

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 2—No. 11. WHOLE No. 37.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 28, 1871.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL & TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

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TO

NEWSMEN AND POSTMASTERS
THROUGHOUT

The United States, Canada and Europe.

On account of the very extraordinary and widespread de-
mand which has sprung up for THE WEEKLY since the ex-
posure of the frauds and villainies which are practiced upon
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This journal will always treat upon all those subjects which
are of

VITAL INTEREST

TO THE

COMMON PEOPLE,

and will never be allied to any political or other party. It
will, in the broadest sense, be

A FREE PAPER

FOR A FREE PEOPLE,

in which all sides of all subjects may be presented to the pub-
lic, we only reserving the right to make such editorial com-
ment on communications as we may deem proper.

Here, then, is a free platform upon which

THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRAT,

THE RADICAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE,

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE INFIDEL,

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND THE PROTESTANT,

THE JEW AND THE PAGAN,

AND THE MATERIALIST AND THE SPIRITUALIST

MAY MEET IN A

COMMON EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD,

which we believe comes from the fact that

GOD IS THE FATHER OF THEM ALL.

THE Cosmo-Political Party.

NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.,
In 1872.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

SUBJECT TO

RATIFICATION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMORIAL.

JUDICIARY ARGUMENT.

PLATFORM OF THE COSMO-POLITICAL PARTY.

CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY THE LOGICAL RESULT OF THE

XIV. AND XV. AMENDMENTS, WHICH NOT ONLY DECLARE

WHO ARE CITIZENS, BUT ALSO DEFINE THEIR RIGHTS,

ONE OF WHICH IS THE RIGHT TO VOTE, WITHOUT

REGARD TO SEX, BOTH SEXES BEING INCLUDED

IN THE MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROHIBIT-

ORY TERMS OF RACE AND COLOR.

The State Laws which Proscribed Women as Voters were Re-

pealed by the States when they Ratified said Amendments

—There are no Existing Operative Laws which pro-

scribe the Right of any Citizen to Vote—The Per-

fectd Fruits of the Late War—The Govern-

ment of the United States is Bound to

Protect its Citizens, Male and Female,

in the Exercise of their Right to

Vote—The Duty of Congress

in the Premises.

The time has now arrived when it becomes proper to pre-
sent the final and unanswerable proposition, which cannot
by any possibility be controverted, that the several States
which, until recently, assumed and exercised the right of de-
fining which of its citizens should exercise the right to vote,
have by their own voluntary act not only forever repealed
all such prohibitory laws, but also have forever barred their
re-enactment.

Of this I have been fully aware since the proclamation by
the President that the XV. Amendment had become a part
of the Organic Law of the country.

To bring the whole matter properly before the public I
published an address on the 2d of April last, in which I an-
nounced myself a candidate for the Presidency in 1872, and
thus asserted the right of woman to occupy the highest office
in the gift of the people.

After that address had had its legitimate effect in arousing
the press of the country to the realization that women are a
constituent part of the body politic, and to a discussion in a
much more general way than had ever been before, I pub-
lished my second address to the people, announcing that the
XVI. Amendment was a dead letter, and that the Constitu-
tion fully recognized the equality of all citizens.

In this address the general bearings of the Constitution
were examined, and from the blending of its various parts
the conclusion was arrived at that no State should deny the
right to vote to any citizen.

I now take the final step, and 'show' that the States them-
selves, by their Legislative enactments, have removed the
only obstacle which until then had prevented women from
voting, and have forever debarred themselves from receding
to their former position. It is as follows:

SUFFRAGE, or the right to vote, is declared by the XV. Ar-
ticle of Amendments to the Constitution to be a Right, not
a privilege, of citizens of the United States.

A right of a citizen is inherent in the individual, of which
he cannot be deprived by any law of any State.

A privilege may be conferred upon the citizen of the State,
and by it may be taken away. This distinction is made to
show that *to vote is not a privilege* conferred by a State upon
its citizens, but a CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT of every citizen of
the United States, of which they cannot be deprived. The
language of the Constitution is most singularly emphatic
upon this point. It is as follows:

ARTICLE XV.

1. *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 ac-
count of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.*

It is thus forever proclaimed in unmistakable terms, that
to vote is a right of citizens of the United States.

Were it an immunity, or even were it a privilege, to vote,
those who possess it could not be deprived of it by any State,
for the State is bound to protect every citizen within its ju-
risdiction in the exercise thereof. It being declared by the
XV. Amendment that citizens of the United States have the

right to vote, the next step to determine is, Who are citizens? This is also definitely, though for the first time, determined by Article XIV. of Amendments to the Constitution as follows:

ARTICLE XIV.

1. 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. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The next point of inquiry is, How is it that the State laws which formerly did proscribe women and exclude them from the exercise of suffrage, no longer do so? Simply and effectively by this fact, that, by the Adoption of the XV. Article of Amendments to the Constitution, the States established, as the "SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND," the fact that no person born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, of the RIGHT TO VOTE.

Women are citizens of the United States; and the States themselves, by their own voluntary act, have established the fact of their citizenship and confirmed their right to vote, which, by such action, has become the supreme law of the land, which supersedes, annuls and abrogates all previous State laws inconsistent therewith or contravening the same. The XV. Article of Amendments to the Constitution is as much a part of it as any originally adopted; for Art. VI, § 2, says:

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The XV. Amendment was adopted by the several States as a Legislative enactment by their Legislatures, under Art. V., which provides:

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths thereof, or the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; AND THAT NO STATE, WITHOUT ITS CONSENT, SHALL BE DEPRIVED OF ITS EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN THE SENATE.

