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VICTORIA WOODHULL MARTIN.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 22.—At the parlor of the Willard hotel, under the call of April 26, a national convention of woman suffragists was held through the auspices of delegates from Victoria leagues of the different states.

Mrs. Anna M. Parker, of St. Louis, was called to the chair, and Elizabeth Powers, of Providence, made secretary.

The call from the states brought out twenty-eight representatives selected by state conventions from New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, California, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kansas, New Hampshire, Maine, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Vermont, Pennsylvania. The states of Wyoming, North Dakota and Washington sent no representatives. There were fifty delegates in all.

On motion of Mrs. Windish, of New York city, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull Martin, New York and London, was nominated for President of the United States.

Mrs. Cynthia Leonard, of New York, Mrs. Linda Slaughter, of Washington, and Mrs. Mary L. Stowe, of California, were put in nomination for Vice President.

Mrs. Stowe received the largest number of votes for Vice President.

The platform reads as follows:

Whereas, Under the fourteenth amendment no citizen is deprived of the franchise through law, but by custom and habit:

Therefore, be it resolved, we, the representative women of America, ask the officers in charge of the election precincts through the United States in the coming campaign to give us the opportunity to cast our ballots on the first Tuesday in November, 1892, for our candidates.

Resolved, That by the united efforts of the women voters of this nation we will drive anarchy, crime, insanity and drunkenness from our midst by our humanitarian efforts, backed by the ballot.

THE HUMANITARIAN PLATFORM.

It is said that Autocratic, or Monarchical, or Republican forms of government have not been able to solve the social problem, nor have the different schools of political economy brought us much nearer its solution. Whether the social problem is studied in France, England, Australia, America or other countries, there is found, different only in degree, the same squalor and misery, the same vice and luxury, the same degradation and despair, the same greed of gain, the same ambition to acquire wealth and return a portion of it in alms, or to endow public libraries, or churches, or institutions. Similar ideas permeate society with regard to personal worth, viz., Mr. R is one of our financial geniuses of the nineteenth century; he can calculate to a nicety how long it will take to starve out a competing firm, and he is a very good man too—he contributes to so many charities.

Social evils are caused, *first*, by unequal distribution of wealth—no one held morally responsible as regards the methods by which the wealth is acquired; *second*, too many individuals are overfed and underworked, and too many are overworked and underfed; *third*, too many are badly bred. The reason why no government heretofore has been able to solve the social problem is, that not one of them is organized to check or eliminate these causes, and as long as they are not so organ-

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ized the social problem will still be with us.

If a man works until his strength is overtaxed to procure simply food and shelter, and has had neither time nor money to develop the higher faculties, he does not help to elevate the standard of humanity. He forms part only of an onmoving force, which is turning the raw material of nature into products of man's fashioning, which in its turn is subject to decay. To perfect humanity he should only be worked enough to keep him in a healthy condition and to satisfy his material and spiritual wants. If a mother is well nurtured during pregnancy, and in a healthy environment, if the father is in perfect condition at the time of conception, the child will be of more benefit to the community and less expense to the nation at large. Take for example the following:—

"A woman named Abigail Cochrane, who has just died at Kilmalcolm at 84 years of age, was a pauper from the cradle to the grave. She was born in Greenock in 1807, and was imbecile from her earliest youth. It is estimated that she cost the public purse between £2,000 and £3,000." (\$10,000 and \$15,000.)

As in the case of Abigail Cochrane, each one of our human failures adds a considerable item to the burden, already large, put upon the healthy useful citizens, and if our present industrial workers are overtaxed or overburdened, and their health is undermined, what benefit will their progeny be to future generations?

It is poverty which forces individuals to follow occupations that lead to physical deterioration! It is poverty which forces them to occupations that dehumanize! It is poverty which forces the very poor to sleep both sexes huddled together in small rooms, which destroys moral refinement and brutalizes humanity! The most terrible phase of the social problem is, that a prisoner can say I am better fed, better clothed and housed here in this prison than I was struggling outside to get an honest living; or it can be said in reformatories, that they have discontinued certain kinds of work among juvenile delinquents because they found it caused the physical deterioration of the inmates. At the same time that children are working in factories and at trades undermining their health, scientific men and women are giving their time to perfect youthful culprits in institutions supported by the State. The dishonest are cared for and benefit physically by their dishonesty; the honest are allowed to deteriorate physically as a reward for their honesty. If it is beneficial to have trained scientific men and women to look after the physical and moral welfare, in one instance, why not in the other?

Social scientists agree that existing evils which

have a tendency to lower the standard of humanity, both physically and mentally, should be remedied, but disagree as to the best methods by which the elevation can be accomplished.

There is one important phase of the problem to be considered before remedies can be proposed, and that is whether humanity of itself and by itself would try to better its condition—in other words, would it move in the direction of progress if there were no stress, no incentive, no impelling force?

Many of the proposed reforms of modern socialism are a return to the system of primitive village communities. Individual ownership in land was not the primitive form in village communities, but, collective ownership was the archaic form. The land was held for the benefit of the community, viz., municipalization of the land. If any one left the community, his share became the property of the community, who helped to make the value. He could not live out of the community, and still derive benefits from the community; similar ideas are permeating society to-day with regard to absentee landlords. If succession failed and the land was given to another member, the proceeds were put into the public fund. Every means to prevent the decay of the community was thus resorted to. When any service was rendered, the individual was paid by a share in the benefits of the community. The rights of all were recognized; fellow workers were brothers; everyone was equal; everyone had a vote. In the survival of these communities, there are thousands of years of economic stagnation, and survivals of primitive habits and traditions. They have remained the same as they were ages upon ages ago. No change, no progress has been made wherever conquest by war did not set up a disruptive process. The history of how the land passed from collective ownership to private ownership is interesting, and how the disintegrative process evolved a higher civilization, differentiating the people and leading to division of labor. It was always the pressure of outside events, causing internal disruptions, which brought about the transition from the primitive to a more highly developed state. All sorts of subterfuges and tricks to wrest the land from the people were resorted to, until the original proprietors owned nothing. But scarcely anyone will deny that it was in the direction of progress. It forced the community out of their narrow, self-contained lives into a wider field. It was progressionism opposed to conservatism. Individual ownership in land was a disintegrative process similar to war in

disrupting old conditions, and in spreading civilization.

