

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

VOL. 1,

CLEVELAND, OCTOBER 11, 1862.

NO. 26.

Government.

We mean not to deny, we positively affirm, that government is a great good, and essential to human happiness; but it does its good chiefly by a negative influence, by repressing injustice and crime, by securing property from invasion, and thus removing obstructions to the free exercise of human powers. It confers little positive benefit. Its office is, not to confer happiness, but to give men opportunity to work out happiness for themselves. Government resembles the wall that surrounds our lands; a needful protection, but rearing no harvests, ripening no fruits. It is the individual who must choose whether the enclosure shall be a paradise or a waste. How little positive good can government confer! It does not till our fields, build our houses, weave the ties that bind us to our families, give disinterestedness to the heart, or energy to the intellect and will. All our great interests are left to ourselves; and governments, when they have interfered with them, have obstructed, much more than advanced them. For example, they have taken religion into their keeping only to disfigure it. So education, in their hands, has generally become a propagator of servile maxims, and an upholder of antiquated errors. In like manner they have paralyzed trade by their nursing care, and multiplied poverty by expedients for its relief. Government has almost always been a barrier against which intellect has had to struggle; and society has made its chief progress by the minds of private individuals, who have outstripped their rulers, and gradually shamed them into truth and wisdom.

Virtue and intelligence are the great interests of a community, including all others, and worth all others; and the noblest agency is that by which they are advanced. Now we apprehend, that political power is not the most effectual instrument for their promotion, and accordingly we doubt

whether government is the only or highest sphere for superior minds. Virtue, from its very nature, can not be a product of what may be called the direct operation of government, that is, of legislation. Laws may repress crime. Their office is to erect prisons for violence and fraud. But moral and religious worth, dignity of character, loftiness of sentiment, all that makes a man a blessing to himself or society, lies beyond their province. Virtue is of the soul, where laws cannot penetrate. Excellence is something too refined, spiritual, celestial, to be produced by the coarse machinery of government. Virtue is too high a concern for government. It is an inspiration of God, not a creature of law.

The agency of government in regard to knowledge is necessarily superficial and narrow. The great sources of intellectual progress and power to a people are its strong and original thinkers, be they found where they may. Government can not, and does not, extend the bounds of knowledge; can not make experiments in the laboratory, explore the laws of animal or vegetable nature, or establish the principles of criticism, morals, or religion. The energy, which is to carry forward the intellect of a people, belongs chiefly to private individuals, who devote themselves to lonely thought, who worship truth, who originate the views demanded by their age, who help us throw off the yoke of established prejudices, who improve old modes of education or invent better.

Government enriches a people by removing obstructions to their powers, by defending them from wrong, and thus giving them opportunity to enrich themselves. Government is not the spring of the wealth of nations, but their own sagacity, industry, enterprise, and force of character. To leave a people to themselves, is generally the best service their rulers can render. Even great enterprises can better be accomplished by the voluntary association of individuals, than by the state.—[Wm. E. Channing,

Socialism Among the Swedes.

In the year 1846, Erriek Johnson, at the head of a company of men and women of the same faith, left their native country, the Fatherland of Jenny Liud and Swedenborg, and sought for themselves a home in America.

Johnson, who was of a religious turn of mind, felt called upon to preach the gospel. But in the doing of this he came into collision with the laws of his country, which provided that none should expound the scriptures but such as had a permit from the Established Church of Sweden: it being considered an unsafe thing, as I suppose, in Sweden, to commit the religious interests of the people to those who had not gone through the schools, and made religion, or the scriptures, a study; thus leaving them exposed to quacks and pretenders. That same kind feeling of guardianship, and wholesome fear of the capacity of the people to be their own judges of their own wants, and to determine for themselves the fitness of a man for the post to which they should call him—that same want of faith in the capacities of the people for self-government which in America leads to the passage of laws protecting the people against themselves, providing for special privileges, immunities and monopolies in the practice of law and medicine as well as theology, exemplified in nearly all our laws in reference to trade, education, and the social, political and religious life of the people, and illustrating in the entire course of American legislation the fact that the people have in reality no faith in themselves, or the principles which they have adopted, and which lie at the very base of theoretic Republicanism.

Let no one, then, who is tolerably well acquainted with the theory and practice of Democracy in America, or who understands human nature as it everywhere exhibits itself, wonder that even as late as 1846 a law obtained in monarchical Sweden, to the effect that unlicensed expounding of the scriptures, even to an audience of two or three, was forbidden under pain of imprisonment.

But the mere preaching of Johnson and his comrades might have been tolerated, but for the fact that they preached a different gospel. To preach truth without a license was bad enough—to disseminate heresy, and that without any show of authority, was entirely unbearable. Consequently the New Lights were waited upon by the civil magistrates, to whom the "By Authority" priests had made complaint, and required to show their papers, in default of which they were committed to prison. But neither the mandates of the national authorities, nor the potency of prison walls, sufficed to convince

them of their error; and so on regaining their liberty at the expiration of their term of imprisonment, they repeated the offense, and were again committed to prison. This course of repeated transgression and punishment went on till they had served out four different terms of imprisonment, at the expiration of which they were informed that the next term would be for life. Being thus forced to forego their freedom or seek some other locality, and trusting to certain rumors in regard to the state of things in this Country, set afloat by ignorant or designing persons, to the effect that here a person was free to worship God according to the dictates of his own instead of some other person's conscience, they set sail for America.

To an inhabitant of another sphere, or to an unperverted, unsophisticated citizen of this, it might appear a little ludicrous, (if one might be pleased and indignant at the same time,) the spectacle of a great nation's sending its representatives into the school-houses, or the huts and hovels of the poor, to see if perchance some believer in the Bible might not be reading a passage from Jesus to a few of his friends or neighbors, and telling them what he thought it meant. But no one who is however poorly acquainted with the doings of man in the history of man, and no one who from a thorough knowledge of one man knows what to expect of his relatives, has any right to be surprised at such a scene, or any other, in the history of his kind.