Since, therefore, all citizens have the RIGHT TO VOTE under this act, or participation by the Legislatures of the several States, all State laws which abridge the right are inoperative, null and void, and the exclusion of women who are citizens from the right to vote, was repealed and must stand repealed until the Legislatures of the several States shall again pass an act positively excluding her. If we again examine Art. XV. we shall see that this right shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of RACE, COLOR or PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE; it is left to be inferred that it might be on account of sex, but this denial has not yet been attempted, nor could it be accomplished if it were, for here the XIV. Amendment again comes to our relief, saying, "That no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Again, the Constitution is assuredly a contract between States and citizens, and Sec. 10, Art. I, provides that no State shall pass any law impairing contracts.

Art. I, Sec. 4, § 1, provides that:

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State, by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators, while the judiciary of the United States has acquired complete jurisdiction over this matter by the authority of Art. III, Sec. 2, § 1, which provides that: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority."

And for all these reasons, the State Legislatures having, by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, abrogated all previously existing, conflicting laws on the subject of suffrage, are now forever precluded by the Fourteenth Amendment from re-establishing any restriction to apply to women, whom the authorities of the United States, in their support of the Constitution, are in duty bound to protect in their right to vote.

Now what was the fruit of the late war, which threw the entire nation into such convulsive throes unless it is found in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, namely: that grand change in the fundamental laws which declares who are citizens and what are their rights, privileges and immunities, which cannot be abridged? Will any one pretend that these great enactments can be understood to mean less than the language thereof plainly conveys? Or will any one claim that the old, absurd State laws, which were sunk in oblivion by the adoption of these amendments to the Constitution, are still in force? Who will dare to say, in the face of these plainly worded amendments, which have such an unmistakable meaning, that the women of America shall not enjoy their emancipation as well as the black slave?

WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE! It is the duty of the Government to see that they are not denied the right to exercise it, and, to secure the necessary action of Congress in the premises, I did, on the 21st day of December, 1870, memorialize Congress, as recorded in the *Congressional Globe*, December 23, 1870.

In the Senate:

Mr. Harris presented the memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull, praying for the passage of such laws as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the right vested by the Constitution in the citizens of the United States to vote without regard to sex; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

In the House:

Mr. Julian—I ask unanimous consent to present at this time and have printed in the *Globe* the memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull, claiming the right of suffrage under the XIV. and XV. Articles of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and asking for the enactment of the necessary and appropriate legislation to guarantee the exercise of that right to the women of the United States. I also ask that the petition be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

No objection was made, and it was ordered accordingly.

The petition was as follows:

THE MEMORIAL OF VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, respectfully sheweth:

That she was born in the State of Ohio, and is above the age of twenty-one years; that she has resided in the State of New York during the past three years; that she is still a resident thereof, and that she is a citizen of the United States, as declared by the XIV. Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

That since the adoption of the XV. Article of the Amendments to the Constitution, neither the State of New York nor any other State, nor any Territory, has passed any law to abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote, as established by said article, neither on account of sex or otherwise.

That, nevertheless, the right to vote is denied to women-citizens of the United States by the operation of Election Laws in the several States and Territories, which laws were enacted prior to the adoption of the said XV. Article, and which are inconsistent with the Constitution as amended, and, therefore, are void and of no effect; but which, being still enforced by the said States and Territories, render the Constitution inoperative as regards the right of women-citizens to vote.

And whereas, Article VI, Section 2, declares "That this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and all judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding."

And whereas, no distinction between citizens is made in the Constitution of the United States on account of sex; but the XV. Article of Amendments to it provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

And whereas, Congress has power to make laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States; and to make or alter all regulations in relation to holding elections for senators or representatives, and especially to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the said XIV. Article:

And whereas, the continuance of the enforcement of said local election laws, denying and abridging the Right of Citizens to Vote on account of sex, is a grievance to your memorialist and to various other persons, citizens of the United States, being moment—

Therefore, your memorialist would most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to make such laws as in the wisdom of Congress shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the right vested by the Constitution in the citizens of the United States to vote, without regard to sex.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Dated NEW YORK CITY, December 19, 1870.

This memorial having been referred to the Judiciary Committee, I then prepared and submitted the following legal deductions in support thereof:

CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY.

TO THE HON. THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The undersigned, VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, having most respectfully memorialized Congress for the passage of such laws as in its wisdom shall seem necessary and proper to carry into effect the rights vested by the Constitution of the United States in the citizens to vote, without regard to sex, begs leave to submit to your honorable body the following in favor of her prayer in said Memorial which has been referred to your Committee:

The public law of the world is founded upon the conceded fact that sovereignty cannot be forfeited or renounced. The sovereign power of this country is perpetually in the politically organized people of the United States, and can neither be relinquished nor abandoned by any portion of them. The people in this Republic who confer sovereignty are its citizens: in a monarchy the people are the subjects of sovereignty. All citizens of a republic by rightful act or implication confer sovereign power. All people of a monarchy are subjects who exist under its supreme shield and enjoy its immunities.

The subject of a monarch takes municipal immunities from the sovereign as a gracious favor; but the woman citizen of this country has the inalienable "sovereign" right of self-government in her own proper person. Those who look upon woman's status by the dim light of the common law, which unfolded itself under the feudal and military institutions that establish right upon physical power, cannot find any analogy in the status of the woman citizen of this country, where the broad sunshine of our Constitution has enfranchised all.

As sovereignty cannot be forfeited, relinquished or abandoned, those from whom it flows—the citizens—are equal in conferring the power, and should be equal in the enjoyment of its benefits and in the exercise of its rights and privileges.

One portion of citizens have no power to deprive another portion of rights and privileges such as are possessed and exercised by themselves. The male citizen has no more right to deprive the female citizen of the free, public, political expression of opinion than the female citizen has to deprive the male citizen thereof.

The sovereign will of the people is expressed in our written Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land. The Constitution makes no distinction of sex. The Constitution defines a woman born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be a citizen. It recognizes the right of citizens to vote. It declares that 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."