Every plague sweeping over a country stimulates individuals to improve the sanitary condition of a village or of a town. How prone the authorities are to leave things alone until the threatened visitation of some epidemic excites the public and presses them into action. Every pest attacking some crop stimulates the farmer to find a remedy. Every public calamity draws attention to some abuse. It is the same old story of "let we'uns alone, we be well enough" unless shocked or forced into action by some outside force. Martyrs and reformers are the disruptive elements in communities. Each new religion is a disruptive element; each invention is a disruptive element, making the old give way to the new. How difficult it is to introduce inventions and improvements into old countries. The older the town and village, the slower it is to take advantage of modern improvements, the more difficult it is to displace old methods.

In Egypt may be seen to-day, the crudest methods of elevating water from the Nile for purposes of irrigation; it is raised in some places by the *sakyeh*—a contrivance like the old well sweep, the bucket counterbalanced by a great weight of mud at the other end of the long pole; in other places, by the *shadoof*, a crude cog-wheel worked by a lever turned by donkeys or camels, winding up an endless chain of earthen pots which empty, perhaps, half their contents of water in the shaky ascent. This, too, in the very land where it is said the wise Archimedes invented the wonderful screw!

In Portugal, to-day, you can hear the squeak of the old ox carts going along the roads with their wooden wheels, making you believe for the moment that you are living in the sixteenth century, instead of the *fin de siècle* of the nineteenth.

Capital seeking investment is a disruptive force and creates new industries. Many propose, as remedies for social evils, to do away with war, with religion, with capital, with competition; to provide for the weak and the unfit: to have perfect equality, taking from each according to his capabilities, and giving to each according to his needs. Had we such a state, could we be sure that such a course would not lead to uniformity and mediocrity, instead of differentiation and progress? What will be the disruptive forces in such a socially organized state? What are the provisions against economic stagnation?

To propose reforms for existing conditions the obstructions which humanity offers itself must be taken into consideration. From the study of com-

parative custom and natural history, no scheme seems rational which does not offer sufficient incentive to impel humanity to move in the direction of progress.

Re-volution is as necessary to human progress as E-volution.

Many believe that human progress is accomplished by steadily advancing in one direction, but experience disproves this; human progress has been the result of reactionary waves leaving the mean at a higher level. When one extreme is reached which threatens the very existence of the social organism, there must be a reaction. Once the disintegrative process of individual ownership in land was started, it went to the extreme of one man, the king, owning nominally the whole of the land; from the whole of the community deciding upon an issue, it went to the extreme of the king having absolute power over the whole nation. This extreme was followed in its turn by a reaction in favor of the redistribution of power among the people. It is said that the whole of the law books of England, dating from the twelfth century contain scarcely anything but the struggles of the people to regain possession of the land and their rights. The extreme of centralization having been reached, the reaction in favor of redistribution, *i. e.*, Re-volution commenced.

A similar process is taking place; as the centralization of wealth is reached, there must be a reaction—a redistribution to the advantage of labor, or social ruin. The reaction has already commenced,—the struggle of the people to regain possession of natural monopolies, and of all special privileges which have been granted to private individuals or corporations. The difference between municipal and national control of a public necessity is that the large revenue derived from such a monopoly returns to lighten taxation and improve the condition of the masses, whereas the enormous revenue derived from a natural monopoly possessed by one or more individuals increases the income of, and places autocratic power in, the hands of these individuals. It enables a shrewd, unscrupulous brain worker in every industrial crisis or panic, which he may even help to make, to call in or lock up his capital for his own benefit, thereby causing financial ruin to many, and throwing hundreds, perhaps thousands out of work.

The greatest obstacle in the way of the Government taking control of public improvements is the additional power it would put under present conditions, into the hands of corrupt political parties. What if the patronage of the gas, electric light, telephone, telegraphs, ele-

vated railroads and street railway companies, were held by the city in addition to that of the police department, the waterworks, the dock department, the health bureau and the street cleaning bureau? With such a grip on the public purse and such an army of office holders, the result would be that one party would always remain in power. The added revenues from these great enterprises and the added votes from their employees would give an additional advantage to the party in power to retain its tenure of office.

The livelihood of the thousands employed would depend upon re-election of their own party. How is it possible to have any good government where so great an incentive to misappropriation is placed in the hands of the few? The competition for subsistence as it is, makes self-interest the most powerful incentive actuating mankind. Could love of justice, humanity and right be pitted against self-interest?

If it is impossible to recover old franchises to the state, and if it is dangerous to have natural monopolies controlled by unscrupulous politicians, laws should be passed compelling a fair return of part of the profits and a payment of proper *pro rata* profits in the future.

In justice to humanity the back dues on old franchises acquired from the state and without due recompense to the community, should be collected.

What of the Broadway railroad franchise? Was it not found to have been stolen through boodle aldermen? Was not the railroad recovered by the city? Can not the proper due returns be extorted likewise from all other franchises which have not made and are not now making proper returns to the States?

What of the millions of public lands, rich in timber and minerals, that have been lost to the country by being given to railroad companies in addition to valuable franchises?

As barter was the crude form of earlier communities, and as we have to-day returned to barter, although in a more perfected form, in our clearing houses and credit system, could there not be together with such laws preventing the decay of the earlier communities, an ideal and an incentive which would insure human progress?

The platform of the Humanitarian Government alone offers the ideals tending to the constant and continuous elevation of mankind.—

It proposes:

Revenue and Tariff Reforms.

Tribunals of Health.

Free Courts of Justice for the poor.

Bureaus of anthropology connected with every police station.

Laboratories for analysis of impure foods and liquors.

Women's Suffrage.

Scientific re-organization of the Criminal Code.

Physicians to examine children in schools.