I said these people preached a different gospel. I meant a gospel differing, not from that of Jesus, but from the Established Church of Sweden. They held to the doctrine of Christian Perfectionism, or salvation from sin; non-resistance, or the returning of good instead of evil to all; and to a community of common property among Christians, according to the example of the early Christians. They believed and taught their friends and neighbors that love wrought no ill to its neighbor, and he who really loved his neighbor—his "enemy"—could not possibly take up arms and slay him; and that he who loved his neighbor as himself, could not possibly hoard up property for himself while the neighbor was in need; and that it was the duty of all to live and work to and for each other, having "all things in common," and imparting to each, not as he had means of obtaining, but as he had "need." This gospel, which was certainly not the gospel of the Church of Sweden, nor of Christendom—this kingdom, which was certainly not of Sweden, nor of this world, was pronounced visionary and impracticable. The heretics said—at least their historian will make them say it—that it was no more visionary than Christianity, no more impracticable

than the gospel of Jesus. It was in the Bible, and that was enough for them. They were so fanatical as to think what their Lord said, he meant—that what he commanded, could be put in practice. They could not discard the book like Infidels. They had not learned to retain the cover, while discarding practically the most important injunctions, the most distinguishing features, the vital spirit of the book itself, like the Christians. And so they attempted to put it into practice.

Collecting their little effects and putting them into a common fund, they chose Johnson for their leader "under God," came to America, and located in Henry County, Illinois, then almost an unbroken prairie. Purchasing a large tract of land, amounting now to 15,000 acres, they set to work to build up a harmonious brotherhood, living at first very poorly, lodging in mud huts, and laboring very hard to get such a start as should in the end make them comfortable and independent. Johnson chose seven counsellors to help him in the Administration of affairs, but the Bible was accepted as the only creed, and the spirit of the gospel as the only bond of union. For four years the Colony lived harmoniously and prospered, till they lost their leader, and finding no one to fill his place, they chose the seven counsellors selected by their leader as perpetual directors, placing the affairs of the Community entirely in their hands.

Johnson was shot by one of the Community, a man by the name of Root. The circumstances were these: Root was comparatively a new member, and did not have the entire confidence of the Community. He courted and wished to marry a young girl, a member of the Community. But it was the belief of the friends that there was no salvation outside of their organization, a faith which was shared by the girl as well as others. Consequently they would not consent to the marriage, except on the condition that he should never take her from the Colony, in case he himself got discontented and wished to leave. An agreement was entered into to that effect, which they supposed valid in law, and they were married.

But he became dissatisfied, as it was feared he might, claimed his prerogatives as proprietor of his property, and in defiance both of her wishes and his express stipulation, took her away to Chicago. From that place the wife wrote to her friends of her whereabouts, and they met her with a carriage and brought her back to the Community. Learning this, Root came back also, told his story, and raised a mob of indignant citizens, who at several different times threatened to drive out the whole "gang." But the immediate neighbors—who were

acquainted with their general bearing, and who were willing at heart to testify like Pilate that they found no fault in this people, who were honest, industrious and peaceable, however fanatical they might be deemed—suggested to them that they had better go home and attend to their own business, and let the Socialists attend to theirs. And they concluded to do so, being the more ready from the fact that as under the instructions of their revered leader, the Swedes invariably turned "the other cheek," they could find nobody to quarrel with. Failing to attain his ends thus, Root appealed to the law, and the case came before the County Court at Cambridge. But he became so enraged at being thus thwarted in his designs, that he could not await the legal decision, but drew his revolver and shot his enemy in the court room.—The finale of it was that he bribed a lawyer to thwart the ends of justice for a thousand dollars—a lawyer who was standing by when the deed was done, and said he ought to be hung up on the spot—and was sent to the penitentiary for three years. The wife still remains with her friends.

After this, though the Colony flourished pecuniarily, and added to their lands and improvements, built school houses and meeting houses, &c., so as to have all the comforts and even the luxuries of a refined and cultivated society, they began to differ on various points and to grow uneasy and discontented. The soul of harmony seems to have fled with their leader. When poverty gave place to plenty, and persecution to popularity, the ties of a common suffering in a common cause began to weaken. That love which had melted them into one common element and united them in a common feeling, having lost its centre of radiation, began to subside, leaving naught but a floating archipelago of individualities, drained of the connecting, vitalizing mother fluid— orphaned and estranged—free to obey the primal chaotic impulse, the common law of unhinged individuality, the law of divergence, discord and death. Separation, individualization, then, was a foregone conclusion, as inevitable as death and destiny. Any other life was then a lie; and the law of the inner soon asserted itself in the outer. The Community maintained its external form in physical prosperity, and got to be almost a controlling power in the County of Henry, and its influence was felt in all the country round, for some eight or ten years after the death of Johnson.

In the year '50 the "Community" gave place to the "Company," and two years later the property was divided among the members. The spirit of selfishness had strangled another effort to observe

the Golden Rule and establish in practical life the religion of Love. The devil had achieved another conquest. Satan had taken captive another little band that had dared set foot on his dominions, and retaken his own. "Bishop Hill Community" had gone the way of all Socialistic efforts, and now naught remained but the Community buildings to show that there once lived a people who had lived and dared, struggled and suffered, for sixteen long years, to embody on earth the spirit of love, and show the cold and selfish world an example of a genuine Christianity, and a higher, purer life.

And as I walked with Elder Hedeem (a very kind and liberal man of the Swedenborgian faith) over the broad domain of beautiful prairie, the very garden of Illinois, stretching for miles in either direction further than the eye could reach, once dedicated to Humanity, and saw the noble achievements of the little army of organized industry that had mustered there—as I listened to his words descriptive of what they had endured to make this home for the heart, and heard him tell of his high hopes blasted—the tremor of his voice and the moisture which gathered in his eye as he, pointing to the noble and beautiful rows of hawthorne and orange that threaded the prairie in all directions, said to me, "These are the fruits of my labor; with my own hand I sowed the seed and pruned the branches"—these told more than words could express of ruined expectations and the bitter disappointment of a noble, unselfish soul. My heart went out to his, and we wept in a common sympathy; and though no word of mine marred the sacredness of the silence, or told him that I too had been more than orphaned, I know that he felt the still fellowship of a kindred sorrow. My soul, which had well-nigh cast off its burial weeds, went back to its own sorrows, and lived again the anguish of its own bereavements. Once again I walked the groves, drank the bright waters and breathed the free air of Memnon, a free man, in a company of kindred spirits. And once again I felt the stifling atmosphere of Despotism gathering in upon my vitals. Again I saw the opening grave of a murdered Hope, and again I traced my footsteps where day by day each morning's sunlight saw me clasp to my arms the resurrected child; but each evening's shade, with its added evidence, wrung from my soul another shovelful of earth. Slain in the house of thy friends! O, Memnonia! lost Memnonia! beautiful Memnonia! thou fair child of the skies, can it be that this is all of thee?

