the one or two poor families, so easy, that the danger (or certainty) is, that it will not be thought worth while to adopt the right principle, or indeed any principle. And gradually the village grows to be a town, and the town perhaps a city; and, before any one is aware of it, poverty and degradation have fortified themselves; and a long, and as often appears, a hopeless warfare is begun, against what need never have existed, if a right start had been made at first.

There are many excuses for not making the right start. For it surely seems most easy and natural and right, in one's own neighborhood, where one knows everyone, to step into the house of a poor friend and give him the help he requires in his unexpected distress.

And, of course, it is the only thing to do, provided always that the condition exists, and that one does know everyone. But as strangers, both rich and poor, come to live near the village; and as the "knowing everyone," becomes a thing of the past, it will be found that the *new, rich* neighbors, upset the well-considered plans that have been formed for the *old, poor* neighbors. And the new, poor neighbors, hearing how much "Charity" there is in the town, ask to share it. And thus there grows up in the town, a pauper class, and then the question is, how to undo the harm that good people have wrought, unconsciously, and meaning only to do good.

The only way, is, to regain, by some means, the advantage that the small community had without effort. The same intimate acquaintance with the poor must be acquired; the same personal knowledge of all those who have to be helped.

Of course the only possible means of getting such information and of making it available for others, is to form a small association of neighbors, and to divide up the village or town, among them, giving to each member a small territory, so that each may become thoroughly acquainted with all who live in his district.

It will be far better if the association does not constitute itself a "Relief Society," or an "Employment Society," or anything of the sort. For such organizations most certainly tend to encourage dependence and improvidence. Let it merely be a "Friendly Society," and let its objects be, to work for the good of the whole town,—to create neighborly good feeling, to help forward all good objects and put down all bad ones, to see that the laws are enforced and sanitary regulations complied with, that the children go to school, and that nuisances are abated.

Such a Society, acquainted with the town and all its people, would, in great measure, prevent the growth of pauperism, and even of excessive poverty. But it could, also, give the wisest advice to private alms-givers, were any alms-giving necessary. And it ought to make itself and its influence so prominent, that all who wished to help others, would, as a matter of course, come to it first for information and advice.

Such an association, formed when the town contained but a few people, would grow with its growth, and would become the instigator and center of all good works, educational and elevating, that might be undertaken either by individuals or by the town itself. One of the most important matters of detail in regard to such an organization, is,

that each member should have but a small section of the town, and that in his or her immediate neighborhood, to study. As it is by means of this subdivision that the town, or city may be assimilated to the country village.

The second rule is,—that the best help of all, is to help people to help themselves. And it follows that no amount of thought or time, or money, can be too much to spend on this sort of help.

Anything that will make the road to thrift and virtue easy,—all provident schemes, or schools for industrial training and the teaching of skill, especially such as will help not only that residuum which we technically call "the poor," but the whole community, are the best manifestations of true charity.

It is seldom remembered, that the origin of the great system of Savings Banks, was charitable. In Hamburg, where the first bank was established in 1778, it was part of the general scheme for the administration of the Poor Funds. In 1798, the first English Savings Bank, was started in Tottenham, for children, by Priscilla Wakefield, and was extended for the use of adults in 1804. In 1808, Lady Isabella Douglas founded a Bank for servants, in Bath, and the first Savings Bank in Edinburgh, established in 1813, was a section of the "Society for the Suppression of Beggars."

These facts should be constantly recalled, as an example of what true charity can do. For certainly nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the results of the action of these charitable people, and what has followed from many so-called "charities," founded about the same time, to clothe or to feed "the poor." Sunday Schools may be cited as another example of the far-reaching good to be accomplished, by work started on the *right* principle. Indeed, any and every scheme of real charity, will have in it a germ of life that will cause it to live and grow and bless ever-increasing thousands, year by year. While the unhappy and demoralizing methods of trying to help the poor by encouraging them to rely on others, will have to struggle on, amidst an ever-growing crowd of miserable beings whom it creates, and whom its efforts not only fail to bless, but whom it becomes yearly less able to cope with.

I do not know of any other principle that can be said to be fundamental in true charity, except the one I have given you ("That Charity must tend to raise the character and elevate the moral nature of those towards whom it is exercised; and must not tend to injure the character or condition of others.") And this principle, with the

two rules: ("That each case must be dealt with radically," and "That people must be taught to help themselves,") seem simple enough, but to carry them out requires an amount of principle, and character, of work and devotion, which it sometimes seems almost impossible to find.

Besides the intimate knowledge of the suffering people and their circumstances, which I have mentioned already as the necessary preliminary to all efficient help,—the main instrument to be depended on to raise the standard of decency, cleanliness, providence and morality among them, must be personal influence, which means, that a constant and continued intercourse must be kept up, between those who have a high standard and those who have none; and that the educated and happy and good, are to give some of their time, regularly and as a duty, year in and year out, to the ignorant the miserable and the vicious.

In a Christian community, it ought not to be hard to find men and women ready to take up such a task, and, what is more, to carry it on, and unless they are found, vice and crime will continue to grow, by the side of poverty and wretchedness, in the rich cities of our favored land.

LEGISLATION TO PREVENT CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

HENRIETTA L. T. WOLCOTT.

THE consideration of so important a subject, in all its bearings, as the necessity of legislation to prevent cruelty to children, would require much more time, than has been assigned by your committee. Were we inclined to argue that the necessity for such legislation, exists in nearly every community, and endeavor by any method to persuade each state, by its representatives here assembled, to secure it, we could fill hours of valuable time in showing from lists, tabulated with care from existing reports, the accounts of the many hundreds of interesting cases. A tithe of the children who have been rescued from cruelty and neglect in the last six or seven years; *under state laws* would form a community, deserving of respect if *numbers* ever are; at any rate, the recital would, we are convinced arouse you all to action. Such a line of argument, we do not propose to offer here. The plainer duty will be met, if we show by what slow steps, in what reformers style, the line of progress, the organization, familiarly known as Societies to Prevent Cruelty to Children, or Societies for the Protection of Children from Cruelty, have come to be a power in some influential sections of our country.

Perusing carefully the various histories of early times in the exclusively Christian world, we find satisfactory evidence, that the care of unprotected children, has recommended itself to the philanthropist and tender hearted.

Before the year 1625, the Romish church, founded and supported extensive Homes and Hospitals in which children were received and carefully and religiously nurtured.

The interesting history of Vincent de Paul which comes to us, in writings, and paintings, should have a place in every library. His co-laborer Madam le Gras, who owed to him her enthusiasm in attempting to provide for a small number of the many children born of parents too poor or too vicious to provide for them, gives us an example in humane enthusiasm which we should do well to follow.

From this early date, there has been continued improvement, as to detail, in this line. Homes for orphans sprang up in large cities, over the known world, managed by delegates from all sects of Christians. Catholic, Protestant, Jew, vied with each other, in establishing shelter, and securing care and instruction when parents were wanting.

That in the main, this system was successful, the records of the Foundlings Hospitals in France and Italy, give evidence. To the homeless, the Home of the Sisters of Charity, has been the spot to which in joy or sorrow they have returned; weddings and funerals alike solemnized, as occasion demanded, for those who had once been protected in them. Next we find Homes for those children from whom one parent had been removed by death or crime.