Improved Dwellings for the poor.

Labor Tribunals for Arbitration.

National encouragement of Arts and Sciences.

Aristocracy of Blood.

Revenue and Tariff Reforms.—While not admitting that eventually in the co-operation of States and Governments there can exist any prohibitory tariff, in the unsettled conditions of self interest which at present may necessitate tariff measures, it is proposed that any excessive revenues now raised by the tariff could be largely and more justly raised by a forced return from franchises illegally extorted in the past from the people, of such proper amounts as should have been yearly paid for the franchise; or more clearly, such yearly percentages as are now properly demanded by the State or City when granting new franchises. Many of the large cities are able to pay a large percentage of their expenses by the revenues derived from franchises, or control of public works.

Beyond this in general and local revenues necessary for governmental purposes, it is also proposed that a graduated tax would tend to placing taxation rather where the ability to pay taxes exists than upon such things as bear directly upon the poor. Wealth should contribute its proper share towards the expenses of the government.

To Establish Tribunals of Health.—It is not possible to raise the standard of humanity when working men and women are overtaxed and overworked. Physical and mental well-being are questions of health. Hence, if it is considered from an economic standpoint, instead of a humanitarian one, it is more advantageous to prevent disease than to cure. It is just as economical and more so, to take measures to prevent people from becoming paupers as to keep them after they have become paupers. To arouse and elevate the masses, they must have sufficient energy left to reason, and they cannot do this if overworked. Every thought is at the expense of organic substance, every muscular contraction is at the expense of organic substance. Scientists maintain that the average time that men continue to work at the

same thing and keep up the normal balance of health is eight hours. If men or women work so as to spend the balance between health and disease, they become worn out quicker, in proportion, as they exceed the limit. Statistics bear us out that the leisured classes live much longer, in towns, than those who are hard workers; in the latter, the waste which accumulates is not fully eliminated, and as the balance of repair is not kept up, the individual is devitalized. Moreover, the products of muscular work, accumulating in the blood from overwork, have a somniferous effect on the higher nerve-centres and lower intellectual activity. It places the muscle worker at the mercy of the unscrupulous brain worker. Overwork is one of the most active causes leading to drunkenness. Overwork multiplies our paupers. Individuals who marry and have children, when overworked, have, as a result, devitalized and feeble children. And only too often these individuals become parasites on the strong and healthy. Take the generations of town bred workers and compare results, the power of endurance which is supposed to be the measure of vitality, is found to decrease in each generation. And as population has a tendency to become centered in towns, it is of the most vital importance to humanity to take measures to prevent this physical deterioration.

Bureaus of anthropology connected with every police station.—Where police stations are necessary to deal with crime, there should also be bureaus with scientific men and women to examine causes. The men and women would be appointed by leading hospitals and colleges in order to make such appointments independent of party politicians.

To establish Laboratories in different districts.—This is meant for the analysis of impure foods and liquors at no cost to the poor. These appointments would be given by a qualified medical committee and it would be quite free from patronage of politicians.

That women shall have free and equal right of suffrage with all citizens.—The woman's suffrage question has been fully and completely discussed heretofore, it having been maintained before a Congressional committee as far back as 1870, that the 14th and 15th amendments, included the right of suffrage to all persons and citizens; Amendment XIV.—“All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.” Amendment XV.—“The right of citizens

of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.” In addition to this claim, the fundamental principle of our government, which was founded upon the theory that if taxed the American Colonies were entitled to representation claims that if taxation implies citizenship, certainly women largely taxed and subject to all liabilities of the laws are entitled to citizenship, and consequently the right of suffrage.

Scientific reorganization of our whole criminal code.—It is necessary to eradicate crime by more direct and stringent measures than now prevail in the criminal courts. In addition to the examination of offenders in the police courts by scientific experts, in conjunction with the legal authorities, it is proposed not only to differentiate between innocence and crime, but habitual offenders should be thoroughly recognized as irresponsible and not to be permitted to return to society. It requires also a scientific mind to estimate degrees of punishment appropriate to the different natures of individuals, together with the possibilities of cure, it being maintained that certain kinds of crime are disease, and not a question of free will and responsibility.

To have physicians examine children in schools.—Such a law is necessary to see if they have degeneration of eyes or other organs and to give certificates. These certificates are granted for mental fitness, and so should be for physical.

To Erect Improved Dwellings for the Poor.—It has been proved that by careful management it is possible for the Government to erect these buildings and to make them a paying investment, besides furnishing proper environment for the elevation of the lowest classes, who can only pay the most reasonable rents. How can the very poor be elevated if left to the mercy of avaricious landlords?

National Encouragement of the Arts and Sciences.—They now depend only on individual patronage. The aim of such encouragement would be to idealize “The Pursuit of Happiness.” To elevate the race it is necessary to stimulate and develop the pleasures and pains of the intellect. The higher faculties are still growing, becoming more humanized but their organic foundations are animal. The longer organized a habit has become in the individual or the race, the more difficult it is to be overcome. The organic passions, desires and instincts are firm and stable; the power human beings have to master or check them is un-

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER.

From London *Punch*.