O, Berlin! thou other child of promise, now more than four days buried! Art thou indeed dead, or art thou only sleeping in a premature burial,

awaiting the arrival of some Lord of Life to say to thee "Come forth!" O, Spirit of Freedom—Spirit of Reform! art thou indeed the Messiah? or shall thy faltering, scattering disciples be left to be ever a prey to doubt, disappointment and despair? Shall they who have followed thee through trials and tears, poverty and persecution, be left at last to doubt the truth of prophecy and the verity of thy mission? Is the crown of thorns to be our only proof of thy divinity? Are we to have a Bethlehem, a Gethsemane and a Calvary, and no angels hand to roll away the stone—no Mount of Ascension, the witness of thy triumph? How long, O Lord! how long? Dear God of our Faith, why moekest thou thy children? C. M. O.

Bishop Hill, Ill., Aug. 20, '62.

A "New Republic."

Or *the* "New Republic, which you choose. Shall we have it? Had we better? Is it worth while even to try? Are not all republics, "new" as well as old, bad? What is a republic at last, but a tyranny, a despotism? What is the difference between a republic and a monarchy, except that in a monarchy one governs all the rest, and in a republic all the rest govern one? I prefer to go ungoverned. I prefer freedom. All government is slavery. Republicanism, Democracy, Government—it is all slavery.

Even the word self-government I repudiate. It is either a contradiction, or it is only another name for that same slavery. If it means liberty to do as you please, that is not government; if it means governing yourself, that is being a slave again, with the added degradation of being your own enslaver!

So, the only thing I will accept is Freedom. That just suits me. That is just good enough for anybody. If anything else is good enough for somebody, let him have it. But let him not ask me to eat leeks because he does.

Freedom is nature. If a *low* man asserts nature, that is his own business; but if I assert my nature, that is my business. I am not responsible for another, no, nor for myself either, for that would be government again. I still mean that I do as I please.

Freedom is safe. Those who feel that it is not safe—well, they may fill out the sentence to suit themselves; but to me freedom is still happiness, and certainly that is safe. Unhappiness I call the only thing that is not safe.

What is it to me, what "Thomas Jefferson" thought or said? I have not learned to be a crab, to travel backward into night.

So, what is it to me what "Jesus Christ" did or

didn't? I don't care a straw. For myself I know, and can prove, there never *was* any Jesus Christ, except that eternal Sun in the heavens, alike called by heathen for fifteen thousand years back, Adonis, Bacchus, Zoroaster, Osiris, Krishna, Jupiter, Jehovah, Jesus, Christus, or both these last in one, Jesus Christ. I can prove the existence of this very Bible Jesus Christ, those fifteen thousand years back. Besides if I were *going* to turn crab, I'd not go back so far—neither the fifteen thousand, nor yet the eighteen hundred years!

At last, a man must be himself! Against everything else, and against every other man, dead or even living, against both wisest and best of his race, sternly and forever must he be himself, and remain himself. That is freedom and the only freedom.

And then a man must renounce God. God has always been the great tyrant of the world. No man was ever free who had a God. No man was ever himself who had a God. When God goes down to zero and becomes nothing, then man can go up and become himself!

There is a good time coming. The world will yet grow to all this. All men will yet be thus free. Republics, tyrannies, gods, will all die, and men alone remain—remain then forever free!

And the way to bring this time, is for me to be all this now.

I have never seen a copy of this Paper—only its Prospectus. I know not who is its Editor, nor, unless in the instance of one or two, who are its correspondents. I subscribed for the Paper two or three days ago, but feel as if I want to send this fraternal greeting before it comes. Long live *one* "Republic," long enough to be not "New" but Old!

JOSEPH TREAT.

U. S. Hospital, Bedloe's Island, N. Y., Oct. 7, '62.

Right glad am I to hear from my old Friend. Glad too that the poor soldiers have one physician among them who will not steal their dinners, or allow them to suffer and die from neglect. Of course there must be many such, but there is no disputing the disgraceful truth that a large proportion of the physicians and surgeons, and their assistants, in the army, are heartless wretches, who care less for the men whose lives and health are committed to their care, than a humane man would for the meanest dog. If it were desirable to start an Orthodox hell, there could be no better material to begin with than the semi-fiends in human shape who throng the army in the capacity of surgeons, assistant surgeons, chaplains, sutlers, officers and generals. Whether the climate suited them or not, the natives of the "infernal regions" would find in them congenial companions!

I am glad of all my Brother Treat has said. I agree with him, essentially. I am not in favor of any such government as he condemns. The governments of the Earth, with, possibly, partial exception, have been usurpations and tyrannies—oppressors of the people, instead of protectors of their rights. I repudiate all government except combinations for the defense of natural rights. I am in favor of freedom—will not be satisfied with being one step behind my Brother in my persistent, unqualified and uncompromising advocacy and defense of it. But true government is not inconsistent with perfect freedom. Freedom is the right to do what we please so long as we do not trespass upon the rights of others. Rights and freedom are all one. If I trespass upon another's rights, I violate the principle of Freedom. To do whatever we please—if we please to mind our own business—constitutes the sum of all our rights. To protect rights, to defend freedom, is the whole business of government.

I admit there is no essential difference between a republic and a monarchy, provided the republic, (as republics heretofore have been,) is based on any other principle than the defense of natural rights. There is no crime except violation of natural rights; and crime is the same, whoever commits it. I join in saying, Down with all usurpations, whether monarchical or republican, whether in the political, religious, or social sphere.

Now that Friend Treat understands that the New Republic is to be unlike the old republics, in this, that its only business will be to defend Freedom, instead of being itself an enslaver, to protect rights, instead of itself trampling upon them, he will give it his hearty and zealous support.