Later, and in this newer country, Houses of Refuge for boys, not of criminal parents always, but boys whose inheritance of pauperism and intemperance from their parents, rendered them liable to follow in their steps, swelling the ranks of criminals or paupers. Still later, Homes for Girls were founded. At first, and indeed until within the present century, all expenses of such charitable organizations were met by voluntary subscriptions, as surely and regularly as they were instituted by those persons, who found duty and pleasure to lie in trying to save children, morally as well as physically. Scarcely a thought, on the more philosophical side! scarcely a move to protect the interests of the community, by protecting its younger inhabitants.

During this century however, the importance of providing Homes for dependent children; reform schools for stubborn or vicious children, *to be supported by taxation*, began to claim the attention alike of the philanthropist, and the reformer.

Laws have been passed and enacted, in many States of our Union, under which children could be removed from unpromising surroundings and placed in suitable Homes or Institutions.

It is plainly to be seen however, that all children, so removed were either destitute of parents, or having parents, were deemed unsafe to themselves or the community. Interests in the rights of the child, as an individual, (had not been awakened, at least to any great extent,) children being usually considered part of the parents.

Nearly twenty years ago, another step was taken, which gradually influenced our people in a way, which might not have been anticipated by the organizers. The grand uprising of the friends of the brute creation, stirred the community to demand that legislators should consider the claims of the defenceless animal, to decent care as to

shelter and food, and a more speedy and painless death, when they were to be converted into food for the higher animals.

The devotion, energy and martyr-spirit of one man revolutionized society.

Notwithstanding the laughter and sneers from the thoughtless, or the threats of men whose business might be interfered with, which met the first propositions, evils which seemed firmly entrenched were exposed; the laws were made or altered under which to-day, brutes "live and breathe" and have their being, in comparative peace and comfort. In the State of Massachusetts, in 1856, a law was passed, authorizing the arrest of truant children and compelling attendance at some stated place, to be provided by the city or town, while enacted, in the interests of the children, became in a short time, almost virtually useless.

Degraded parents, removed their children altogether from the school, and compelled them to begin to earn their quota of the family expenses. By degrees the officers of the law found that these very children soon became as disgusted with labor as with school, lying, preferring to loiter about places of amusement, pilfering, begging, and finally rebelling altogether against parental authority. This developed the need of another law, which was enacted in some cities, under which children proven neglected by their parents or from inheritance, tainted with criminal tendencies, could be assigned to some public Institution for a short period, not over two years, usually.

At the expiration of the sentence, boys were easily sent away from old haunts, from the need of such, in the merchant service. They were in a manner protected, but for girls, the certain return to vile homes was gross cruelty. Two years spent in a home, free from abuse, quarreling and privations as to food, clothing, and instruction in useful work rendered the former abode very distasteful to say the least, intolerable to many. But the parents of such girls were *absolute owners of the child*. If she dared to assume the responsibility of self-government she could run away—and where? and to whom? The fact that she had been sentenced stood always in the way of her needs. What wonder if she decided to again adopt the little vices of lying or stealing to secure support; or worse, accepted the life of shame forced upon her by circumstances.

The next step in the education of the people, in 1874, was the enactment of a law which forbade the employment of children, under

fourteen years of age, in mills or factories, more than half the usual school year. The mercenary character of some parents; the ignorance of others as to the ages of their offspring, and the greed of the overseer, rendered it exceedingly probable that in spite of the character of the law, many children were illegally employed, as it was "nobody's business to interfere." In large cities on the seaboard, the system, designated as the *Padrone* system, annually brought to our shores, innocent, and possibly vicious children, whose time and strength were the property of the owner, for the men claimed to have purchased them of the parents. Laws to save these poor waifs had not been thought of. Early in the winter of '74, it became my duty, voluntary of course, to assist in the work of an Industrial Society, connected with the church I then attended. Among many women who received aid, one who came with painful regularity for the pittance of work and cash, attracted my attention. Her untidy garments, her tainted breath, and a general demoralization as to hair and hands, made me question the wisdom of encouraging her to earn money which judging from appearances, went to swell the receipts of the cheap saloon.

During a prolonged absence of the woman, two little boys, of eight and ten years of age came for the work. Such skeletons as those lads were, one never likes to see, every chord of their thin necks was visible, their hands were like birds claws, thin and bony. But the quiet respectful manner, when addressed, their keen glance from bright, shining (bright) eyes, constantly interested me. As I questioned them about their mother, the tone was so sad, that I was sure they knew too well the cause of the "sickness," which kept her in bed, while they prepared their miserable food, eating it in cold and darkness.

My indignation, that one woman should have the right, even though she had the power to defraud those two boys of everything that went to make blood and bone and muscle, that she might gratify her appetite, was expressed in no gentle terms to my pastor.

I appealed to him to see if some influence could not be brought to bear, on that degraded woman to give up the boys. If they were to be citizens of this Republic, surely they ought to be fed and trained for the responsibilities which await male citizens: the duties of human beings, possibly of parentage. As I warmed with my theme, my patient listener, shook his head, saying, "your ideas are good, very good; but your plan to deprive that mother of her boys, carried out would prove, at variance with all our ideas of a Republican form of

government," and then we separated, both to ponder on the evil, neither to see the way of escape.

But the community was being educated to consider the claims of just such boys, and the way *was* opened, and the foundations of our government have not been shaken.

We next observe the decisions of school boards on the question of allowing corporal punishments. Quite gradually, in some localities, the custom of beating with rattan and ferule, had fallen into disuse; but while one cultivated and scholarly superintendent of schools, besought the teachers "to refrain from such debasing practices," another less scholarly is known to believe "in a *little judicious* use of rattan, the teacher always to be the judge."

As there is likely to be no counsel for the child in that court, it is plain to be seen, that the weaker was at the mercy of the stronger, and usually proved the victim. Still the seed was sown which was designed to abolish this form of evil; it has, as yet, *only* modified it.

The laws passed to forbid the sale of liquor to minors, were good in intent, and were welcomed by the friends of the temperance cause. But the friends of the children saw with pain that no law prevented the lazy and intemperate parents from giving intoxicating liquor to infants as well as minors; no law prevented such parents from allowing infants as well as minors to become part and parcel of the drunken quarrels, which follow the use of the intoxicating liquor.

While society from the parents the child was *not* protected. This also, like the abuses heartily disapproved, society tamely allowed. There must be legislation in factory towns, was nobody's business. In a State once to prevent cruelty to children, as well as to animals. In 1876, a town "may" elect an noted for intelligence and liberality in the care of its citizens in 1876, a law was enacted which provided that any town "may" elect an officer, whose duty it shall be to arrest truant children, or vicious children, whenever they were likely to develop into dangerous adults. The gentleness of the little word "may" rendered the law, entirely inoperative. The friends of children were delighted at a second attempt, three years later, which re-iterated the law, save that it was stated that every town of five thousand inhabitants shall &c., &c.