DEAREST BECKY,—I have had *such* luck! Oh, so fortunate! Fancy, we *did* get in, after all! You know Mr. TENTERFORE, of Somerset House, has a friend a barrister, and this friend said, if we would be by the door of the Court at eleven, he *thought* he could slip us in. And he did, my dear—he did! We got *capital* places, and as we had brought with us some sherry and sandwiches, we had “a real good time of it,” as your brother calls it! We had our work, too, and so were *quite* comfortable. The night-charges were *such* fun! A lot of men and women were brought before the Magistrate for being “drunk and incapable” (that’s a legal term, my dear), and got so chaffed! One of the women was very old—such a silly frump!—she was still dreadfully intoxicated I am afraid! Very sad, *of course*, but we couldn’t help laughing! She was *such* a figure before they got rid of her! But this was only the overture to the drama. After the night-charges were over, the Court was cleared, but we were allowed to remain as Mr. WIGINBLOCK (our barrister friend) declared we belonged to the Press! He said that MARY contributed to the *Blood and Thunder News*, and I to the *Murder Gazette*! I am sure it must have been in *fun*, for we have never *seen* the papers. When lunch was over, in came the Magistrate with a *number* of the “*smartest*” people! Really, I was *quite delighted* to be in such *good* company. All sorts of *nice* people. And then—oh—it was *lonely*! We saw *her quite* close, and could watch the color come and go in her cheeks! She is rather pretty! She was wearing her *ordinary* clothes; not the workhouse, nor the ones *with the blood on them*, but some that had been sent in to her since the inquest. I tried your opera-glasses. They are *simply capital*, darling! We were much amused with *his* evidence; and it was really *excellent* fun to listen to the howls of the crowd outside! But I am not sure *he* cared for them! We got away in *excellent* time, and I hope to go again. I am trying *very hard* (should it come to anything) to be present at the *last scene of all*! Wouldn’t that be *lovely*? I should have to be at the place, though, at *ten minutes to eight o’clock*! I don’t think I should go to bed that night *at all*! If I did, I am *sure* I should not sleep! It would be so very, *very* interesting! And now, my *dearest*, good-bye. Your ever most affectionate friend,

LUCRETIA.

If terrible inequalities did not exist, perhaps those sensational papers and realistic novels which cater to morbid and depraved tastes, would not flourish. How dull and commonplace life would become to such creatures as the one this letter portrays!

SOME OBSTRUCTIONS TO REFORM.

The great aim of all jurisprudence is, without doubt, toward such national and international codes of laws as will promote the welfare of the great majority of mankind.

But how are we to propose reforms when the very basis of government and the means of reform are controlled by systematic party corruptionists? There is but one single method of effecting an entering wedge into the politics of the day; and that is to elect responsible candidates by so overwhelming a majority that they cannot be counted out, and who sure of the support of their followers, may propose such legislation as may be adequate to the needs of effecting positive, intelligent reforms. But how then, it is asked, would you proceed to awaken the interest of the public in the cause of reform?

My answer is, agitate to remove the obstructions to reform throughout the United States; for it is only by national effort that great reform is practicable. Three important reforms, especially, suggest themselves to my mind as furnishing a basis for a new order of government. I refer, first, to the imperfect system of voting for public officials; second, to the imperfect representation of all citizens at the polls; and third, to the imperfect operation of laws between the States of our common country.

The most direct criticism upon our prevailing institutions I shall designate as obstructive legislation and obstructive laws. What I mean by this is, that the necessity of bolstering up complicated political systems gives rise to the enactment of so much law that the very spirit of law and justice is nullified by legal safeguards, which become, by their technicalities, obstructive.

Applying this criticism to our system of election, it will be seen that even the enactment of *printed* ballots itself becomes obstructive; and all the safeguards of the Australian or other technicalities only render the original wrong more positive.

By necessitating that *any* particular ballot *must* be voted, you place power in the hands of a few to direct (*volens volens*) the votes of the people into particular channels; so that, in order to create any new party of strength enough to overcome a political ring at the polls, the present system necessitates great expense of *printing* ballots and *getting them distributed* into the hands of voters—that is to say, another political machine must be organized to fight the first.

Now in a free country, based upon popular and

active justice, these machines must be overcome, by simpler methods. In order to do this, the obstructive enactments must be done away with. Not that I would do away with law, for simple and just laws are the science of government! But I would direct legislation so broadly as not to defeat itself! For example, as applied to the ballot, the law should specify that, for the purpose of rendering it convenient to deposit and count ballots they should be of a certain size of white paper, folded twice lengthwise, so as to go into the ballot boxes; upon the outside should be *written* or *printed* the name of the office voted for; and upon the inside the name of the candidate should be *written* or *printed*. Have you not here the spirit of the law? Now to improve upon this simple ballot is to obstruct its use.

It is claimed that all kinds of things might happen—that the voters could not write, that they could not spell the names exactly, that there might be too many candidates voted for, and the great cry is for a secret ballot. This is the grand plea for a complicated ballot—that no party or employer should know how the employés should vote, in order to stop the purchase and control of votes.

That is to say, that, in order to protect a few voters, the mass must be compelled to vote for particular machine candidates; that, to enable voters to vote secretly for machine candidates, who may also be counted in falsely by machine inspectors of election, other independent candidates must have no means of knowing how many votes they received by publicity. Now I contend that even the secret ballot is wrong of itself—not to refer again to its being in its very nature obstructive—for look what a check upon ring rule and control of elections would be the very publicity of every person calling aloud their votes as cast. At every poll could be a newspaper reporter checking votes as cast, and at night every candidate would know his vote without waiting for the official count, which could not then be doctored by the inspectors within. Now look at the vast advantage to the public of being able to form a party over night to overthrow a political ring!

Suppose a great reform movement was inaugurated suddenly upon the eve of an election, by an orator of profound views proposing new issues, and the press should proclaim his doctrines, and the people would say, Let us vote for that man and overthrow corruption! There would be no time to organize all over the United States with *printed* ballots for particular State electors; but the

people should have the power to *write a ballot* for that man direct in every district all over this land; and so for all candidates! In addition, there should be a registry of all voters entitled by law to vote!

Now let us apply the same criticism to the right of suffrage.

The first principle of liberty is the right of representation. The very rebellion of these States themselves was based upon the right of representation in Parliament, if taxed; no taxation without representation! And yet all through the history of these United States, efforts have been made to restrain from representation at the polls not only the slaves, contributing to the wealth of the nation, but women, largely taxed, and subject to all the liabilities of the laws and citizenship; and this upon the sole excuse of sex. What has sex or color to do with citizenship, or with persons amenable to law and contributing by taxation to the revenue of the State?