If my Friend means by the term God, what the world in the past has meant by it—a being who has unlimited power, and the right to command whatever he pleases, whether right or wrong according to the principles of Natural Justice, I agree with him that this "God" is the greatest of all tyrants, the greatest of all superstitions. Never will people be clear in their moral comprehensions till they learn to decide all questions in the light of Natural Justice, Reason and Common Sense.

While I honor and revere the good, and brave, and far-seeing of the past, so I have equal regard for the same characteristics in those about me. I think no more of an idea because Thomas Jefferson advanced it, but I do think more of Thomas Jefferson for his having advanced certain ideas. Whether Jesus Christ lived fifteen thousand years ago or not I do not know. I am not a "crab," and do not read history so far "back"! F. B.

Hymn to Death.

BY BELLE BUSH:

We are taught that death is fearful,
And the grave a gloomy goal,
But there lives a sting more dreadful
In a fettered human soul.

Paths there are in life more dreary
Than the portals of the tomb,
Where our tottering footsteps weary,
And the heart forgets its bloom.

Shrouds there may be round the spirit
Colder than the winding sheet,
Chilling frosts that gather o'er it,
While the human pulses beat.

There's a night of doubt and sadness,
Where the bridge of dark despair,
Reaching o'er the abyss of madness,
Breaks and leaves its victim there.

Living ghosts there are around us,
Stalking to their daily toll,
More revolting than the spectres
Banished from the mortal coil.

Minds with moral feelings blighted
By the world's unkindly breath,
Sordid souls on earth benighted,
Bound with stronger cords than death.

Weary hearts whose vernal beauties
Pined to reach a summer bloom;
But amid life's solemn duties
Perished in a rayless gloom.

How can death to such be fearful?
Do we love our house of clay?
Are its prison walls more cheerful
Than the courts of endless day?

Death! what is it but the bringing
Of the weary spirit home,
Where the founts of joy are springing,
And the angels whisper "Come."

The dead! whom call we such, th' immortal?
Those who breathe a purer air,
Far beyond Earth's shadowy portal
And the changing land of care?

Those, who free as winds are sweeping
On their broad celestial wings,
Holy vigils kindly keeping
O'er our earthly wanderings?

They are not dead! yon lone star burning
In the sunset's purple glow,
Answers to my voiceless yearning,
And in whispers tells me "No."

They are not dead! the buried treasures,
In our spirit-cells that lie;
Earth-born hopes and idle pleasures
Are the only things that die.

Let us, then; since life is waning,
And we see the shadowy goal,
Strive with every good remaining
To adorn the Human Soul.

Let us leave our thoughts of sadness,
And forget life's cares and woes,
In the dreams whose light of gladness
From the Father Country flows.

—[Banner of Light.]

The True Course.

[Communicated from the Spirit World.]

We come to thee, daughter, that we may inspire thy mind to give expression to thoughts that we deem should at this time be given forth. We would say for the encouragement of all who have an interest in the advancement of just and righteous sentiments, in the adoption of a wise and beneficent course of action, that not with the present Administration, not with the ruling powers, not with parties, one or any as they now exist, can there be ought to inspire a hope that the true and the right will become prominent. These must all pass away; they must all be swallowed up in defeats and overthrows. Be not then disheartened because what you might deem the right, proves unsuccessful. There is no right, there are none true, there are none wise in the things that pertain to the salvation of your Country—none, save the few, made mighty through the power of Truth, who are not yet known in your Nation's councils.

Be ye then encouraged when ye hear of defeats, of unsuccessful battles; of slaughter upon slaughter of the combatants in bloody warfare; be encouraged for they are hastening the day of deliverance from such unwise rulers, from such unjust laws, from such unrighteous and ambitious politicians, that have with such terrible iniquity ruled the Nation.

Be ye quiet, be ye fearless; wait the appointed time for deliverance. Let anarchy and misrule, let carnage and slaughter, let diabolism in every form have full scope for action. Do ye retire, friends of Peace, to your tents; and there abide till the whirlwind and the storm shall have spent their fury,—till the elements have become purified. Then listen, one and all, to whom the Angel of Peace shall come, to the small still voice, that shall be sounded in the depths of your souls, bidding you arise and be the saviors of your Country. Not by again unsheathing the sword, not by arraying brother against brother, but by coming together with a chastened and a fraternal feeling, and devising, through the inspirations that shall be breathed upon you, wise and righteous laws;—true and equitable rules of government, whereby all the

children of your common humanity shall become equally the subjects of wise legislation. The bonds that now fetter the black and the white, must be broken. Woman must stand in the dignity of her womanhood, the equal co-worker with her brother man. No department of life, no field of action, no sphere of thought, but must share her labor and her influence. Your brother and sister of a darker hue—Oh! see that justice be done them. See that no false policy, no seeming sympathy for their imbecility, their unfitness for self-preservation, induce you to bind again one fetter upon their souls. Give them the free use of all their powers. Let them grow by exercise: let them gain wisdom by experience; let them in all things and under all circumstances, be as though they never had been a crushed, a despised race.

Oh, Friends of Humanity! how much will devolve upon you, to right the wrongs that the present struggle shall unfold to your view. Let the light of truth penetrate your minds, that so you may discern the truth, and know when, how and where to stand up for the right, and labor with the weapons Truth shall furnish you. For a day of great responsibilities is fast dawning upon you. An era, such as is about unfolding, occurs but seldom in a world's history. Oh, then, be not found wanting, ye friends of human progress,—ye laborers for the world's redemption.

So speaketh at this time, the dwellers in the sphere of Love and Wisdom.

S. E. M., Medium.

The sentiments of the foregoing communication so fully accord with my own, that I am more than willing to give it a place.

F. B.

An Upper-Side View.

Concerning the war, I am an optimist and prefer good-natured views. I am not insensible to the cruelties of the battle-field, to the desolated hearts and homes which it produces, and still less to the National humiliation into which the Country is plunged. But seen from the light of philosophic and faith vision, these details, so woful in themselves, blend and are resolved into a grand panorama, in which the scene, the action and coloring, all unite in an expression of good, namely, the working out of exact, divine, and retributive justice.