Women, white and black, belong to races, although to different races. A race of people comprises all the people, male and female. The right to vote cannot be denied on account of race. All people included in the term race have the right to vote, unless otherwise prohibited.

Women of all races are white, black or some intermediate color. Color comprises all people, of all races and both sexes. The right to vote cannot be denied on account of color. All people included in the term color have the right to vote unless otherwise prohibited.

With the right to vote sex has nothing to do. Race and color include all people of both sexes. All people of both sexes have the right to vote, unless prohibited by special limiting terms less comprehensive than race or color. No such limiting terms exist in the Constitution.

Women, white and black, have from time immemorial groaned under what is properly termed in the Constitution "previous condition of servitude."

Women are the equals of men before the law, and are equal in all their rights as citizens.

Women are debarred from voting in some parts of the United States, although they are allowed to exercise that right elsewhere.

Women were formerly permitted to vote in places where they are now debarred therefrom.

The Naturalization Laws of the United States expressly provide for the naturalization of women.

But the right to vote has only lately been distinctly declared by the Constitution to be inalienable, under three distinct conditions—in all of which woman is distinctly embraced.

The citizen who is taxed should also have a voice in the subject matter of taxation. "No taxation without representation" is a right which was fundamentally established at the very birth of our country's independence; and by what ethics does any free government impose taxes on women without giving them a voice upon the subject or a participation in the public declaration as to how and by whom these taxes shall be applied for common public use?

Women are free to own and to control property, separate and free from males, and they are held responsible in their own proper persons, in every particular, as well as men, in and out of court.

Women have the same inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that men have. Why have they not this right politically, as well as men?

Women constitute a majority of the people of this country—they hold vast portions of the nation's wealth and pay a proportionate share of the taxes. They are intrusted with the most holy duties and the most vital responsibilities of society: they bear, rear and educate men; they train and mould their characters; they inspire the noblest impulses in men; they often hold the accumulated fortunes of a man's life for the safety of the family and as guardians of the infants, and yet they are debarred from uttering any opinion by public vote, as to the management by public servants of these interests: they are the secret counsellors, the best advisers, the most devoted aids in the most trying periods of men's lives, and yet men shrink from trusting them in the common questions of ordinary politics. Men trust women in the market, in the shop, on the highway and railroad, and in all other public places and assemblies, but when they propose to carry a slip of paper with a name upon it to the

polls, they fear them. the right to vote; the element in which the and it is by usurpation right to vote. The A and upward, cannot a literal activity of the will of the entire people, and a free vote of all citizens, pation or sex, is the ascertained. As the and culture; as mter; as the principle away, and merely thereto; as the might, so have the nize!, and that rec of the minds of m laked, and thereby

It was reserved attitudinal enactn which religion, al long since accord away the mist of condescension of Writ, "The nig therefore cast off armor of light.

It may be arg remains upon "male" to an ex mount character lined principle is not mentione in terms or by citizens of vote anything in t upon a subject A different cor portion of the do without c citizen for the to the value o are to be kept is to be hopee need not be s the Constitut ject in the St contrary to t arrest the ac fore it prior prohibition merely to di 3 Dall, 3 1:22.

And if th color, race government tender to q and to prev its citizens, United Stat restrictive e citizens hav the General tives and s tion expres S. C., 154

Your me Laws, and declare the the Consti regulations It may b and should The Supr on to deela determinat to the dete he presen this woul expensive prays you legislation ad inena the langua Therefo freely app under the but humb Congress benefit as

Direct J The im tediously voted a country. and thus ledmost

Nevertheless as citizens, women have a right to vote; they are part and parcel of that great nation in which the sovereign power of the land has been entrusted to the people; and it is only that men debar them from their right to vote. The American nation, in its march onward and upward, cannot publicly choke the intellectual and political activity of half its citizens by narrow statutes. The whole entire people is the true basis of republican government, and a free expression of that will by the public vote of all citizens, without distinctions of race, color, occupation or sex, is the only means by which that will can be ascertained. As the world has advanced into civilization and culture, as mind has risen in its dominion over matter, as the principle of justice and moral right has gained sway, and merely physical organized power has yielded thereunto, as the might of right has supplanted the right of might, so have the rights of women become more fully recognized, and that recognition is the result of the development of the minds of men, which through the ages she has polished, and thereby heightened the lustre of civilization.

It is reserved for our great country to recognize by constitutional enactment that political equality of all citizens which religion, affection and common sense should have long since accorded; it was reserved for America to sweep away the mist of prejudice and ignorance, and that chivalric condescension of a darker age, for in the language of Holy Writ, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast off the work of darkness and let us put on the armor of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day."

It may be argued against the proposition that there still remains upon the statute books of some States the word "male" to an exclusion; but as the Constitution, in its paramount character, can only be read by the light of the established principle, *ita lex Scripta est*, and as the subject of sex is not mentioned and the Constitution is not limited either in terms or by necessary implication in the general rights of citizens of vote, this right cannot be limited on account of anything in the spirit of inferior or previous enactments upon a subject which is not mentioned in the supreme law. A different construction would destroy a vested right in a portion of the citizens, and this no legislature has a right to do without compensation, and nothing can compensate a citizen for the loss of his or her suffrage—its value is equal to the value of life. Neither can it be presumed that women are to be kept from the polls as a mere police regulation: it is to be hoped, at least, that police regulations in their case need not be very active. The effect of the amendments to the Constitution must be to annul the power over this subject in the States, whether past, present or future, which is contrary to the amendments. The amendments would even arrest the action of the Supreme Court in cases pending before it prior to their adoption, and operate as an absolute prohibition to the exercise of any other jurisdiction than merely to dismiss the suit.