I question if there be any other just gauge of the right to vote than taxation, and I question if any one should be esteemed a citizen who was not taxed in some manner. Certainly there is no justice in permitting a foreigner, who has recently been naturalized and who has never contributed to the support of the State, to vote, and in denying that right to a woman, who has contributed labor, or who has contributed a home to the husband, and who, in the event of his decease, has still contributed taxes to the State as the head of the family. Any laws, therefore, which upon technical grounds deny the right of suffrage to all citizens, male or female, is obstructive; and an eligible system of *pro rata* taxation should be the sole broad ground upon which to base a perfect representation of all citizens at the polls.

Certainly there must be system in permitting the right of suffrage, just as there must be system in depositing the ballot; but what we wish to discover is just how much law or how much system is necessary, and not to permit of so much system that by its very unnecessary enactments the operation of the law defeats itself.

Let us consider the third important reform, which concerns the imperfect operation of laws between the States of our common country! It will be sufficient to state simply that the diversity of laws between the separate States is, in its very nature, obstructive. To accomplish, therefore, judicial reforms within States, it is palpably necessary to consider the subject from a national standpoint.

We are, then, met with the great questions of centralization and of constitutionality. When we discover that the Constitution of the United States gives Congress power to legislate only upon the subjects of naturalization and bankruptcy, the question arises, How can uniform laws be secured throughout the States?

Palpably new amendments must be made to the Constitution authorizing Congress to enact uniform laws; for the only protection of the States for and against each other seems to lie thus in entrusting to Congress power to legislate upon those social subjects which affect all persons alike.

CHARLES STUART WELLES, M.D.

HYPNOTIC SUGGESTION AND EDUCATION.

Dr. Bérillon, of Paris, at the recent meeting of the International Congress of Experimental Psychology held in London, read a paper on the "Application of Hypnotic Suggestion to Education." In the course of his remarks he said that he was the first to draw attention to the aid which suggestion would give to teachers of the young. Dr. Bérillon has hypnotised nearly 300 children, and has found, contrary to generally preconceived opinions, that children suffering from nervous diseases, or hereditary taint, were far more refractory to influence than normally healthy children. He found that 8 out of 10 of every child between the age of 6 and 15 could be easily set to sleep after the first or second attempt. He deprecated the general application of hypnotic suggestion, but believed it would be found invaluable in many cases. Children who suffered from vicious habits, stealing, lying, or more pernicious vices, could be treated by hypnotic suggestion. They could be easily sent to sleep, and then an attempt should be made to suggest right conduct, special care being taken to re-enforce the moral sense existing in the child. By this means he had been able to cure children from vices, which would be dangerous to themselves and society, although all previous efforts, even the greatest severity, had failed. He believed that educators should be doctors, or at least understand physiology and psychology. The great thing was to inspire confidence in the child, and to remove any sense of fear. When this was done the subject became perfectly susceptible to hypnotic suggestion, and by this means not only could vicious habits be eradicated and the moral sense be strengthened, but the memory could be greatly improved, so that the natural faculties of the child could be discovered and cultivated. He repeated

that he would not interfere with normal children; would not advocate the forcing of children to studies, and would only make use of hypnotic suggestion when other means failed. In the discussion that followed, Dr. Van Eeden remarked that hypnotism was wrongly understood. As a matter of fact the greatest hypnotisers were mothers. Mothers were always influencing their young children by hypnotic suggestion. They sang and rocked their children to sleep, kissed and banished away pains by suggestion, and by telling children that they would be good, that they disliked doing wrong, directed their moral education by hypnotic suggestion. The only thing doctors and educators did was to bring scientific methods to bear on the matter. Professor Delbœuf mainly supported these views, but he pointed out that hypnotisers could not create that which did not exist. If the brain was deficient, if the moral sense was non-existent, no hypnotic suggestion would do permanent good. In the same way, it was impossible to impart special faculties to make an artist, a musician, or mathematician, by hypnotic system if these faculties did not already exist. Professor Henry Sidgwick was inclined to regard the paper as a most important one, and the help of hypnotism on education to be invaluable, always providing that the system was properly safeguarded, and only made use of in special cases, and as a last resort. The basis of the whole scheme must be the study of the individual; generalization in this matter would be dangerous. One doctor said he had been able to cure drunkenness and the habit of smoking by hypnotic suggestion. In two cases he suggested that the patients should be violently sick whenever they took alcoholic liquids, and the suggestion was carried out, even against the will of the patients. One of them said she would not be bested by any doctor, and persistently drank, but on each occasion she was violently sick. Another patient under the same influence used to drink to annoy a teetotaler husband, but she also was sick against her will.

Y. GROUTHER.

Working Mothers and their Children.—A curious piece of statistical work which has been very carefully compiled and recently published in Paris, informs us that, whereas, out of every 1,000 children, 152 die during their first year, when their mothers are not employed at work outside their own homes, no fewer than 195, or 43 per cent. more, succumb when their natural guardians are obliged to deprive their offspring of their maternal care.

INEQUALITIES OF WEALTH.

A writer, in speaking of Plutarch, said that he was well born, well taught and well conditioned, and knew the value of good conversation, but just imagine if every one were well born, well taught, well conditioned, what would give occupation to policemen, or to professional politicians? And if such a state did exist, where would reporters find copy for the daily papers?

If terrible inequalities did not exist, lectures could not be written on the theme, that you, who are fortune's favorites, should ameliorate the condition of your less favored fellow creatures, and that it is your duty to brighten and dispel the gloom of their lives, and arouse in them the love of the beautiful. You need not think of the irony of the whole thing. You need not reflect that the conditions in which they live are stimulating, strengthening, arousing, developing the brute, or are causing a reversion to lower instincts. You need not think that you have any body else to thank besides yourself that you are better than they are, otherwise, you would falter and hesitate, and not carry conviction to these poor, deluded souls.