Thus: as between the Nation and the Negro, the former has been the guilty and the latter the innocent party. Now in this war the Nation at large pays the penalty of its crime of crushing the blacks, while the latter are not only, for the most part, exempt from the evils of the war, but are positively improving their *status* by it. On the large scale

the suffering falls exactly where it should. The millions that have been made by the slave-tilled cotton and tobacco, will all have to go to pay the expenses of the war, and thus the Nation will start even again at the bottom of the hill, but with the moral clearly before it, that crime does not pay—that honesty is the best policy.

Again, in the Nation, as between the North and the South, the South is the more guilty party; and under the exact rule of judgment now being executed, it suffers accordingly. The North has shared in the guilt and profits of Slavery as an accessory, and hence its blood and treasure have to be poured out in punishment. But the South, as the principal in the crime, has not only the same payment to make of men and means, but it has the burden and horror of the war upon its own territory, and among its non-fighting inhabitants, a curse which we at the North can as yet but little conceive of.

Once more, of all the Southern States the most red-handed in the business of Slavery is, probably, Virginia. Carolina and Alabama, States which work up the negro in the plantation service, are less odious than Virginia, which with the supremest pride and pretension has kept up a shabby gentility by the sale of her own children. Virginia, then, is rightfully the chief battle-field of this contest, her soil being ravaged and her substance wasted by the tremendous conflicts of half-a-dozen armies.

A perception that the war is thus not to be a hap-hazard skirmish, in which parties are to succeed by mere strength, without reference to merit, but is under a regulating principle directing its results to the ends of justice, makes me acquiescent in its progress, and very hopeful of the final issue.

Finally, the war being a fact, it is a great mercy that it has come so soon as it has. It indicates a power of reaction against evil in the spirit of the people that gives hope of expelling it from the National system. It is immensely better that the crisis should come now than that it should have been delayed until the poison of Slavery had corrupted still more deeply the fountains of public sentiment. A hopeful mind may well anticipate a glorious good as the result of this struggle—a regeneration and invigoration of the National life that will prepare it for a new mission in the world.

—[“G.” in the Circular.

Law, then, applied to any object or thing whatever, signifies a natural, unalterable, universal principle, governing such object or thing. Any rule, not existing in the nature of things, or that is not permanent, universal and inflexible in its application, is no law, according to any correct definition of the term law.—[Lysander Spooner.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 11, 1862.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC is published weekly, at one dollar a year; six months, fifty cents; single copies (post paid) three cents.

For sale at No. 288 Superior Street.

Remittances should be made in bills of Ohio, Eastern, Indiana State, or Detroit banks, Treasury notes, coin or stamps. Address,

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CLEVELAND, Ohio.

The Plan of Government.

"Revolutions never go backwards." The labors, and convulsions of Nature, spiritual and physical, are always for a purpose. There is now beginning a revolution that bids fair to compare favorably, in point of magnitude, and in results, with any that has preceded it.

The religious, political and social, are so intimately related, so thoroughly depending the one upon the other, that a revolution involving one necessarily involves the others. It is in the political world that the evidences of revolution are most positive and tangible, yet in other departments the work of dissolving and disrupting the old institutions and arrangements, goes more silently but no less surely on.

The revolution now in progress, will not abate so as to exhibit the old order of things established on a firm basis, in my opinion, till the institutions of church and state, and social life, except so far as they are founded in truth and the nature of man, are either overthrown or essentially modified.

The condition of things in this country points unmistakably to great changes, disruptions, essential modification of existing political and social institutions, and, sooner or later, the establishment of such institutions as shall more fully answer the end of true governmental and social arrangements—the best development and greatest happiness of the people.

The leading and distinctive object of this journal, as of this article, is the discussion of the principles of government that should be applied and exemplified in our political institutions. And as I have no hope or expectation that the present Government will even succeed in maintaining its authority, to say nothing of success in exhibiting the true characteristics and aims of a just and efficient Government, giving my idea of such governmental arrangements is one and the same thing with advocating a "NEW REPUBLIC."

The one sole and exclusive idea in a just Government is PROTECTION. All rights are natural rights. Multiplying nothing in any conceivable way, or to any possible extent, will result in nothing as a pro-

duct. The whole world by any conceivable efforts, by any possible combination of talent and energies, could not generate or manufacture one single right not inherent in the individuals (and in every individual) who compose the great whole. All that bodies of men can have to do in the way of government, therefore, is to provide for the enjoyment of these natural rights. This is the simple and sole object of a true Government—protecting the natural rights of its subjects. And these rights are inalienable—one and all, and necessarily. A right that can be taken away is not a right, but a privilege, enjoyed as a favor from the party having the power to take it away. The power that may take away a single right, may decide what right it will take away, in which case the individual has no rights at all, but mere privileges. A right is, always, and necessarily, inalienable. Those governmental arrangements, therefore, which are based on the assumption that the individual may be deprived of rights for the sake of the general good, are based on a false foundation, and result practically in the subversion rather than the protection of rights.

Losing sight of the idea that true Government is only for the protection of natural or inalienable rights, is the reason why Governments have failed to accomplish this result, and on the other hand have occupied themselves very mischievously, and with immense cost to the people, in doing various other things, entirely out of their province, and to the great damage of the people's interests. If it is admitted that Government can do various things besides protecting rights, there is at once a wide margin for inference as to what they may do—in fact an unlimited range, and consequently we see the action of Government, in whatever direction the views or caprices of its administrators may lead, is bounded only by physical ability to carry out designs. There is but this one remedy for corruption, and mal-administration, and profligacy, and oppression in Government. That is to lay down the broad principle—and strictly adhere to it—that Government can do nothing but to protect rights. Then we shall have simplicity and economy, and secure the desired result at small expense, instead of failing to secure it notwithstanding immense expense.

Political crises and revolutions are Nature's remedies for gigantic and deep-seated corruption. Revolutions bring the best men and the clearest thoughts to the surface. The revolution that separated the Colonies from the "Mother Country," is a marked illustration of this. The political principles laid down by Paine, Jefferson and Franklin, were the true principles of government. But they have been sadly departed from by the modern administrators of government. And our Government instead of being the simple and efficient affair an adhesion to these principles would make it, has been little else than a gigantic conspiracy for robbing the people of their rights and their money.