Judge of the dismay of an officer in a S. P. C. to C., at learning, when application to the Select-men of the town was made to protect six young children of lazy, intemperate parents under the law, that, "as there was no *penalty* attached, there was no legal obligation resting on that board." The moral obligation was satisfied when the neighbors

drove the wretched family across the border, into a fresh field for the begging, worthless parents, and the neglected offspring.

When the next legislation assembled, one of the first acts brought for consideration was this very question:—

FORMATION OF SOCIETIES TO P. C. TO C.

In the year 1874, the State of New York, thoroughly roused to the work of protecting animals, led in this later, and holy reform. A society was incorporated under the title, Society for P. C. to C., and made its first appeal for the sinews of war, which it proposed to wage in behalf of children. Its head-quarters were in New York City. Quite soon after the large cities of Brooklyn, Buffalo, with Saratoga and Yonkers organized societies, more or less independent of the main society, but of course acting under the same general laws.

In 1876 California followed, head-quarters in San Francisco. Also New Hampshire, organized head-quarters, Portsmouth. In 1877, the earliest movements were made in Massachusetts, and two societies were organized for the same general work, but with titles slightly differing. In 1879 consolidation was attempted; complete re-organization however was effected under the original society—the Massachusetts Society for P. C. to C.—in 1880. Its head-quarters were in Boston. Board of Directors represent the State. In 1878 Baltimore added her testimony by organizing, and demanding legislation of the State of Maryland. In 1877 the Pennsylvania Society was organized and first report issued. Three years later the Alleghany Humane Society, head-quarters in Pittsburg, reorganized as a Society to P. C. to C., and Animals. 1879, Wisconsin, at Milwaukee. Delaware at Wilmington organized, or reorganized. In the same year Connecticut joined the band of earnest reformers, and the first report deserves special mention here, for the encouragement of those who dread detail, which may involve legal difficulties. Its simplicity and brevity as to the purpose of the organization of the society are most noticeable.

I venture to quote from the report:

“The Committee met on the 14th of November, 1880, and after discussion of points involved decided,

First: That a Society for the P. C. to C. ought to be formed.

Secondly: That said society ought to be a State society, not a local.

Thirdly: That it ought to be devoted to the P. C. to C.; to human beings as well as to the lower animals.

Fourthly: That it should be *organized immediately*.

Its title is the Connecticut Humane Society. Head quarters in Hartford.

In 1879, Cleveland, Ohio, reorganized under the general title of Humane Society, and of course acted in the interests of children. In 1881, a body of zealous women, living in a city in Canada, roused by the knowledge that severe and eccentric punishment was meted out by the Matron of an established home for destitute children (such as applying mustard plasters to the tender skin of a *tough* child perhaps who was unruly) formed a Society to Protect Children and women. In the same year the founders sought legislation in the Canadian Parliament for some of the evils, existing, notably punishing women more severely than men, for some common transgression, but failed, owing to the wording of their demand.

The title adopted by the New York Society, in spite of its alphabetical cognomen, has been quite generally adopted. Though tiresome to write and recall, it is expressive of the object to be attained.

The addition of the word ‘Children’ after animals, and women after children, and immorality after cruelty, are slight straws which show the drift of the work. Only a few weeks since, an appeal for the addition of *and* parents, made in the daily papers, tells the story that perfection has not yet been reached, in the intercourse of the family.

Those in our community who unhesitatingly believe that God made man “but a little lower than the angels, &c. &c,” find it hard to admit the inhumanity of *parents*. They are inclined to reason from their own tender love for their offspring, that it is not possible for mothers to abuse a defenceless child, not intentionally at least. That she may when under the influence of liquor they admit. They of course, try to close their ears to details of abuse. But we who prefer to believe that man is a creature of growth, and see, even imperfectly, the gradual emancipation of the race, from evidences of barbarism, accept all the details, horrible though they often are as vestiges of barbarism, which time and well directed energy will as surely remove, as society removes yearly, opportunities for outrages, by lighting up its by-ways and its public grounds, as well as its main thoroughfares.

The right to one’s children; the right to punish as well as cherish was and is so generally accepted, that before the community had become aroused to the terrible abuses, visited upon the tender children, by parents, it seemed almost impossible to hope to accomplish anything by interfering.

In the different States, the organization of these branches of one tree, has been in the main, identical.

A Board consisting of President, Vice-Presidents,* and Directors, Counsel and Treasurer. A Secretary, who in some cases, is also General Agent. The latter is often the only salaried officer. He is usually empowered to employ sub-agents who are able to investigate carefully and wisely, and to carry the cases into court, if the Counsel advise. In some societies there are an equal number of men and women on the Board of Directors; in others not a name of a woman appears. We cannot but express astonishment at this, for many of the children are quite too young to be the care of men. No father in a well ordered family would for a moment attempt to attend to the wants of such little ones. It is the experience of those who do serve that much excellent work can be done by earnest women. The dread of the publicity demanded by Court cases, tends to lessen the number of wise women willing to serve, while they possess the needed qualities of mind and temper, with a sufficient amount of leisure, experience shows that the dreaded exposure in the Court room loses much of its objectionable character, whenever the case is met fairly and firmly by unselfish officers.

Whenever the community is thoroughly in earnest, in the cause of the helpless children, the great need of each and every kindred organization will be met. Money will be given in such abundance that many cases often settled, or partially settled by compromise, at present, will be legally disposed of.

The appointment of unpaid sub-agents whose occupations, as physicians or constables in towns, lead them to volunteer, is one of the influences to enlighten the community. The knowledge that there is an officer empowered to act, and able and willing to devote time, if not money, (and you will agree with me that here often time is of wholesome awe by the children, who soon learn to threaten to tell such an officer, if a whipping be administered. Often a stubborn child is found who from its vagrant training uses this power very freely and does escape many blows. For several months, a girl not a dozen years of age, succeeded in warding off all serious punishment by threatening. Equally tricky she used the officer's name, as a passport to comfortable homes, where she was bathed, fed and protected, and by this course of deception, encouraged in wrong practices. In thickly settled localities the dreaded interference of vigorous-tongued neighbors, who

will take in a neglected child and give out of their poverty a bit and a sup, keeps cruel parents outwardly decent. But in the isolated districts, the cruelties practiced on children can be classed as horrible.

The laws, as they have been passed, reflect the unwillingness to interfere with the rights of parents, which still exists in our communities. Crude at the outset, the changes are rapidly telling of improvements.

The great obstacle, with all the active officers, in every city has been the difficulty of deciding which course to pursue when children are neglected and abused, in families where the parents, were *able* although unwilling to earn the money for their support. To remove innocent, helpless little ones from degrading and vicious surroundings, seems to be the imperative demand on the humane. But this often is unwise; the unthrifty and dissolute, in reality care little for the children, save as possible earners. While they are a burden from youth, they drop them, with marvellous rapidity, and indifference. Others are sure to come, and charitable people are easily found. Mission Sunday Schools and benevolently inclined, but not far-seeing people, are also as sure to come to the rescue, and all responsibility as to support is found to be an unknown quantity.

In 1883, a law was passed in Massachusetts, by which a male parent can be *compelled* to set aside part of his wages for the support of his minor children. With a fairly intelligent mother to demand, the carrying out of this law, backed by the aid of the M. S. P. C. to C., men have been compelled to comply or leave the State. This seems a wise law.