Unequal distribution of wealth connotes that some have more and others have less. There is a limit to the quantity of gold in the world; if one nation gets more, other nations will get proportionately less. The land of a nation is limited, and if this land becomes the property of the few, the rest of the population will get proportionately less. If one man has all the benefits accruing from supplying certain necessities to the public, the rest of mankind will be excluded from sharing his profits, or if to one individual the largest share of any trade is given, the less there remains to divide among other individuals pursuing the same trade, and the more numerous the latter, the portion each receives is proportionately smaller. How is centralization of wealth accomplished? By big firms or monopolies absorbing the little ones, individuals co-operating together to get a monopoly; monopolies co-operate together to form trusts. Capitalists by co-operating have made themselves so powerful that they can crush out all small competitors. To-day vast fortunes are an accomplished fact. The power of the few over the many is becoming patent. The case stands to-day as it did when Solon found the wealth and property of Athens had become the property of the few, while the many were poor and miserable; and Plutarch tells us that Lycurgus found the same condition of affairs in Lacedæmonia.

Why is it that unequal distribution of wealth produces luxury and encouragement of the fine arts? It is because one having more than he requires for his actual material wants can devote the surplus wealth to satisfy his æsthetic taste. For instance a man leaves a million dollars to be divided among ten children; he also leaves an estate; he leaves to the oldest son nine hundred thousand dollars with the estate, and only one hundred thousand to be divided equally among the other nine children. The eldest son having more than he requires for his material wants, fosters art by buying beautiful pictures and statues for his gallery, collects other *objets d'art*, becomes an amateur horticulturist and has lovely green houses; or an amateur breeder of choice animals, he improves the estate by laying out new roads and other improvements. The other children with their small legacies compete in the industrial or professional ranks, emigrate, or they marry fortunes or mayhap succumb in the struggle for existence.

The one who gets the lion's share (he may not be in any way the superior from the standpoint of the breeder), has all the advantages that wealth and society can give him; the others will be the majority, subjected to the stress of poverty and unfavorable environment. It is not that they would not like to have many of the comforts that their brother has, but it is their poverty which debars them; they have not the purchasing power. The demand for the superior article will be as one to nine; the demand for cheap inferior articles will be as nine to one, and the greater the inequality the greater the demand for cheap inferior articles. There is an intimate relation between centralization of wealth and restricted consumption of commodities. The more the purchasing power gets into the hands of the few the more restricted consumption will become. Sir Dudley North said as far back as 1691 that it is the poverty of the consumers which causes a glutted market and depression of trade. How much purchasing power has the girl working for a dollar and a half a week? She does not stay in the garret because she prefers it to a nice comfortable room; she does not go dinnerless from choice. It is because her poverty debars her from purchasing her dinner. On the other hand over-production brings disaster to the producer, and this will continue to be so as long as the masses are too poor to purchase.

Think of the difference in value a sum of money is to a man who hasn't anything to eat, or any place to sleep, and the same sum of money to one who has a

superfluity. Twenty-five cents to the starving man or woman represents that which will keep soul and body together for the time; a few dollars to another means genteel poverty; a few hundreds to another represents certain luxuries; a few hundred thousands, more or less, to the millionaire may or may not have exceeded its usefulness. What a wide gulf separates the first and the last.

Make a mental picture of how commonplace everything would be if the wealth were more equally distributed. You would not be able to shed tears over some poor soul dying in a garret of starvation. Your feelings of horror would not be excited over some poor wretch who, from desperation has been driven to destroy her young. Perchance if these inequalities did not exist, you would not be able to recoil in horror from the unfortunate. Thank God you are not like they are! What matters it that statistics show that the larger number of women who become unfortunate are driven to it from inability to provide for their young. If terrible inequalities did not exist, you would not be able to contrast the difference of the nursery in a mansion, where the little children repose in soft, luxurious beds draped with silk and laces, with trained nurses in attendance, watching and guarding every action of mama's darlings, with the children clasped to the breast of some hungry mother on a pallet of straw in some loathsome cellar, or dingy garret, or pest stricken hole, or with some foundling asylum mocking those who tell of the exquisite humanizing influence of the maternal instinct. If inequalities did not exist the anarchist would not be able to arouse in you feelings of hate and of envy, when he tells you how a millionaire spends enough on a horse or a dog kennel that would give a thousand men work, or a lady spends on a dress that which would keep the soul pure of many a poor girl working for starvation wages.

Every good has its concomitant evil. Are social evils the necessary concomitants of civilization? Would it not be possible to formulate some scheme to strengthen the good and eliminate the evil?

“Study without reflection, is waste of time;
Reflection, without study, is dangerous.”

Non-individualist inventors are those who, like the late Sir Thomas Stevenson, Michael Farraday, Sir William Simpson and a host of others, return gratuitously to society the fruits of their inventive genius, and take out no patents.

DEGENERATION.

Natural selection, though consistent with and capable of leading to steady upward progress and improvement, by no means involves such progress as a necessary consequence. All it says is that those animals will, in each generation, have the best chance of survival which are most in harmony with their environment, and such animals will not necessarily be those which are ideally the best or the most perfect. If you go into a shop to purchase an umbrella, the one you select is by no means necessarily that which most nearly approaches ideal perfection, but the one which best hits off the mean between your own idea of what an umbrella should be and the amount of money you are prepared to give for it: the one, in fact, that is, on the whole, best suited to the circumstances of the case or the environment for the time being. It might well happen that you had a violent antipathy to a crooked handle, or else were determined to have a catch of a particular kind to secure the ribs, and this might lead to the selection, *i.e.*, the survival, of an article that in other and even in more important respects was manifestly inferior to the average. So it is also with animals; the survival of a form that is ideally inferior is very possible. To animals living in profound darkness the possession of eyes is of no advantage, and forms devoid of eyes would not merely lose nothing thereby, but would actually gain, inasmuch as they would escape the dangers that might arise from injury to a delicate and complicated organ. In extreme cases, as in animals leading a parasitic existence, the condition of life may be such as to render locomotor, digestive, sensory and other organs entirely useless; and in such cases these forms will be best in harmony with their surroundings which avoid the waste of energy resulting from the formation and maintenance of these organs.

Anthropologists are now attaching less importance to the shape of the skull and more to the features and cast of the face as a test of race than they have hitherto done. The nose, chin, brow, and so on, but especially the nose, are very significant marks of race. The skull is apt to become modified by ways of life and other influences; but the features, unless they are marred, continue to run in the same moulds. After all, the skull and the skeleton are but the bony framework of the man, and may be compared to the supports of a building.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.