The doctrine of Jefferson was that all men had certain natural and inalienable rights—a different doctrine from that commonly received, that Government may deprive people of their rights for the general good, and that Government is based upon the surrender of certain rights in consideration of the protection of the rest. He held that the design and business of Government was to protect those inalienable rights. We—the advocates of a new and better system—stand on the Jeffersonian Platform. We demand that Government be confined to its legitimate business.

Let us see what were these inalienable rights to which Jefferson referred, and which Government was to protect—the right to life, and the right to liberty—which means, of course, the right of the individual to act according to his own inclinations so long as the rights of others are not involved—and the right to pursue happiness, which means, of course, the right of the individual to pursue happiness in his own way, always respecting the rights of others. This brief enumeration of rights embraces all that man can possess. He has no others, and these are inalienable.

After these general statements I propose to notice several practical questions, and of the relations, if any, which they ought to sustain to Government. After what has been said it must be distinctly understood that Government has properly nothing to do with morals or religion. Forms, ceremonies, and observances, whether in the religious or social department, are matters which ought to be left to the free choice of individuals, and societies, no one being compelled to conform to any religious or social observances, farther than to show proper regard to the privileges and rights of other individuals.

SABBATH LAWS.

These are all in violation of the true principles of government. The sabbath is a religious institution. Religious societies and individuals should be protected from interruption in observing a sabbath—whether the first, the seventh or any other day of the week. And to compel any man to observe as sacred a day which he may regard in the same light as any other day, is a relic of religious barbarism, and a gross violation of the true object of government. Even the Puritans held that all had a right to “worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.” The modern religionists are more bigoted and unjust than the Puritans; except so far as the Puritans violated their own fundamental principle. If people have a legal right to worship God in their own way, it is equally clear that they have a right to refrain from worshipping at all. The idea that true worship can be forced is supremely ridiculous. The religionists who would have people compelled to observe days and ceremonies, confess their own stupidity in believing that acceptable worship can be produced by compulsion, or else their own

hypocrisy in enforcing a counterfeit worship, where the elements of the real do not exist.

However this may be, it is a question of legal right. Every man has a right to his own views on the subject of religion. He has also a right to make his practice conform to his ideas. All laws interfering in any way with religion, being violations of the simplest fundamental principle of government, should be set aside. Nor need the individual wait for the State, in this matter. Enactments in violation of the essential principles of government, are of no validity or binding force, and individuals are under no obligation to submit to an insulting outrage upon their most important and unquestionable rights. If Government may dictate at all in matters of religion, there is no extent to which it may not go in this direction.

Laws against profanity are of the same general nature. The use of certain language may be shocking and disgusting to religious and refined persons. So may prayers be considered by some as senseless, and by others as blasphemous. But people must be left to swear and to pray according to their own inclinations, provided they do not impose their praying or their swearing upon other people. As to the precise point where people must stop in the exercise of their individuality, where the exercise of that individuality is offensive to others, is, perhaps, as a practical question, a difficult one to decide. The undeveloped will not and can not decide these points in harmony with the principles of right. But in proportion as people progress in wisdom and goodness, will there be less and less difficulty in applying in practice what is already so clear as a principle.

MARRIAGE.

No more important question is there to decide than the true relation of Government to marriage, divorce, and parentage. And here there is no new principle to apply. Government has nothing to do in this department, any more than in the other departments, but to see that the rights of individuals and society are not infringed. Government has properly nothing to do in the way of enforcing any particular views of morality or purity. It has nothing to do with ceremonies. Individuals and societies may properly differ in their ideas of the value of ceremonies, religious or social. It may be very important that the ceremony of water baptism be administered. But whether it should be administered or not, and if administered, whether it should be done to infants or only to adult persons, or whether it should be performed in one manner or another, are questions with which Government has nothing to do. All it has to do in the matter is to see to it that all persons are at liberty to decide these questions according to their consciences. So of the ceremony of shaking hands, or kneeling before the Virgin Mary: These may be very important, but individuals must be free to neglect them if they

will. So also of the marriage ceremony, or rather ceremonies, for these ceremonies differ very materially in different ages and countries.

No ceremonies should be considered essential to the legality of conjugal relations. It is altogether an affair of taste, or at most an affair of morality. All conjugal relations should be considered legal. Individuals have a perfect right to decide for themselves what relations are proper for them so long as they respect the rights of all, and discharge honorably and honestly all responsibilities, and assume all costs their acts involve. All questions of morality, as well as all questions of religion, must be left for individuals to decide for themselves. If people are not competent to settle their own private affairs, it is not presumable they are competent to settle other people's. Purity of life can never be enforced. But it is not purity, but impurity, that Government attempts to enforce. There is no impurity if sustaining conjugal relations in the absence of love is not. But most that Government attempts to do in the case is to compel parties to live together who have so little love for each other that they would be gladly away from each other. It is true that Government does not actually command that the parties shall sustain sexual relations; but it does all but that, and enforces conditions that make such relations considered a necessity. For no other reason will the pure, free spirits in the "realms above us" so rejoice at the overthrow of our present corrupt system of government, as that our false social system it has sustained and enforced, will thus pass away, and be succeeded by a system that shall allow men and women to be as pure, and good, and noble, and happy, as they aspire to be!

In a sense there should be no such thing as divorce, for there should be no arbitrary relation to dissolve. In this regard love should be the same as friendship. Parties should come into no more intimate relations than their love draws them, and should never be forced to sustain any relation at all. In another sense divorce should be perfectly free. So far as law is concerned it should treat the parties to a conjugal relation, if they also sustain business relations, (which by the way is not at all necessary, so as children are in the best manner cared and provided for) as business partners; at liberty to decide between themselves the nature of their partnership, whether equal, in the matter of capital, labor, and profits, or otherwise, and should be interfered with only so far as to see that the rights of neither party were infringed by the other. In other words they should be treated in all respects as any other business partners. They should be at liberty to form or dissolve such partnership at pleasure, and for reasons satisfactory to themselves.