In the courts as outside of the courts, every fairly intelligent person knows, *feels*, active cruelty. Our school teachers and parents believe in a *little* chastising. So gross a case as that which aroused great indignation, several years since, when a religious fanatic brutally whipped his innocent child, for declining to keep his little hands under the sheet while he lisped the Lord's Prayer; or when the Rev. Ed. Cowley of Shepherd's Fold, New York, was punished in New York courts for cruel neglect of children. Or one where a brutal father sat a little child on a hot stove, burning the flesh so that it will be years before the burns will heal—because it had an "innocent habit of saying 'yes' to all questions." He said to the child, "well, I suppose you'd say yes if I asked you if you wanted to sit on the stove." The innocent and ignorant child said "yes," and the man was punished for assault and battery, easily settle what cruelty is. But it is a difficult

By a generally accepted code, established in all the Societies for P. C. to C., the informant is considered a friend, and all complaints are to be confidential. This often is of untold value in securing assistance for the child. But there are many complaints, dismissed after investigation, as inspired by malice, or by emotional individuals, who hearing a child scream, instantly assume that a parent, especially if it be a step-mother, has grossly abused the child,—else why does it scream so? The greatest care must be taken to secure justice to the child without dealing unjustly with the parent.

Interviews with degraded and brutal parents are not attractive, but the virago who screams in your ears, "its me own child, I'll bate it just as much as I please, bad luck to you for meddling," softens

Sometimes an earnest woman, alone confronting the same virago, animated by the sole desire of protecting the child, meets a cowed and humble, and whining culprit. We see many such, and cannot help arguing, if an adult is afraid, what has been or what can be the chances of the infant or minor.

Society has also a right to protect itself and should deem it a solemn duty, to prevent the cultivation of paupers and criminals. It costs much more to manage jails, alms-houses and prisons, than school houses.

If society cannot prevent the increase in the homes of the degraded and vicious, it certainly ought to prevent educating children in all that leads to crime and pauperism.

To remove a girl just reaching maturity from a brothel or home worse than a brothel, and place her in a decent home, caring for her even as well as a farmer cares for his stock, may be the step which in results will save thousands of dollars to the State to say nothing of other considerations.

In the history of the Jukes family issued ten years ago in New York, the record of one woman who *was* an unprotected girl, is told in figures so plain that he who runs may read and comprehend. Margaret, styled the mother of criminals, is credited with costing the State of New York, (through the different lines of her progeny, of nearly a thousand individuals,) over one million of dollars. Criminals of high and low degree, harlots, prostitutes, inebriates, and paupers—a terrible array of degradation, which might have been modified if "somebody had cared."

matter sometimes to decide, whether to the parents or the community shall be charged the guilt, when children are *half-fed, half-clothed*, ignorant of the uses of water for bathing purposes, sleeping on rags, or in a roped sacking without bedding, allowed to become infested with vermin, contracting disease by all these conditions.

In the whole universe there seems to be nothing so helpless as a little human being, nothing which appeals so touchingly to the *grown* human being.

The human baby cannot build around its tender body, a little stone house, like a caddis worm, it cannot hop away as the rabbit does, or climb a tree like the squirrel, and seek food and shelter in conditions by nature made favorable, but it must lie where it is put, whether it be on a bed of down, or floor of stone. No power of itself to change its condition, it must suffer with hunger if friendly hands do not provide food; it must die of cold in our severe climates, unless loving hands supply clothing and shelter. Its very helplessness should be the passport to our wise and generous protection.

Another obstacle which meets these and kindred organizations, is the difficulty in finding suitable homes, where the unfortunate ones can be trained to habits of morality, thrift and decency, where they shall find *justice* if not love, and have a chance to grow into usefulness. The selfishness so general in all communities, shuts off only from these homes, little boys under the age of ten or twelve, or until there seems to be a fair prospect, that as an errand boy in cities, or a drudge on a small farm he may possibly be serviceable. Little girls on the contrary are desirable, from the same selfishness, because they are apt to be handy in playing with children, running over the house from garret to cellar to save the steps of the elders. The same elders rarely we consider that the strain on young muscles, must be severe, when or six feet in height, would at once rebel if stairs were constructed to the average child.

The fact of the child's unfortunate inheritance of intemperance, idleness, vice and crime, tells too, when in favored homes there are sheltered children, whose parents recognize the responsibility of still sheltering and protecting from contaminating influences their own. Still, with all these objections, homes, and good homes are opened every year to shelter the children who are assigned to the care of these organizations.

Her record does not stop with that published, but continues and will continue. We of this generation can determine that all possible Margarets, shall be prevented from commencing a career which must end disastrously for the interests of the State.

If we have shown enough of the movements which have preceded the formation of all these organizations, to cause you each and every one to resolve that legislation to P. C. to C., must be demanded and obtained, until every State and Territory of our fair land shall deem its duty undone unless on its Statute Books be registered those just laws which shall Prevent Cruelty to Children, our duty for the present will have been accomplished.

THE PREVENTION OF NERVOUS STRAIN BY HOME AND SCHOOL TRAINING.

JANE B. DEARBORN.

THE possibility of nervous strain is a fact only recently recognized. Its prevention in children by means of their education is now talked of vigorously and attempted feebly. The feebleness consists in limited judgment and lack of thoroughness. The judgment of what constitutes health is limited to an idea that the application of one or two hygienic laws, instead of all, will establish and maintain it; the indifferent manner in which even these recognized laws are carried out, completes the evil.

Many persons will say, that *certain kinds* of food,—or good ventilation,—or, a stated amount of exercise,—or, rest,—or sleep, will insure perfect healthfulness. Very few see that *all* the necessary conditions of right living must enter into one's life in *due proportion* and *right relation* to each other, before a perfect physical system can be built up; and scarcely any recognize the *enormous* power of the mental, over the physical.

As soon as a child is born the strain upon its nerves begins. It is trotted up and down, when it should be kept quiet; is coaxed to laugh, to look at this and that, to do pretty tricks; and is shown off to every visitor, as if it were on exhibition. The more excited it becomes, the prettier and brighter it appears; and the foolish pride of the mother is gratified, and *paid for*, out of the nerve force of her baby.

As children grow older the untrammelled life demanded by *boyish* animal spirits, counteracts in a measure the ill-effects of the home training, or the lack of it for them. The girls suffer most from this. Fashion demands that girls should be lady-like,—that is, weak in nerve and muscle, and only carefully strong in intellect. It requires darkened rooms, tight-lacing, and high heels. Depraved appetites, born of these, crave coffee, tea, sweetmeats, highly-seasoned food. Youthful spirits beg for late hours, sensational stories, abnormal amusements. Boys do not at so early an age enter into the excitements of life. Physical exercises constitute their pleasures, long after

their sisters are "too old to run." For this reason they escape many of the bad effects which come to girls from want of air and exercise, are not so much injured by an unwise use of tea and coffee, and care nothing for late parties at an age when their sisters are beginning their careers as belles in society.

The mental and moral nature are, at the same time, almost entirely neglected.