3 Dall., 382; 6 Wheaton, 405; 9 Id., 868; 34 Circ., Pa., 1832.

And if the restrictions contained in the Constitution as to color, race or servitude, were designed to limit the State governments in reference to their own citizens, and were intended to operate also as restrictions on the federal power, and to prevent interference with the rights of the State and its citizens, how, then, can the State restrict citizens of the United States in the exercise of rights not mentioned in any restrictive clause in reference to actions on the part of those citizens having reference solely to the necessary functions of the General Government, such as the election of representatives and senators to Congress, whose election the Constitution expressly gives Congress the power to regulate?

S. C., 1847: Fox vs. Ohio, 5, Howard, 410.

Your memorialist complains of the existence of State Laws, and prays Congress, by appropriate legislation, to declare them, as they are, annulled, and to give vitality to the Constitution under its power to make and alter the regulations of the States contravening the same.

It may be urged in opposition that the Courts have power, and should declare upon this subject.

The Supreme Court has the power, and it would be its duty so to declare the law: but the Court will not do so unless a determination of such point as shall arise, make it necessary to the determination of a controversy, and hence a case must be presented in which there can be no rational doubt. All this would subject the aggrieved parties to much dilatory, expensive and needless litigation, which your memorialist prays your Honorable Body to dispense with by appropriate legislation, as there can be no purpose in special arguments "ad inconvenienti," enlarging or contracting the import of the language of the Constitution.

Therefore, Believing firmly in the right of citizens to freely approach those in whose hands their destiny is placed under the Providence of God, your memorialist has frankly, but humbly, appealed to you, and prays that the wisdom of Congress may be moved to action in this matter for the benefit and the increased happiness of our beloved country.

Most respectfully submitted,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Dated New York, January 2, 1871.

The issue upon the question of female suffrage being thus definitely and clearly set forth, and its rights inalienably vested in woman, a brighter future dawns upon the country. When Congress shall have moved in the matter, and thus secured to woman the free exercise of these newly-defined rights, she can unite in purifying the elements of

political strife—in restoring the Government to pristine integrity, strength and vigor. To do this, many reforms become of absolute necessity. Prominent among these are—

A reform in representation by which all Legislative Bodies and the Presidential Electoral College shall be so elected that minorities as well as majorities shall have direct representation.

A complete reform in Executive and Departmental conduct, by which the President and the Secretaries of the United States, and the Governors and State Officers shall be forced to recognize that they are the servants of the people, appointed to attend to the business of the people, and not for the purpose of perpetuating their official positions, or of securing the plunder of public trusts for the enrichment of their political adherents and supporters.

A reform in the tenure of office, by which the Presidency shall be limited to one term, with a retiring life pension, and a permanent seat in the Federal Senate, where his Presidential experience may become serviceable to the nation, and on the dignity and life emolument of Presidential Senator he shall be placed above all other political position, and be excluded from all professional pursuits.

A radical reform in our Civil Service, by which the Government, in its executive capacity, shall at all times secure faithful and efficient officers, and the people trustworthy servants, whose appointment shall be entirely removed from, and be made independent of, the influence and control of the legislative branch of the Government, and who shall be removed for "cause" only, and who shall be held strictly to frequent public accounting to superiors for all their official transactions, which shall for ever dispose of the corrupt practices induced by the allurements of the motto of present political parties, that "to the victor belong the spoils," which is a remnant of arbitrarily assumed authority, unworthy of a Government emanating from the whole people.

A reform in our systems of finance, by which the arbitrary standard of ancient and feudal despotisms shall be removed; by which the true source of wealth shall become the basis and the security of a national currency, which shall be made convertible into a National Bond, bearing such an interest, while in the hands of the people, as shall secure an equilibrium between the demands of all the varieties of exchanges and the supply of currency to effect them with, the Bond being also convertible at pleasure into money again, by which system of adjustment "plethora," equally with "tightness," shall be banished from the financial centres of our country; and which, in its practical workings, shall secure such pecuniary equality between the employing and the laboring classes as will forever make poverty and its long list of consequent ills impossible in our country; and which shall suggest the solution of those schemes which are being discussed for "funding the public debt" at a lower rate of interest.

A complete reform in our system of Internal improvements which connect and bind together the several States in commercial unity, to the end that they shall be conducted so as to administer to the best interests of the whole people, for whose benefit they were first permitted, and are now protected; by which the General Government, in the use of its postal powers, and in the exercise of its duties in regulating commerce between the States, shall secure the transportation of passengers, merchandise and the mails, from one extremity of the country to the opposite, and throughout its whole area, at the actual cost of maintaining such improvements, plus legitimate interest upon their original cost of construction, thus converting them into public benefits instead of their remaining, as now, hereditary taxes upon the industries of the country, by which, if continued, a few favored individuals are likely to become the actual rulers of the country.

A complete reform in commercial and navigation laws, by which American built or purchased ships and American seamen shall be practically protected by the admission of all that is required for construction of the first, or the use and maintenance of either, free in bond or on board.

A reform in the relations of the employer and employed, by which shall be secured the practice of the great natural law, of one-third of time to labor, one-third to recreation and one-third to rest, that by this, intellectual improvement and physical development may go on to that perfection which the Almighty Creator designed.

A reform in the principles of protection and revenue, by which the largest home and foreign demand shall be created and sustained for products of American industry of every kind; by which this industry shall be freed from the ruinous effects consequent upon frequent changes in these systems; by which shall be secured that constant employment to workmen and workingwomen throughout the country which will maintain them upon an equality in all kinds and classes of industry; by which a continuous prosperity—which, it not so marked by rapid accumulation, shall possess the merit of permanency—will be secured to all, which in due time will reduce the cost of all products to a minimum value; by which the laboring poor shall be relieved of the onerous tax, now indirectly imposed upon them by government; by which the burden of governmental support shall be placed where it properly belongs, and by which an unlimited national wealth will gradually accumulate, the ratio of taxation upon which will become so insignificant in amount as to be no burden to the people.