All children should be considered legitimate. No matter what view may be taken of certain conjugal relations, the sins and disgrace of parents should never be visited on their children. Every child

should inherit respectability, legitimacy, and its parents' property. The relation of the parents (whether virtuous, or whether continuous, or not) should make no difference with the child. I would protect society and the child by holding the father's property subject to the child's support. I would further save society by refraining from forcing the parties to remain in relations that would result in the birth of other children in danger of being unloved and uncared for.

In a word, then, all Government has to do with love, marriage, divorce, or parentage, is just what and only what it has to do in all other cases—see that the rights of all are protected and preserved.

But whatever system of divorce, and whatever rules in reference to marriage and parentage are adopted, it is palpable that they should be uniform. The same principles are true in one part of the country as another. There is no reason for having a liberal system in Indiana and an illiberal one in Massachusetts. One or the other is wrong; and a very serious wrong. If it is not essential to the well-being of society that men and women be compelled to live in unloving sexual relations, it is certainly a grievous and a cruel wrong to compel them to so live. On the other hand if virtue and good order are really based upon the indissoluble marriage, then such free and easy regulations as are being adopted in some of the States, are ruinous in their tendencies. It is clear that some system should be made uniform, and consequently that it is not a matter to be adjusted by the State Governments. This brings us to the consideration of that subject.

STATE GOVERNMENTS.

I would have no State Governments. They are only so much cumbrous and expensive machinery. A very great proportion of direct taxes have always gone to support State Governments, (and I would have the remarks under this head apply to the County organizations also,) and yet there is little or nothing done by the State Governments for the people, except spending their money, that could not be better done by a simple and just National organization, or by proper local organizations. I would have only a General Government, to ensure the general defense and safety, and to carry out and enforce the general principles of justice and right, and such local organizations as the people in any locality might see fit to adopt. The local organization, on the principle of Popular Sovereignty—a true principle, rightly understood and applied—should attend to all such local affairs as properly come under the supervision of government, while the General Government should settle all general principles, establish, so far as necessary, uniform arrangements in all matters properly coming under its jurisdiction, see to it that the local governments did not violate the general and essential principles of government; in a word, confine itself to the one business—its only legitimate business—of protecting the natural rights of its subjects.

The expenses of Government, in time of peace, would be thus reduced to a mere fraction of what they have been under the old system. The local organizations of course could, within certain limits, incur such expense as the people of any given locality, city, township or district, might desire. The essential principles of the general system would, however, prevent their going into most of those operations that have been, heretofore, the principal sources of expenditure.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.

This principle, rightly interpreted, lies at the basis of all true government. All rights inhere in individuals. There can be no other rights than individual rights. Society is but an aggregation of individuals; and all society can do in the way of government, is to provide for the protection of individual rights, so far as the individuals can not protect themselves. Of course any number of individuals have a right to do, in a collective capacity, on a larger scale, what the individual has a right to do on a smaller scale. Such number of individuals have a right to enter into any arrangements for their mutual protection that do not infringe the rights of any of the number, or of any other individual or number of individuals.

This is Popular Sovereignty. An entirely different thing, however, from that bogus "Popular Sovereignty" advocated by the "Douglas Democrats." For this is no other than the asserted right of a class of people to outrage another class—the right of one class to own, and buy, and sell, another class. If ever there was a doctrine at once surpassingly absurd and monstrous, surely it is this. But after all, the highest idea of freedom the world has, is the privilege of one individual or class to outrage the rights of others. The same idea that the Irishman had, who was greatly shocked to find that his right, in a "free country," to wield his shillalah without restraint, was being interfered with! This essential idea has the Democrat who conceives that Popular Sovereignty allows slaveholding. It simply allows the people to protect their own natural rights, and to choose their own men and measures for doing this.

Of course the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, like the doctrine laid down by Jefferson, that "just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed," precludes the idea of compelling any section to come into, or remain in, any government, contrary to the wish of the people of that section. The present Government was organized on the indissoluble plan, and of course its officers have nothing to do but enforce its authority over its whole territory. If this prove impossible, the Government is at an end. It is a false principle, and works only mischief, when applied to nations or individuals—in the political or the social sphere.

The Government should have been so organized that any section could have withdrawn, in an orderly

manner, whenever it should discharge the obligations it had incurred as a member of the National firm, and its people should express a wish so to do. On this principle of "free divorce" alone can national or individual partnerships prove harmonious or profitable. "Family quarrels," whether on a large or small scale, though incident to any arbitrary union, are only promotive of evil, and a system should be adopted of which they are no necessary part.

SCHOOLS.

Education is the great object and business of life. But it is not for Government to educate the people. It is all-important to acquire a knowledge of the physical sciences. It is more important to understand true political economy; for without a clear comprehension, on the part of the people, of the fundamental principles of true civil government, order and freedom are impossible, and anarchy and despotism will usurp control. Our boasted educational system, so much relied upon to preserve the liberties of the people, and the blessings of a free government, is hardly availing us now. A false political system, and a false political education, are proving our National ruin. Of still greater importance than all, is a correct moral education. For want of this, at last, are we as a Nation going to destruction. But Government can not provide an education in all these departments, and least of all in the more important of them. But the principle that would require of Government a partial education for the people, would require a complete one. Or, where is to be the dividing line between the knowledge Government is bound to furnish, and that it is not bound to furnish?

All now agree that churches should not be supported by a tax. No more should schools. And, saying nothing of the falseness of the principle, it is coming to be more and more impracticable, on account of the conflicting ideas of education. People, in large numbers, and more and more, are coming to have new and advanced ideas on the subject of education, as much as upon religion. A large and growing class no longer want to be taxed to support the popular system of education, radically defective as they esteem it to be. And it is no more just to tax them to sustain it than to tax them to sustain the popular religion. Nothing is more important, nothing more essential to the well-being and salvation of a people, than a true system of morals, or religion; and yet it must be left to the people to adopt and sustain whatever system of religion and morals they choose. The same is true of the sciences, and the whole department of education.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

As long as our present false social system obtains, so long will there be vicious individuals born who will need restraint. Criminal tendencies on the part of human beings, are the result of mal-organization; and the condition is that of a greater or less degree of

insanity. Our system of treating the insane is approaching to the rational, scientific, and humane; and all criminals, of whatever grade, should be treated on like principles. The idea of punishment is barbarous. All punishment is so much added to the just suffering that violation of right always brings, and is itself an infliction of wrong—a crime; whether on the part of parents, gods, or officers of state. Society, while it needs to impose more or less restraint upon the vicious, is bound, in doing it, to consult the well-being of the restrained, and employ such means as will be in the highest degree reformatory in their influence.