Self-control, that which is the most direct of the powers of the mind in its effect upon the physical, is very little thought of in our homes. No virtue is possible without this force to bring it into existence. Yet children are allowed to fret, cry, scold, get excited in many ways, with only a rebuke, and without any real instruction in the gaining of self-control. A fit of crying, even when a temporary relief, is only so after the temporary *exhaustion* caused by it has passed away; and crying as a habit becomes a permanent injury to the nervous system. Even the milder forms of fault-finding, expressed by "Isn't that horrid," "I think it is real mean," when indulged in as frequently as some young girls do, brings the mind into permanent states of dissatisfaction and discontent. Sooner or later there is no health in dissatisfaction and discontent. All these various forms of uncontrolled emotions, show their ill effect upon the physical system.

The moral nature is as little trained to high, cheerful, helpful views of life. That relating to sex needs special attention. But there is no space here for the treatment of this most sacred and most neglected of all the duties of fatherhood and motherhood. Several writers, among them Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell of England, have given us many good sound words on this subject. Mothers who sincerely desire the best welfare of their children, will not neglect to inform themselves of what these earnest writers have written for them.

The moral nature is also depraved by low aims,—by self-pity which leads to hypochondriacism,—by certain kinds of self-glorification which indulges in idle dreaming and an aimless life, by sentimentality which weakens the mind. All that tends to self-brooding, whether in pity or laudation, tends towards physical weakness. Whatever throws the mind back upon its own states, to brood over discomforts or wants, or unattained longings, or to dream of impossible happiness founded upon supposed virtues pictured by a morbid self-love, will, at some time, weaken the physical nature, and bring its possessor into invalidism. Such states are largely cultivated by the unhealthy novels read by young girls.

Most of the so-called harmless stories, appeal to the emotional nature. The heroines are represented as awakening the admiration of every one by their wonderful qualities, or are secretly suffering from a lack of being understood. This view of character is most untrue. Honest, true people, neither receive, nor live for universal admiration; and, on the other side, none ever suffer from being misunderstood by everybody, *except* those who misunderstand everybody. From reading such stories girls imagine themselves if not more openly charming than they are, then more secretly adorable.

There is added to all this the unhealthy training of the school. Usually the motives for study are, to *stand first*, or to *get a prize*. For these objects scholars will work at their books late and early, getting up to study before breakfast, sitting down immediately after dinner, and poring over their books far into the evening. The teachers applaud and encourage, praise the smartness of the heavy-eyed girl, instead of telling her as they should, that her heavy eyes are a disgrace. Much is written upon the folly and wickedness of this race for school reputation. But colleges go on year after year holding out the same inducements, and the preparatory schools follow in their lead. The scholars who do not gain the honors are also affected by all this stimulus. They do not wish to be left entirely behind, and they hurry along, annoyed and irritated by the mistaken idea that they are not doing as well as the few leaders, simply because they cannot do the work in exactly the same way. Will schools ever learn to drop entirely this Procrustean torture of the innocents? The young ladies of Vassar College are attempting to do away with the honor system. Although they have not yet succeeded great credit is due them for the attempt. Success will surely follow eventually.

At the same time that children are permitted to work in this unhealthy way, they are often allowed to do so on insufficient sustenance. There is an exact proportion between the amount of nourishment taken, and the amount of nerve force generated. This must be so, as tissues cannot be formed except from food. The problem to be solved is to ascertain how much each person needs. It is quite certain, if one may believe the results of observation, that growing children require not only a hearty breakfast, but also a lunch during the school session. Many children eat little breakfast, and little if any, lunch. Mothers are extremely careless in this respect; and often become very anxious because their children are weak, when the cause is clearly, starvation. A young girl, attending my school about

two years ago, became very much out of health, was often absent on account of weakness and general debility, and when she did attend was not always able to stay through the session. One day, near the middle of the year, she was standing in her class, and suddenly became very faint and almost insensible. Having restored her to consciousness, I questioned her with regard to her habits of eating, and ascertained that it was her custom to eat almost no breakfast, because she "did not care much for breakfast;" to go to school without lunch, or with only a little cake, because it was too much trouble to prepare it! She was in reality trying to do five hours hard work without eating anything of any amount, between six o'clock at night and three of the next afternoon! Her mother called to see me, and talked of taking her daughter from school, or letting her drop some of her studies. After listening to the mother's plans, I requested her to try *this* experiment before deciding upon shortening the work;—To insist that her daughter should eat breakfast and take lunch. If she absolutely could not eat solid food, she could drink a glass of milk, and she could take milk for her lunch. Fearing that the daughter might object to carrying a bottle of milk, I proposed to engage milk to be supplied for her at the school-house, daily. The mother, unlike many others, who think they are in earnest because they talk earnestly, *was* in earnest, and carried out the suggestion. The young girl attended school through the rest of the year, without another absence from ill-health; and I will mention for the benefit of any, who possibly might find a similar experiment useful, that before many weeks had gone by, her mother had bought for her a basket made for carrying a bottle, and she took her milk to school daily, without any embarrassment.

Not only, however, are there all these abuses, but added to them is the wrong social life of our children. There is little idea of social amusement except as consisting of large parties. Late hours, improper food, and unnatural excitement are the attendants of these. All these are injurious, all destructive to orderly physical habits, and healthful minds. Yet even our youngest children are supplied with such amusements, and very little provision is made in the home for any other.

Presently the victim of all this wrong living becomes sleepless, loses appetite, has frequent headaches. The mother inquires of the physician what is to be done. As a result of their united wisdom, she is taken out of school,—if she has not graduated,—and left to occupy

herself as best she can. If she has been able to bear the strain until after graduation, then the physician advises complete rest from all intellectual pursuits. Obviously the first duty of the physician in such a case, is to search into the girl's whole life; to direct it so that all its functions may have proper exercise, to advise means of preventing the mind from feeding on itself, and *then to inform himself positively that his directions are carried out, every day.* But it is a duty attended to thoroughly by none except a few of our great specialists. After many busy years, in which her studies have filled her thoughts, the weary girl is thrown back upon herself, with little knowledge of her physical needs,—depressed in spirits,—to use her time as her own sick fancies may dictate. Sometimes a healthy constitution reasserts itself; but more frequently organic disease follows; still more frequently a chronic hypochondriacism, or insanity, and often, death.

We see these results every day around us, but we do not heed them. We do not set before ourselves clearly the right methods of prevention. We acknowledge that a sound mind, in a sound body is our aim. We do not acknowledge that the neglect of the health of *any part* of that body, or *any part* of that mind, is in some way a neglect of the whole. If you do not give fresh air to the lungs, every organ of the body suffers from vitiated blood. If one muscle stomach nourishing food, the whole body is starved. If one muscle is weak, it deprives the other muscles of just that amount of power for exercise, as is proportioned to its own weakness. If you do not give the brain rest, all the nerves are tired. Let every physical want be administered to, in turn,—not one or two only. There is probably no one who has not some healthful habits. It is because so many have *only some* healthful habits, that so many are invalids.