A reform by which the power of legislative bodies to levy taxes shall be limited to the actual necessities of the legit-

imate functions of government in its protection of the rights of persons, property and nationality; and by which they shall be deprived of the power to exempt any property from taxation; or to make any distinctions directly or indirectly among citizens in taxation for the support of government; or to give or loan the public property or credit to individuals or corporations to promote any enterprise whatever.

A reform in the system of criminal jurisprudence, by which the death penalty shall no longer be inflicted; by which the hardened criminal shall have no human chance of being let loose to harass society until the term of the sentence, whatever that may be, shall have expired, and by which, during that term, the entire prison employment shall be for—and the product thereof be faithfully paid over to—the support of the criminal's family; and by which our so-called prisons shall be virtually transformed into vast reformatory workshops, from which the unfortunate may emerge to be useful members of society, instead of the alienated citizens they now are.

The institution of such supervisory control and surveillance over the now low orders of society as shall compel them to industry, and provide for the helpless, and thus banish those institutions of pauperism and beggary which are fastening upon the vitals of society, and are so prolific of crime and suffering in certain communities.

The organization of a general system of national education, which shall positively secure to every child of the country such an education in the arts, sciences and general knowledge as will render them profitable and useful members of society; and the entire proceeds of the public domain should be religiously devoted to this end.

Such change in our general foreign policy as shall plainly indicate that we realize and appreciate the important position which has been assigned us as a nation by the common order of civilization; which shall indicate our supreme faith in that form of government which emanates from, and is supported by, the whole people, and that such government must eventually be uniform throughout the world; which shall also have in view the establishment of a Grand International Tribunal, to which all disputes of peoples and nations shall be referred for final arbitration and settlement, without appeal to arms; said Tribunal maintaining only such an International army and navy as would be necessary to enforce its decrees, and thus secure the return of the 15,000,000 of men who now compose the standing armies of the world to industrial and productive pursuits.

Thus in the best sense do I claim to be the friend and exponent of the most complete equality to which humanity can attain; of the broadest individual freedom compatible with the public good, and that supreme justice which shall know no distinction among citizens upon any ground whatever, in the administration and the execution of the laws; and also, to be a faithful worker in the cause of human advancement; and especially to be the co-laborer with those who strive to better the condition of the poor and friendless; to secure to the great mass of working people the just reward of their toil,—I claim from these, and from all others in the social scale, that support in the bold political course I have taken, which shall give me the strength and the position to carry out these needed reforms, which shall secure to them, in return, the blessings which the Creator designed the human race should enjoy.

If I obtain this support, woman's strength and woman's will, with God's support, if He vouchsafe it, shall open to them, and to this country, a new career of greatness in the race of nations, which can only be secured by that fearless course of truth from which the nations of the earth, under despotic male governments, have so far departed.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

NEW YORK, January 10, 1871.

ELEVATING INDIANS.—A convention (some people called it a vigilance committee) was recently held in Oregon to devise means for elevating the Indians on the Pacific Coast. A few were afterward elevated, the limbs of trees and a few feet of rope taking part in the exercises.

DUELS.—Senator Sumner calls the war between France and Germany "a duel." The application has been caught up by the shoulder hitters and buffers. The coming prize-fight between Jem Mace and Jo. Coburn is to be termed a dual duel.

THE FIRST FEMALE METHODIST MINISTER.—Even the Methodists, with all their theological, dogmatical crochets, have come over, and licensed Mrs. Van Cott to do the work of the ministry. What is the world coming to? Mrs. Van Cott is belaboring the sinners right and left in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

NOT SO.—An exchange says that women are rapidly taking the places of men in many of the higher branches of art and industry. We deny the assertion. They are only taking the places which rightfully belong to them, and of which they have been deprived by prejudice and usurpation.

ANXIOUS TO BE SOLD.—A "domestic gentleman" in the town of Flint, Michigan, recently sold his wife to a young farmer in the neighborhood for ten dollars. The young man took the "commodity" and her children to his home. The wife furnished the money with which to make the purchase. All parties satisfied.

MEMORIAL OF TENNIE C. CLAFLIN
TO THE
NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York:

The memorial of Tennie C. Claflin most respectfully sheweth—

That she is a citizen of the United States as declared by the XIV. article of amendments to the Constitution.

That since the adoption of the XV. Article of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the State of New York has not passed any law to abridge the right of any citizen to vote, but that women citizens of the United are, nevertheless, debarred from voting by the existence of laws, providing for the registry of male citizens and for receiving and canvassing their votes only.

And, whereas, the Constitution (article VI., section 2) declares: "That this Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the Supreme law of the land, and all judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

And, whereas, no distinction is made in the Constitution of the United States on account of sex, but the XIV. article of amendments provides that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, "nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Therefore, the exclusive laws in favor of its male citizens to vote, depriving the woman citizens of the equal protection of the laws in the exercise of this franchise, as guaranteed by the Constitution in relation to the elections of Representatives and Senators in Congress, and of President and Vice-President of the United States, is an *abridgement* such as is *prohibited*.

The State is debarred from passing or enforcing any law thus abridging the right of citizens of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and, whereas race comprises people of both sexes, color comprises people of all colors and previous condition of servitude, comprises all women in all ages existing under patriarchal, civil or feudal laws, but not under the American Constitutional laws; therefore, it is submitted that she comes within all these three qualifying clauses, and, so far, it would appear, could only be excluded on account of sex; but as no distinction exists in the United States Constitution on account of sex, it is also submitted that she has, as a female citizen, the same right as a male citizen, and that the State cannot pass or enforce any law which *abridges* her privileges and immunities as a voter any more than it can do it in regard to its male citizens.

Women do not exist here in the same status as under the old monarchical system. This Constitution has completely enfranchised her, and as a citizen she is as much vested with sovereignty in her own proper person as man.