The organs of the body adapting themselves to circumstances are accordingly developed. In growing persons, especially school children, the muscles being more pliable, it is not difficult to have symmetrical growth, but to have an equal and corresponding development of the brain is seldom taken into account. The amount of nutrition absorbed by the tissues depends upon the waste, which being greater, requires more repair. The organs most used become larger and stronger, and that at the expense of the lesser used parts. Habits that cause disease and impede the action of any of the organs should be avoided. A trade or profession that has a detrimental effect upon the system should be attended to by healthy counteracting influences.

Nowhere is there more harm done to the physical and mental condition than in our public schools. Teachers in their endeavors to turn out a very intelligent child overlook the physical training, with the result that the child grows up sickly. The constant cram worries and overtakes the mental capabilities. One child is more apt than another and what is easy for one is over-exertion to the other. The classifying according to age is wrong. It should be according to the physical condition. The present system is responsible for many sickly youths.

The taxing of the mental qualities reduces the body, for, so vascular is the brain, that the blood absorbed is at the expense of the body. Savages, who can undergo great hardships, are of strong muscular build, yet very deficient in mental capacity, while the highly cultivated person is the reverse.

It is, therefore, of importance that the system should be uniformly exercised. In many cases it is necessary to burst the sartorial tape. The clothes should yield to the body, not the body to the clothes. There should be thorough ease at inspiration and with shoulders well back which throws the chest forward, the pupil breathing through his nose, should force healthy air into his lungs causing them to be expanded to the utmost capacity. Walking and at the same time singing is one of the best exercises one can indulge in; of course, the temperature is to be considered, and it is needless to add that the purer the air the better. The feet should have full play in the boot, ignoring fashion. The heel of the boot should be of the same thickness as the sole, and the toes must not be cramped, while no impedi-

ment should be allowed to restrict the instep. Hygiene should be strictly attended to and the body kept at normal temperature by muscular action.

While being careful of the body, the development of the mental faculties can be going on. The surroundings should be as pure as possible, so as to raise the moral standard, and no literature should be allowed within reach of doubtful quality. Oral teaching should have preference and an enquiring principle ought to be imbued into the pupil. An education of observation and travel, conducted on scientific rules, is one of the best methods of instruction. The crude style of to-day requires considerable improvements which will only be adopted when a higher standard pervades the masses.

To place on an equal footing the development of body and mind, thus bringing out the maximum development of both without doing injury to either—to use the sciences for the betterment of the people—to raise the æsthetic tone and establish a higher degree of life generally—are the duties of a Humanitarian Government.

Dr. Louis Robinson read a paper before the Anthropological Section of the British Association, on the prehensile power of infants. Long-continued experiments had proved that the muscles of the hands and arms of a newly-born infant are far stronger in proportion to weight than those of most healthy adults. In many cases a newly born child would hang and support its weight with ease for a minute, and some for thirty seconds longer. Several infants less than a week old hung for over a minute and a half, a few others a fortnight old for nearly two minutes, and one child of about three weeks old for two minutes, thirty-five seconds.

If the child were in good temper to begin with it would hang quite placidly until its fingers began to slip when it at once evinced distress, and screamed lustily as if from a fear of the consequences of falling. An examination of the foot of an infant showed that it was much more hand-like than that of the adult. The heel was much narrower than in after life, and the fore part of the sole, instead of presenting a rounded, smooth surface, was flat, or even concave, with creases like those of the palm of the hand. The author was not aware that any explanation could be given of these lines, so characteristic of a prehensile organ, on the foot of the human infant, other than that they were vestiges of an arboreal state of existence. He believed that it was due to the habit of the young clinging to the body of a parent who would require to use all her limbs for climbing.

SO THE WORLD GOES.

Laugh, and the world laughs with you;
 Weep, and you weep alone,
 For this brave old earth must borrow its mirth,
 It has trouble enough of its own.
 Sing, and the hills will answer;
 Sigh! It is lost on the air;
 The echoes bound to a joyful sound,
 But shrink from a voicing care.

Rejoice, and men will seek you;
 Grieve, and they turn and go;
 They want full measure of all your pleasure,
 But they do not want your woe.
 Be glad, and your friends are many;
 Be sad and you lose them all;
 There are none to decline your nectared wine,
 But alone you must drink life's gall.

Feast, and your halls are crowded;
 Fast, and the world goes by;
 Succeed and give, and it helps you live,
 But no man can help you die.
 There is room in the halls of pleasure
 For a long and lordly train,
 But one by one we must all file on
 Through the narrow aisles of pain.

JOHN A. JOYCE.

THE UNLIKELY HUMAN.

It is a difficult matter to get at hereditary details, and many ailments which are set down to general causes, are but heirlooms. Very many cases could be given where the disease or development can be shown in other members of the family, but we will content ourselves with the following:*

"B. L., aged twenty-seven, married, hawker; transferred from jail December 1883. The only information as to the family history of this patient was obtainable from the latter herself, who stated that her father had been an excessive drinker, and her sister an inmate of W. R. asylum.

"She was committed to 12 months hard labor for assaulting and wounding a woman, whom she believed to co-habit with her husband. This belief, as well as the alleged cruelty toward her of the latter, appeared to be actual facts, which, added to long and excessive indulgence in alcoholic stimulants, had produced her present mental disorder. The forehead was deeply scarred, as

the result of injuries received by a fall on the head some years previously.

"Whilst in prison, the patient behaved with great violence to her fellow prisoners and the wardens, and, on one occasion made a desperate attempt at suicide, being discovered in her cell, black in the face from strangulation, effected by a piece of cord tied round the neck. During this time, also, she maintained an obstinate silence. She spoke on removal to the asylum, explaining that God had engaged her to be dumb while she was in hell—i. e., prison. At first abstracted and suspicious, exhibiting many purposeless tricks of gesture and countenance, she quickly became an active and industrious inmate, showing, however, some irrationality, together with considerable want of control. Although no delusions or suspicion regarding those surrounding her were manifest, yet the low type of her appearance received confirmation in occasional outbursts of violence without adequate cause, and at all times characterized by the utmost brutality. Her behavior, however, not deserving of the license of insanity, she was, after a residence of three months, sent back to jail.