We do not need a profound physiologic knowledge to understand the essentials of hygienic law. A little common sense shows us that the first months of a baby's life should be passed in quiet, not excitement. A little thought will point out the most prominent needs of the physical nature;—air for the lungs supplied by good ventilation and plenty of out-door life, and not limited by corsets and tight clothing; food, not only in abundance, but *such as will nourish*, and supplied at short enough intervals to prevent always any feeling of faintness or want; exercise for the muscles,—for which also loose clothing is needed; and well-fitting, broad-soled boots with low and broad heels; sunlight in our rooms, because nothing will grow vigorously in the dark; and plenty of sleep and rest, at regular intervals,

and especially during the hours of the night. The habits of sleep are perhaps the most neglected of any. Children go to plays and concerts, or sit up late at home every night,—or, a few times a week,—or, once a week, and weaken all their bodily powers for two or three days every time this is done. And the mother wonders why they are not strong, for they exercise out-of-doors, and eat wholesome food. They are stronger than they would be without *any* good habits, but, the indulgence in this one irregularity, *must* prove an injury. More thought will suggest other needs, and the methods of administering to them; and these physical habits should follow one another, at regular, and not irregular intervals. There is not space here to enlarge upon every one of these physical necessities, for a paper might be written on each. I wish to call attention to some of the mental and moral wants of the young, the supplying of which is scarcely even talked of, as a part of the home training.

The mind requires work of some kind, wholesome work. This is largely supplied to our children by study. It is, however, one of the most evident of the laws of our nature, that we must have frequent change. We cannot work, or play, or exercise, many hours without great fatigue. *A healthful life is one of variety.* Work should not occupy so many hours as to become uninteresting because wearisome; and play hours should be long enough to give time for original thought. Play simply is not recreation; the mind should become absorbed by it, so that it may forget the weariness of study. Some mothers talk of an hour a day as the play-time of their children. But the ingenuity which builds boats, houses and railroads, tends store, acts plays, teaches school, practices medicine, conducts dolls' parties, marriages and funerals, cannot be called forth in one short hour. The mind should have time to journey from the pleasant land of study, to the fairy land of play. Older children, also, have too short a time daily for recreation. In the midst of our labors our minds are refreshed by the prospect of the day, or week, or month, when we can have rest. If every young girl could look forward to some part of the day in which there would be for her, entire freedom from care and work, without neglect of studies, she would in those hours of recreation look forward more joyously to a return to her duties. "But there are the studies, and the music practicing," we hear mothers exclaim. We all know that nine-tenths of the knowledge of music acquired by children is utterly thrown away in adult life. "But it is so pleasant for members of a family to be able to play just a little

tune," it is said. So it is; but, health and strength are infinitely more pleasant in a home, than the best of "little tunes." The value of the "little tune" is entirely out of proportion to the amount of nervous energy paid for it.

"But the studies must be pursued, and so much is required now-a-days," the mothers argue. Required by whom, by what? Required by the mothers and teachers; by the selfish ambition of both. The teacher for her own glory, the mother for that of her child, because it is *her* child, urges this growing girl to try to "be first." And so common is it to set before pupils artificial motives for study, that others are not considered of any value. But as far as a teacher fails to interest her pupils in a study, *because it is itself interesting*, she is not a true teacher. The subject, *not* prizes, should absorb the thought of the student. Her aim, also, should be her own highest possible development, not the comparison of herself with some one else. It is the glory of a garden that out of the same material, roses and lilies, and flowers of infinite variety, develop their own peculiar beauty. Why, in that garden of minds,—the school,—do we insist upon the fruitless effort of turning all into roses, or lilies, instead of loving the peculiar beauty possible to each mind when trained in freedom? When we leave out of schools every stimulus except the *natural* interest in the studies, then we shall leave out of children's lives one cause of nervous debility. Study for the sake of study is not often carried to excess, while study for honors, always is. The school years of a girl's life are also too few; add three or four more, and she could then do easily what now she gains by nervous strain.

But good school training must be supplemented by good home training. The law of variety necessary to health, *demands* that children should have recreation. The freedom given to the boy, has resulted in his finding much wholesome pleasure for himself; while the false ideas of womanly delicacy, have shut off his sister from many useful sports. She has been driven to seek amusement in several injurious ways; among them the reading of the frivolous stories before spoken of. If mothers would avoid for their daughters one of the most prolific causes of nervous debility, they must inform themselves more thoroughly than they now do, how those daughters are learning, from the books they read, to look at their own characters, and their own relation to life's duties.

A very great evil in the home is the leaving the choice of the amusements to the young people: or, supplying them only with

unhealthy ones, instead of providing them with wholesome ones. The home should not be considered a home, *unless* its arrangements embrace joyous, free, *daytime* "good times," for the younger members. And if this paper were not devoted to the education of children, I should say that the older members of the family would be astonished to find how well worth living this life is, if they did not despise for themselves just such "good times." These enjoyments should include the association of both sexes. The companionship of boys is of more importance to girls, than is usually supposed. The love of the other sex is natural to every human being. In its purity, this quality in girls, is sweet, and womanly. But because it has been left without guidance and without pure means of expressing itself, it is repressed by the right-minded girl; and degenerates into silliness, and even immorality, in those of more uncontrolled emotions, or of coarser instincts. We despise this abuse of it, but we do not fail to recognize the beauty of this instinct when we see it in its purity. One of the duties of mothers is to bring their children into healthful association with those of the other sex. Instead of trying to do this by means of evening parties, much could be done to encourage it by informal social day-gatherings, such as croquet or tennis parties, which should be so informally arranged that the subject of dress as an object of display, should not be thought of; and by picnics, walks, horseback riding and other out-door, innocent sports. *Not only* should they encourage, but *provide* for, every social enjoyment which is entered into in the daytime, which excludes the thought of dress, which associates boys and girls on a purely friendly footing, and which admits of the presence of the older members of the family, and discourage all that which demands late hours, and gay dressing; which encourages the exclusive attention of one boy to one girl until of an age proper for marriage, and all which excludes older members of the family. This is the kind of social life our children need.

Let us, then, mothers and teachers, never cease to search for the weaknesses of our ways in the training of our children. Not by one or two good habits shall our children become strong. Not until every physical and mental necessity is supplied, shall we see growing up around us, sound bodies which shall be the material forms of strong and vigorous souls.

THE DUTY OF THE AMERICAN WHITE WOMAN TO THE AMERICAN BLACK WOMAN.

JANET MARSH PARKER.

TO the historic peoples of the world has belonged the gift of Seership. It has been the evolution of their study of political causation—their knowledge of the connection between antecedent and consequent. They have in homely phrase, been engineers of the future. So the governing nations and race divisions of to-day, are seeking to actualize in the future their potentiality. Perpetuation in in another age, means forethought and sacrifice in this.

Our young America's outlook for her future is from a sublime height indeed; but which of all these mighty nations making strong their bulwarks for children's children, has a more threatening cloud on its horizon than she with her problem of the harmonious coalescence of unlike races,—the unity of antagonistic diversity of peoples? Should the future fail in assimilating her heterogeneity into a grand centralization; if all peoples and nations and tongues within her borders, may not, *if they would*, be assimilated, do we need a Jeremiah to predict her ultimate disruption, and dismemberment?