Thus invested with the attribute of sovereignty, she cannot be deprived of it by other fellow-citizens, nor debarred from exercising its prerogatives. The sovereign power of the State flows from all citizens *alike*, and men can only debar women citizens from their rights by the exercise of arbitrary, unjust and antiquated usurpation.

Women have as much interest in the State as men have, and whether they choose to exercise the right to vote, or not, is not the question, as applied to them any more than as applied to men; but no single woman citizen can lawfully be deprived of this, her constitutional right, if she choose to exercise it. There is no distinction between women of native or foreign birth, provided the latter choose to become naturalized under the laws on the subject of naturalization, as they have always existed. And as your memorialist feels aggrieved under the existing laws which debar her and all other woman citizens of the United States in the State of New York from exercising their right to vote, your memorialist will most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to pass such laws which in your wisdom you shall see proper for removing the existing hindrances which debar and abridge the right of woman citizens in voting, so that they shall be subject to the same regulations therein that male citizens are;—

And your petitioner will ever pray, etc.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

Dated New York City, Jan. 16, 1871.

CHILDREN, THEIR RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND
RELATION TO SOCIETY.

No. VI.

If "knowledge is power," ignorance must be weakness; hence it is that we insist that knowledge is a matter of primary importance regarding the relations of the sexes. All the legislation and provision of the past has been short-sighted, having been entirely directed to maintaining relations once entered upon during life, just as though these relations began and ended within themselves, and never giving the results of these relations even the first thought except to keep them as ignorant as possible during their growth of the processes of nature by which they are.

With knowledge upon these matters entering into the circumstances which control marriages, something more than mere personal and temporary considerations would assume the determining position. People would, in the first place, never think of contracting sexual alliances with those through whom they should have any cause to suspect that their offspring would be curses to them and society; and, in the second place, having given such alliances consideration, reason would prevail, and, in the majority of instances, prevent their consummation. There are various cases, however, in which with all the precaution which knowledge would engender, persons would find themselves allied before discovering causes which should absolutely deter them from continuing the union. This we are aware touches the question of marriage law, which has been so fully treated upon elsewhere, but it is a point to which legislators have never given any weight or thought whatever, and it therefore demands attention. If marriage is for any other purpose than simply the binding together of two individuals for the mere sake of having them bound, then these purposes should have a modifying power over the union itself. If people—sensible people—set about to accomplish any purpose, they exert their best talent to adapting the means to the end in view; they do not blindly set about it without considering what the results of certain steps would be: in other words, they sit down and "count the cost" and see if their means will compass the ends.

As we have said before, no two have any right to contract an alliance by which children shall result to curse the world. Children are the results—the natural results—of these alliances, and as they are the end to be attained by the alliance, they should be the chief consideration to determine it. People drink to quench their thirst; but they do not necessarily seize upon the first liquid they come upon and make use of it, regardless of what effect it will produce. It is one of the simplest rules of life which we are insisting upon, and yet people have never discovered that it could apply to marriage. The reason why this has not been discovered is because pure selfishness has controlled with absolute sway.

The time has come, however, wherein something more than present personal considerations must assume their true determining positions regarding marriage: in which either sex must ask the question and answer it before action. What shall I contribute to humanity if I do this? To this condition education will lead in these matters as surely as it does in all others. Then let us have a judicious system of education relating to the laws which govern reproduction, nor let it be longer absurdly held that there is danger in it to the young who have not arrived at maturity in function.

The same rule which applies in all other things does also in this. Familiarity with everything relating to it removes all danger of injury or of pernicious results flowing from it. To make use of an illustration in the direct line in which this matter has been considered by society, and which invests all secrets with a peculiar fascination for everybody, we remark the entire revolution which has taken place upon the corners of Broadway since the "leg drama" made its appearance among us in the profusion it has within the past three years. Previously, nearly every corner of Broadway, during the portions of the day when women most frequent it, would contain a group of "exquisites," whose lascivious eyes were eagerly searching about for the most exposed bosoms of the most beautiful ladies (?), or for the greatest exposure resulting from entering and leaving omnibuses. So common was this practice, that it became known to every woman that, wherever she might be upon the street, eager eyes were gazing upon her, ready to make the most of any situation she might be placed in. These institutions have nearly, if not quite, disappeared under the influence of the aforesaid drama, which, by its very extravagance of exposure, has so far outreached the street method that satiety has resulted. This is but another illustration of the fact that where little excites, profusion satisfies; and people—men and women—now go and witness all the displays which it is possible to make of female beauty of form at our "Black Crooks" and "Les Brigands" and never think of becoming, vulgarly speaking, demoralized.

The application of this illustration is apparent. Children, by the little things they so readily gather about the difference of sex, are made curious to just the extent the means of satisfying that curiosity is difficult, and they pursue their means by stealth whenever and wherever possible. This results in producing a morbid condition of the mind about it, and encourages all kinds of secret vices, which are sapping the very life and beauty from the coming generation. No one can doubt this who will give it the attention it merits, as one of the crying ills of present systems of education. If instruction were begun in these matters at or about the age

when curiosity is developed, and it made a common matter of course, is it not plain that it would at once produce as effectual results as the case cited above?

We are aware that "conservatives" will decry this plain way of treating this subject, and make use of the usual way of manifesting their condemnation; nevertheless, the proposition to us is a simple one, over which we have spent many weary hours in the ineffectual endeavor to invest it with the drapery which society has veiled it by. A secret attracts everybody's attention. When it is a secret no longer, it ceases to attract attention, and becomes reduced to its legitimate and natural uses. Without any hesitation, we assert our belief that the same results would follow the education of children in sexual matters; knowledge would succeed curiosity, and healthy action of the mind to a morbid desire. Think well before entering up a verdict of condemnation, for it is a point of vital import to humanity as a whole, as well as to individuals.

FEMALES AT THE FOOTLIGHTS.

WHEREABOUTS OF ACTRESSES.