The system should be uniform in its general principles, yet the local authorities can best treat individual cases.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The industrial and commercial interests of the Country have suffered immensely in consequence of depending upon Government to attend to internal improvements. This is strikingly true of Lake navigation. Millions of property and thousands of lives have been sacrificed because the people were depending upon Government to build and repair harbors, &c., whereas but for such dependence they would have provided these for themselves, promptly and advantageously. While Government may expend money enough on such works of improvement to make them all that is desirable, it never has, and in the nature of the case never will, expend the money as advantageously—in the right time, place and way—as the people themselves would do it. Besides, that portion of the people directly interested in any work of improvement should be the ones to incur the expense attending it.

The success of railroads, &c., through private enterprise, as compared with Lake improvements, &c., which Government has taken in hand, furnishes conclusive evidence of the truth of this principle.

F. B.

Shall We be Sustained?

The present number closes the first volume (of six months) of the *NEW REPUBLIC*. It has met, in that time, with more encouragement than its prudent friends dared hope for, and more appreciative words than there has been reason to expect, considering the unfavorable circumstances under which it has been conducted. Still the very large list necessary to make a paper, gotten up at such an expense of money and labor, has not been reached. If its Editor has succeeded in satisfying his readers that he has the spirit to carry through, at whatever cost of exertion, the enterprise he has undertaken, and that his associates and himself could make a good paper under circumstances even tolerably favorable, he is, for the present, satisfied.

The question now is, reader, and especially those whose subscriptions expire with this number, Will

you work with us? Will every one of you renew his or her subscription, and if possible procure others to subscribe also? There could hardly be a more appropriate time to work for such an enterprise. Now that our leading and distinctive idea—the overthrow of the present Government, as an event, and the establishment of a new and better one, as a work—is removed from the prophetic, and, in the minds of the mass, even visionary, to the sphere of palpable necessity, surely it is no time to let any effort fail that promises to aid in bringing about that consummation. If you have, up to this time, shared in the general expectation that the Rebellion would soon be put down and the authority of the Government maintained, surely it is now a good time to abandon that delusive hope, and join in preparing the way for a Government that shall protect and bless Humanity, after the present shall have gone down in anarchy and blood!

From the first we have predicted that the whole power of the Democratic Party would be arrayed against the Administration. If any one by this time doubts that this is to be the case, he must be strangely infatuated. Further, if any one believes that the Administration can put down the Rebellion, while the whole force of half the North is thrown against it, he must be sanguine indeed. The crushing of the Administration, (and no less than this is the leading idea in the programme,) will be in effect the overthrow of the Government.

But a few weeks since an Editorial in the *NEW REPUBLIC*, among other corresponding events, predicting the utter depreciation of the currency of the Country, was pronounced extravagant in the highest degree. Since then the premium on gold has gone up from seventeen to thirty-five per cent.! Unless a miracle shall arrest the progress of events, the consummation will soon be reached.

Again, friends, will you help us? We do not wish you to neglect a single one of the many excellent reform journals you may be helping to sustain. On the contrary, they all need a heartier and more liberal support. You may not especially need the Paper for your own gratification, but if you think it is likely to accomplish a good, it is your duty to sustain it according to ability. If you receive your paper with a club, and the time has expired, you will sleep sweeter at night, and enable us to sleep longer, by seeing that each one renews his subscription. The way to help a paper, especially a cheap paper, is to get up clubs for it. We wish our friends who simply pay for one copy, no other one being received at their office, to understand that they are receiving it at less than its cash cost. If you wish to know why we do not make the price higher, we answer, we wish to get a large circulation, and our terms are calculated to facilitate that object. We are not at all discouraged, and intend to attain that end. But if you think the Paper too cheap, we will not blame you much if you pay us two dollars for it.

F. B.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The **NEW REPUBLIC** has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partisan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extreme and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes: the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the **NEW REPUBLIC** will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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A GENERAL PROSPECTUS
OF
THE BOSTON INVESTIGATOR.
VOLUME XXXII.

The cause of Universal Mental Liberty, which seeks to establish the claims and teachings of Nature and Reason, and to overthrow those of Superstition, Bigotry, and Priestcraft, still needs the support of a free and independent press.

We have no new principles to proclaim, and hence we shall keep to the old landmarks by which we have so long been guided, endeavoring as far as we are able to render the paper acceptable to all and subservient to national utility. Believing superstition to be the bane of human improvement—the moral leprosy of mankind—our most especial object shall be, as it hitherto has been, to counteract its pernicious influence, and to expose, by every means in our power, the mischievous practice of that numerous class of pretenders who are perpetually directing the attention of their credulous followers to things above, that they may the more effectually deprive them of things below, and attempting to reconcile them to misery and degradation in this world, by promising them happiness and honor in another.

Anti-religious, then, and anti-clerical, in connection with universal mental freedom, are the distinguishing characteristics of the INVESTIGATOR. But as our aim is the promotion of human happiness by means of mental cultivation, we shall enrich our columns with whatever we may deem conducive thereto. We shall therefore present to our readers whatever we may find valuable in literature, art, or science. As we pretend not to amuse the idle or soothe the ignorant, we shall have no pretty tales of mystery, to excite the imagination at the expense of the understanding; we shall, nevertheless, as much as possible, associate amusement with utility. In a word, we shall do the best we know how to render our paper deserving of the patronage we solicit, and worthy of the cause we advocate.

To the friends who have hitherto stood by us, and who have kindly tendered their further assistance, we return our most grateful acknowledgments; and we call upon every one of congenial thought and feeling to countenance and support us in our uncompromising hostility to religious imposture, which we consider the master-vice of the age.

The INVESTIGATOR being the only paper published in the known world which takes the broad ground of freely investigating all subjects, moral, social, and religious, we ask of those who are opposed to superstition, to religious cant and intolerance, to lend us their aid in extending its circulation.

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