In all of America's plans for the future, she is confronted by the Freedman,—her enfranchised Negro. He, more than John Chinaman, makes this problem of the fusion of races, the difficult one that it is, or rather our "color" prejudice makes it so;—the "American Malady of Color Prejudice," as it has been called.

In considering this question, we must acknowledge at the outset, the existence of this deep-seated, race-antagonism. To acknowledge is, not to justify, or to condemn; although we must admit, that such antagonism is contradictory to the genius of our Republic,—an anachronism in the Nineteenth Century, and contrary to the teachings of Christianity, although inherent in the children of men from the beginning, and allied to the natural antagonisms existing in the animal kingdom. Some of us remember the words of William Lloyd Garrison: "Color Prejudice is a rebellion against God," and are

slow in harmonizing that venerable justification for oppressing the weak—"the conqueror is forever the superior of the conquered," with the key-note of our National Constitution.

"Our black population," says the wise American Statesman of to-day, "is the factor determining our future."

As the Mediterranean was the heart of the old world, conditioning and vitalizing it, so is the South, with its undeveloped potentiality of the Colored Race, destined to become the source of our strength or fatal weakness. In one hundred years from now, these blacks, they tell us, will be more than half of our whole population, unless we remove them, exterminate them, (or in other words, encourage their self-extinction) or, absorb them. In the Southern States, they will outnumber the whites. Within a century they have multiplied *ten* times. We have shut the door in the face of the Chinese, because we would not have among us a population that could not be assimilated. The Chinese at the most did not number three hundred thousand. These blacks are upwards of seven millions, and are increasing. The door by which the Negro came in upon us, we opened ourselves;—more than that, we dragged him in and held him fast. What now shall we do with him? Or is it not time to ask, what is this black man likely to *do with us*?

It does seem strange, that the only people in our diversity of races, who did not come to us of their own free will, should prove a people whose existence among us is considered a misfortune to both races. That both the North and the South are responsible for this "unwelcome presence," as it is termed by some, all must admit.

It may not be forgotten that at the formation of our Constitution, the North voted with the South for the perpetuation of the slave trade; and northern ships and northern capital, carried on the traffic. Northern men were enriched by it. The foundations of the fortunes of many a Northern capitalist of to-day, was laid in that old slave-trade. Had slave-holding proved a paying investment in the North, the final emancipation had not fallen so heavily on the South. If we at the North did not continue to enslave the black man, (and New York State in 1790 had a slave population of over twenty-one thousand), we trampled upon him, with a tyranny that closed all handicrafts against him; our schools, lecture rooms, even our churches. When Frederick Douglass sent out the first number of "The North Star," from Rochester, the New York Herald advised our throwing press, and editor, into the lake!

The spirit that made American Slavery what it was, and nourished it, did not have its sole root in the Slave States; and a survival at the North to-day, of that old spirit, makes the future of the American Negro the difficult problem that it is, for a Republic whose salvation from disintegration lies in a coalescence of its diversity of peoples.

What a history is his,—that of this black man, who as the ethnologists tell us belongs to a pre-historic people! Within a little more than a score of years he has been Slave, Contraband, Ward, of the nation; Freedman, Citizen. Are we responsible for his present condition, for his ignorance, immorality?

"We made our mistake," some are saying, "when we gave him the ballot; our only hope is in taking it away from him,—the sooner the better. Belonging as he does, to a subject race, we must restore his serf-dom; or rather give him a modified form of slavery. Educating him, is but making matters worse. He is strong enough already."

"We must colonize him," say the would-be Seers of the future. "When the blacks at the South so far outnumber the whites as to overcome the vantage of superior wealth and intelligence, woes await our land. Blacks will obey race instinct, and vote blacks alone into office. No two "free races," say these, remaining distinctly apart, can advance side by side without a struggle for supremacy. Let us secure peace for our country, while an adjustment of this question is possible."

But they fail to tell us,—these advocates of colonization, *how* some *eight millions* of American citizens may be transported, when a place is found ready to receive them; particularly if they are opposed to the transportation.

A portion of the great fallow lands of our western territories may not be given to this ideal colony. *That* would prove a phase of State rights which, intensified by racial antagonism, would breed sorry mischief.

Prelate, scientist, and statesman, add their voices to the clamor; each claiming to answer the hard question with prophetic tongue.

I think you will agree with me, that no clearer note is heard than the following, from a pure-blooded Negro, the Rev. Dr. Crummell of the Episcopal Church in Washington. Speaking of his race, and of their future, he says: "The *special* duty before us, is to strive for footing and superiority in this land, on the line of *race*, as a temporary but needed expedient for the ultimate extinction of caste and all race distinctions. We must never forget, as some have bidden us to do,

that we are Blacks. As a race we must secure for ourselves high, commanding character. Then this problem, this enigma of prejudice, with all unreasoning and unreasonable repulsion, will be settled forever. If we can only secure the development of a *superior womanhood for our race*, a glorious future is our assured reality."

And herein, women of the "Association for the Advancement of Women," lies my claim upon your hearing,—my justification in presenting to this Congress the cause of a woman,—an American woman, suffering from the lack of the higher, intellectual, moral, and physical conditions which your organization would secure for all the women of our land. The domestic and social relations of this woman need improving, perhaps, *more* than that of any class among us. Your motto, "Truth, Justice and Honor," and the second article of your Constitution, may assuredly be taken as your answer to the perplexing question of the day,—as your promise to make *this woman's* cause your own. Whatever State-Craft may ultimately accomplish, for the future of her people, of this we are sure: upon her social and moral condition it depends whether the destiny of her children shall be the blessing or the curse of ours. Has she not a holy claim upon every one of us,—Northern or Southerner, this black woman, whose past Heaven has in remembrance? Our forefathers enslaved her, dragged her in chains through the mire of their lust, forced immorality upon her, grew rich by her shameful progeny, denied her education, brutalized her better instincts, (and that, they said, with boasting, "that white women might be saved from shame?") And now, here she stands, confronting us in our country's future, and lo, the handwriting upon the wall; the prophecy of the divided kingdom!

In the long and patient submissiveness of this black woman, may we not see the dangerous element which Caucasian self-control may yet fail in mastering? Slavery may possibly have been, as some declare, her stepping stone to higher things; but, it has been at fearful cost; and the *saddest* evolution of slavery may not be *hers*, after all. *Her* heritage of slavery, is her present moral and social condition; and it ill becomes us to cast reflections upon her low moral development as compared with ours, at a time when a New England Minister might send a keg of rum to Africa, with instructions as to what kind of a "nigger" he would take in exchange; and when the royalty of England were realizing large profits from investments in the slave trade.

This much we know: if the servile and moral condition of the black woman in the South to-day, is what it is, after two hundred and fifty years of Christian missionary effort in her behalf, (for some persons you know, consider slavery as the *divine* method of Christianizing the blacks), then Christianity must be considered a failure, as a corrective for racial instincts; and slavery the poorest of all schools, for the elevation of barbarians. Says Frederick Douglass: "None can deny that the present condition of the Southern Negroes is deplorable;" but he adds hopefully: "Suffering and hardship made the Anglo-Saxon strong; and suffering and hardship will make the Anglo-African Strong."