"In less than two months she had another outbreak, and became most violent, abusive and foul-mouthed; procuring a medicine bottle belonging to another prisoner, she, with the intention of suicide, drank half its contents before she could be prevented. She was, on her return to the asylum, most whimsical, aggressive, obscene, and apparently the subject of hallucinations. In this state she remained for nearly a week, when she commenced gradually to improve, and ultimately settled down into a quite affable patient of industrious habits, with the exception of two or three passionable outbursts of short duration. Apart from actual insanity, nevertheless, she could only be regarded as of low and degraded nature. Discharged within a month of the expiration of her sentence, 'relieved.' Since her discharge she has frequently figured in the police courts; has been several times in prison, and during her imprisonment, her conduct has been characterized by the utmost brutality, ferocious violence and vindictiveness."

Our duty to the race to come demands that something should be done to counteract the transmission of evil qualities and raise the tone and vigor. On this depends the future of the nation. The creation of healthy offspring is imperative. We cannot very well destroy the unlikely human as we do the unlikely plant or lower animal, but we can, by judicious legislation, alleviate the backward tendency of the race.

*A Text Book of Mental Diseases, by W. Bevan Lewis, M. R. C. S.

up a scanty sustenance on the leathery lichen. But just at this season, the cold and scarcity of food affects other animals, and causes an animal exodus of the lemming or mountain rat from the higher latitudes, and it is said that these frequently invade the coast in large armies. Now travellers have been told by the natives, and they themselves have observed, that on these occasions the reindeer are on the alert, and attack the exhausted army of lemmings as they arrive, and devour them with great greediness. This was long doubted, and caused warm discussion, but the story has been repeated over and over again by recent observers, and we must accept the fact. Here, then, we see that the reindeer, only able to get a meagre meal off the lichen covered rocks, depart from their ordinary food when the opportunity offers, and recruit their strength and heat by devouring animal food, and, apparently, with the happiest results.

Pigs, we know, will eat almost anything, and we need, therefore, scarcely wonder at their rather marked fondness for flesh and fish. It becomes more interesting, however, when we learn that the large droves of pigs in certain regions of the continent, where they are left out in the forests almost in a wild state, show a curious and often alarming craving for flesh. Well authenticated instances are not wanting, where these herds of semi-wild pigs have attacked animals and children, when their natural food proved scanty. These pigs will also eat up the slow or blind-worms, and love to potter about in the mud where they pick up eels with great gusto.

While after wild boar in the weird and picturesque glens of romantic Corsica, I had an opportunity of verifying the fondness of the pig-tribe for flesh, even in their savage state. Our party killed a few and had them taken to the shepherd-village, where they were cut open (previous to our carrying them off to our distant homes), and the contents of the stomachs examined, when we discovered the heads and wings of birds. I was shown feathers of blackbirds and thrushes, and in one instance a small piece of hairy skin, evidently part of the remains of a cat. Now these wild boar had been killed in the coast valleys, just after a severe fall of snow in the mountain regions inland. The wild boar had been forced down from the inclement fastnesses, and not content with the plentiful supply of roots and acorns, had fed upon small animals whenever they got a chance. I was assured by the shepherds (great huntsmen in these parts) that their traps, set for small birds, hares and rabbits, were frequently robbed by wild boar. Their spoor near the snares

sufficiently proved their guilt. The scales and fins of trout, and the remains of eels, were not uncommonly found in their stomachs.

With domestic pigs the love of flesh eating might, perhaps, be set down as an acquired taste, and so hardly possesses the same amount of interest for us. It is somewhat remarkable how often it becomes a regular passion to the porcine *gourmet*. Quite recently we heard of such carnivorous instincts of a Normandy pig; and a few years back, at Rouen, a poor old woman was killed and partially devoured by her own pigs. More instances can be given. In "the good old days," and indeed up to the middle of the seventeenth century, animals were commonly tried by solemn courts of law when guilty of homicide. Thus we find in 1386 the Norman judicial authorities of Falaise sitting in conclave on the case of a reckless sow, proved to have killed and shockingly mutilated a little child. Sentence was passed; the sow was to have its limbs dislocated and then suffer the extreme penalty by hanging. In the year 1394, a pig was condemned to the less barbarous and complicated punishment of hanging for a similar offence, although it was proved to have attacked and partially dined off children before this last fatal act.

Some of the fruit and root eating monkeys of Africa and America, travellers tell us, will also occasionally show a predilection for animal food.

We are accustomed to look upon the squirrel as an exceptionally clean feeder. But Major A. B. Ellis, in his book on the "West African Islands," speaks of the Isle de Los squirrels eating young birds, yellow palm and other pretty little feathered mites. In one chapter he gives a most amusing account of a forest tragedy which he witnessed, when a poor palm bird met its fate in order to provide a grimacing squirrel with a hearty breakfast.

Instances are on record where ruminating domestic animals have apparently contracted an irresistible passion for "small deer," such as mice, rats, tender chicks and other "unconsidered trifles" of the same kind. It is often extremely difficult, in these cases, to form an idea, whether such lapses, from the ordinary routine of nutrition, are to be regarded as relapses to a long discarded state of affairs, cases of atavism, or as an acquired taste.

It would be possible to extend these notes indefinitely if this line of discussion was followed up, or even if notice were taken of those marvelously puzzling forms of lower life, aquatic and land plants, whose flesh consuming proclivities are well known and acknowledged. But although this would afford many an opportunity for instruction, it would be travelling somewhat out of the present line, and as my object was merely to jot down a few stray ideas and observations by way of hint to the student, it is needless to go into details which are within the easy reach of all who feel inclined to pursue this particular line of research.—GUY ROTHERY.