Miss Belle Freeman is on a visit to her friends in New Orleans. It is possible that she may again enter the company of the Varieties Theatre in that city, of which she formed a part two years ago.

Miss Nilsson, on account of severe illness, which laid her up at Springfield, Ill., was compelled to postpone a number of her engagements in the West. She has recovered, however, and is now moving again.

Mrs. F. W. Lander has been performing in Washington to crowded houses.

Mrs. Harry Watkins is at the National Theatre in Washington city.

Mrs. Jarley, who it would seem has fallen heir to Artemus Ward's wax figures, is exhibiting them with considerable success.

Little Lotta was in Buffalo last week. She is not only the "pet of the petticoats," but is the cause of "family jars" in otherwise quiet households.

Miss Sallie A. Hinkley is in Salt Lake City giving recitations to the Mormons and playing to crowded benches.

Mrs. D. P. Bowers, who is a sister of Mrs. Conway, of the Park Theatre, Brooklyn, is playing at McVicker's theatre in Chicago.

Mrs. E. L. Davenport is engaged at the Chestnut street theatre, Philadelphia.

Miss Phillis Glover, recently from London, is also announced as part of the Chestnut street Theatre Company.

Miss Virginia Howard, Dollie Pike, Mrs. T. A. Creese and Mrs. Montford are performing in Harrisburg, Pa.

The Lydia Thompson troupe, with Miss Louise Arnott, are performing at the St. Charles Theatre, in New Orleans.

Miss Nagle, Miss Belmont and Nellie Taylor, are singing to the great delight of the citizens of Indianapolis.

Miss Maggie Mitchell is at Wood's Theatre, in Cincinnati, fulfilling a successful engagement. She is assisted by Miss Crampton.

Mrs. Imogene Brown, who is represented as being one of the sweetest vocalists in the West, gave a concert in Chicago on the 17th inst.

Mrs. Oates, the leading feature of the Oates troupe of artists, is highly spoken of by the Raleigh, (N. C.) papers, where she has recently been performing.

Miss Lucille Western has had a very successful run in New Orleans. The Academy of Music, in that city, was nightly crowded to witness the performances of Miss Western, who is one of the most gifted artists on the American stage.

The Josie Booth Theatrical Company are in Springfield, Ill., where Miss Booth seems to be highly appreciated.

Miss Katie Putnam is playing in Nashville to large houses.

Miss Maria Wilkins is a prominent and promising actress at the Academy of Music in New Orleans.

The Lisa Weber troupe of burlesquers are in Montgomery, Ala. Miss Hattie O'Neal, Miss Cassia Troy, Miss Nettie Hicks and Miss Marie Norris form part of the troupe.

Miss Jennie Smith as Paul, Mabel Leigh as Dora, and Kate Fletcher as Zoe, are playing in the "Octaroon" in Indianapolis.

Miss Nilsson sung in Peoria, Ill., on the 9th inst.

Mrs. H. M. Smith has been singing in a musical festival at Concord, N. H.

The English Opera Troupe will be in Washington next week. Mrs. Caroline Richings Bernard, Mrs. Zella Squires and Mrs. Annie Bowler are the principal lady singers.

Miss Lucy Adams does the singing and Miss Kitty Leroy the dancing of Lawrence troupe, which is now traveling in Ohio.

Miss Clara Louisa Kellogg's recent concert tour has been very successful.

Miss Mary Wells had a benefit at the Opera Comique, in Portland, Oregon, on the 29th ult.

Madame Lichtmay is singing in German opera in Boston.

Miss Kate Fisher has been riding her horse Mazeppa in Toronto, Canada.

A NON-VOTER LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER—One of the stations on the Pacific Railroad is kept by a widow, and she can run a locomotive.

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[TO BE CONTINUED]

The Rev. C. G. Ames, the Unitarian missionary minister in California, has a help-mate, indeed in his wife. When he is sick she takes his place in the pulpit, and takes care of the babies at home, too. A letter from Santa Clara, where they live, says of her: "Last Sabbath she got up in the morning and prepared breakfast, washed and dressed her baby, dressed her little daughter for Sabbath school, put baby to sleep, and sat down and reviewed her sermon before time to take the cars for church, when, consigning baby to the loving care of his grandmother, she went to church, and preached to the entire satisfaction of a large and critical audience."

FEMALE FARMER.—Miss Bennett, a young girl in Michigan, has a farm consisting of seven thousand acres, upon which she has five hundred cows. She supplies Grand Haven, Muskegon and several other villages with milk. At present she has no one to do her voting. No Manitlini need worry.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]
ODE ON THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH
AMENDMENTS:

OR,
WOMAN'S VOTING SONG.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

Joy! joy! joy!
Let the stars clap their hands:
Let tambour and hautboy,
Sack-but and brazen bands,
Thunder of rolling drums
Sound through the lands:
Let the wild bugles blow,
At the mighty overthrow
Of a great oppression in the earth:
For lo! the heroine comes,
With the loud acclaim of the thunder of the drums,
Who has spoiled the tyrant's mirth,
Who has given unto freedom a new birth:
Crowning woman with the crown
Of a just equality with man:
Striking her oppressors down,
Who have degraded all they could and can,
Her beauty, honor, virtue, truth and love,
Soiling the pure white lilies of her soul—
Filled with high inspirations from above,
By all the foul pollutions of their laws' control.

O happy, happy day!
O world! take holiday!
And all ye bells of the great churches ring
The wedded triumph of the cause I sing:
For woman lives no longer in divorce
From her supreme birth-right as citizen,
The right to vote as vote the mob of men
Who never more shall rule her soul by force,
But sold themselves in making black men free,
They all unconscious sealed her liberty!

Up from the dust of death,
Up from the degradation of the frightful past,
She wildly breathes of her new life the breath:
God's glorious womanhood, her own at last;
Her own forever! Never more to be
Traded in the bloody rust of iron slavery:
Her beauty praised by drunken lips obscure,
Her purest virtues made by them unclean.