There is shameful injustice in the wide generalizations made by many writers, who see in all Negro women, unchastity and hopeless degradation. The press has been burdened of late with such statements; called out by an unhappy discussion of the question, by those whose observations were largely made "through the jaundiced eyes of caste prejudice." The deplorable unchastity prevailing on the great plantations of the cotton States and among the lower classes in the great cities, is no proof, as is said, that "to be a Negro is to be immoral; and to be a Negro woman is to have no moral sense, whatever." The high standing of hundreds of educated and refined colored women in the Country;—women who are an honor to their sex in every way,—makes this sentiment a disgrace to all who hold it.

We must not forget what large civil and religious opportunities are considered *indispensable* for the development of superior womanhood among *white women*; and that the ambition to advance, when manifested by a black woman, has been sure to meet with scornful derision, if not with downright opposition. Says a contributor to the Popular Science Monthly, writing upon the future of the Blacks: "Individuals here and there, by force of peculiar talent and fortunate circumstances, break through the opposing obstacles of color prejudice, and attain high positions; or such positions may be conferred, in the interests of some political party. The heart knows, however, that the incumbents are recognized with an involuntary wince. They are tolerated by reason of their fewness. It is the mandate of American instinct."

The American woman whose advancement is against American instinct, will not add popularity to any cause having that advancement in hand; but I do not see, good women of the Association for the Advancement of Women, how *you* can refuse your allegiance in this case, and keep fair your ensign of "Truth, Justice and Honor."

Christians smile at the caste pretensions of the Hindoos; and yet Buddha taught, that as the four rivers which fall into the Ganges lose their names as soon as they mingle their waters with the holy river; so, all who are lost in Buddha, cease to be different races, and are *one* in him!

In answer to your practical inquiry: "How may we as an Association, best secure a higher intellectual moral and physical condition for the black women of our Country, let me give a few extracts from a large Southern correspondence in answer to questions asked of Southern women as an effort to reach if possible, a right understanding of the subject.

"Oh if you at the North could help us in devising some practicable, means for doing permanent good, at least to the daughters of these degraded mothers," writes a woman on a Virginia Plantation.

"If you knew the *mothers* of these black girls, you would not wonder that things are as they are. They are so ignorant, so superstitious, so lacking in the sense of purity! They are *very* 'religious,' but that has nothing to do with their morality! The precocious sensuality of the little children even, is something you may not understand; if you were here you would realize what we Southern women are confronting. To Northerners the civilization of these millions of blacks, may be a work of abstract charity; but to us it is a question of life or death. How any of you can advocate universal suffrage, and know what the majority of southern black women are, and must be for years to come, is one of the things past my comprehension."

Writes another, a heroic worker in the Colored Missionary Field: "We are very grateful to the North for what it has done for our Negroes, and your desire to do still more; but we think sometimes you are giving our Negroes mistaken ideas of the education they most need. Your great and costly educational institutions are sending out many highly educated young black girls, we admit; but they do not reach the class we are suffering from,—the wretched wives, and mothers on the interior plantations. Spelling books and grammars will not mend matters there; but training in the homeliest domestic duties would. We want a Sisterhood of good women, to go *down* to this people, enter their wretched cabins, *lay their hands* on them, and bless them. I have great faith in that Protestant Sisterhood that went to the poor Indians in Dacotah, and began work by teaching the squaws how to make good bread; soon progressing to the pulling out of the bad teeth of the braves. Send us such a Sisterhood as that;

call them St. Martha's or St. Howe's, St. Livermore's, or what you will; only, let them be willing to begin at the *bottom* of this difficulty;—the *homes* and the *mothers*;—and we will join them, and help them all we can."

Writes another, (and I doubt if extracts alone from this correspondence had not been my best contribution to the subject): "Let me tell you what I would do if I were a black woman," she says, and she is one of the educated better-class which we find in some of our cities, where they have had certain encouragement, or rather a foundation for advancement,—“I would devote myself to teaching *social independence* to my people; how they must stop lamenting color-prejudice, and make for themselves within their own lines, a social life that should be a credit to them. A mission is waiting for every one of the educated colored women which our institutions are sending out. It is by *them* that the social advance of this people must be made. The best thing that we can do for the black woman, is to stimulate her to do for herself. Much depends upon our relations to her, but she must master her own environment."

"America," wrote Hegel, "is the land of the future, wherein the ages that lie before us,—the burden of the world's history,—shall reveal itself." Perhaps," he adds, with what seems to us a foolish prophecy, "perhaps it will be in a contest between North and South America." Had he lived a few years longer and shared the fears of some of us, he had made little change in those words. He would have seen the blacks of our Republic on the threshold of a great future; opposed in their steady advancement by an antagonism that would make of them aliens, if it would not drive them from our soil. He would have heard the popular cry: "Fusion with *this* race is impossible. We cannot absorb them. Slavery would have done that in time; but, since the emancipation, the short-lived mulatto is on the decrease. We cannot colonize them. When they attempted to leave the South of their own free will, we saw what would be the result of their exodus. They are a necessity, where they are. If we do not lift them up, they will drag us down. What shall we do with the Blacks?"

Now, to ask for a calm consideration of this subject, as it would be without color-prejudice on either side, demands not a little courage. Let me quote from Frances Kemble Butler, when she wrote her "Journal on a Georgian Plantation:" "I cannot help being astonished," she wrote, "at the furious and ungoverned execration which

all reference to the possibility of a fusion of races, draws down upon those who suggest it ; because nobody pretends to deny that throughout the South, a *large* proportion of the population, *is* the offspring of white men and colored women. They speak as if there was a natural repugnance in all whites, to any alliance with the black race ; when almost every Southern planter has illegitimate colored children. The existence of such connections is sufficient proof that they are not abhorrent to nature ; but it seems as if *marriage* and *not concubinage*, was the horrible enormity which cannot be tolerated, and against which it has been deemed expedient to enact laws. Now it appears very evident there is no law in the white man's nature which prevents him from making a colored woman the mother of his children ; but there is a *law on the Statute Book forbidding him to make her his wife*. If we are to admit the theory that the mixing of the races is a monstrosity, it seems curious that laws should be enacted to prevent men from marrying women towards whom they have an invincible natural repugnance,—as curious, as that education should by law be prohibited, to creatures incapable of receiving it."

The black woman herself seems to be settling this question of Amalgamation, as the admixture of the blood of the two races has not increased, we are told, since the emancipation ; and that, because the white man is the black woman's master no longer. Let us ponder upon the full meaning of this, we who boast of our race superiority.

Permit me in closing this consideration of the duty of the American White Woman, to the American Black Woman, to submit to this Association for the Advancement of *Women*,—of *all* women, as I understand, it, without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude—permit my submitting to you the question :

"How may we, as the Association for the Advancement of *Women*, best secure the Advancement of the American Black Woman?"

—NOTICE.—

"WOMEN AND LAND" by Mrs. Jeanne C. Carr of California and "THE WOMEN OF UTAH," By Mrs. Jennie A. Froiseth of Utah, will be published in The Woman's Tribune, Feb. 1st & 15th, 1884, and can be obtained on application to

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