O Lord! of all the good!
Of all the true brave hearts that live and die,
Making no sign that we may know them by,
Hearts of the mighty and the righteous blood,
That are content to labor all unknown,
Their recompense, the smile of Heaven alone!
O Lord! I thank thee in the name of all
Who love thy name, and for thy blessing call
To bless the noble deeds in secret done,
That in thy sacred privacies of trust
Thro' the dark centuries of fruitful wrong,
Thou didst commission bards and warriors just,
To battle for the weak against the strong;
Defending woman at her utmost need,
With arms that wearied not altho' their hearts did bleed,
As they beheld her, lovely as the light,
And chaste as Dian, huntress of the night,
Like any household chattel bought and sold,
Or haltered like some beast of burden for vile gold,
O mother of mankind! O woman fair!
In whom doth centre all that man holds dear,
Wife, sister, daughter! charmer of his care,
And sweetener of his life, each in her holy sphere:
O woman! thou supreme of God's ideal!
To whom we cling in all our hours of sadness,
Whose heart is truth, oft proved by dread ordeal,
Whose life is love, whose smile turns even grief to gladness:
I weep to think of thy dark days of pain,
The slave of brutal passions and bad men;
Wrong's crown of fiery thorns crushed down into thy brain,
Thy bleeding wounds of sorrow pierced and pierced again,
By the red hand, blood-rusted from thy veins,
Of him, thy legal tyrant, who had sworn
To love thee unto death, thro' loss and gains,
And left thee loveless, hopeless and forlorn!

But as the sunlight comes
Oft thro' the darkest day,
Making the storm's muffled drums
Sound like the voices of a holiday;
Bright'ning with passion all the landscape dim,
Cheering the murky air with bursts of seraphim,
Till the gushing throats of all the birds gush out in song,
And the hills beyond the green woods their glad notes prolong.

So unto woman's history,
In its wonder and its mystery,
Have come the sons of truth, and song and light,
Who have fought against the darkness of her night,
Who have proved the pole stars of her being
Who have saved her from long suffering by their love and long
foreseeing.

O woman! God be thanked for faithful man!
And Thou, O God! I thank thee such men are!
And that such have been, and will be again,
Bright with the radiance of the morning star.
True-hearted lovers both of thee and thine,
Who worship at thy beauty as saints worship at a shrine.
O woman, this is human! and this homage is thy right!
But what is thine beyond the reach of sight,
The mystic things thy beauty sends to all
Who have the soul to feel thy beauty's call,
And what it saith to every son of man—
This is the Sphinx's riddle, riddle it who can.

O there have been good men who've loved thee well;
Who have redeemed their promise at God's shrine,
Thro' life with thee, in peace and love to dwell,
Obedient to the law of heaven divine,
Who longed to place thee on thy rightful throne,
And give thee all thy birthright gemmed with stars,
That thou might be thy queen to rule alone
Thy sovereignty of self, and crush the bars
That man had raised to keep thee from thine own.
But these are scattered o'er time's purple skies
Vew and apart, but fixed in light that never dies.

And now thy night is over,
Thou art free!
The dawning of thy daytime at one stride
Comes as the dark comes o'er the tropic sea.
A woman's eyes thy glory doth discover,
And a new husband gives, sweet heart, to thee
For Freedom is thy bridegroom, thou, the bride.

Let the winds proclaim it
To the dumb nations that shall name it.
In mutterings of thunder round the sphere:
And oh! the inarticulate voices,
Smothered tho' they be
In the grave-clothes of tyranny,
So that they dare not speak aloud from fear,
Shall east, west, north and south,
Be hailed by kindred nation's wild rejoices,
Whilst every free people,
Shall make a mighty uproar to the sun,
Drunk with the tidings of the valorous deeds that's done;
And make a riot with the bells of every steeple
And a clangor of wild gladness in the organ's golden mouth.

Tossing the mighty truth,
The tyrant's bitter ruth,
And bitterer cud to chew with bloody tooth
From one throne to another,
Mocking each kingly brother
With the glad news that woman has a vote to cast,
Henceforth in politics and at the great elections,
Instead of being voted for as in the past,
Bequeathing unto them the refuse scum of evil,
The candidates from office, of the devil,
Her summary, swift, contemptuous rejection.
O woman! just and true, I know that thou
Wilt ever be upon the human side;
God's righteous star doth shine upon thy brow,
And all the pulses of the mighty tide
That rolls thro' thy great heart its crimson flood,
Beat rapturous music 'gainst thy balmy side,
Whose burden is thy love for man, and for his good.
They cannot turn thee to a beast of greed,
To fatten on the leprous moors of gold,
On mountain tops and pastures thou shalt feed,
Where heavenly shepherds guard their sacred fold.
O not for place and power wilt thou defile
Thy holy nature with the placeman's guile;
I look to thee as all who know thee look,
To write thy name in the immortal book
As leader of the leaders of mankind,
And of this nation all so dumb and blind,
Abandoned to state quacks who lie and rob
The one-eyed Polyphemus of the mob,
Inspired thou of godlike thoughts and deeds,
Instructor of wise councils at the nation's need,
Revealer of high truths and things divine,
Restorer of man's faith, maker of light to shine,
And shaper of the destiny in store
For this great nation, when those rulers are no more.

Let the people shout!
Toss the news about;
And see! the new redeemer rideth by;
Her chariot is of gold and jewels wrought,
Whose cincts from the rising sun were caught:
And her chargers are all maned with fire,
Their necks with thunder fraught!
She strikes a golden lyre
Whose strings her new born freedom doth inspire.
And in her train a glorious pageantry
Of women crowned with sunbows follow.
Hark! the bugles sound;
And with their revell the hills rebound.
The brazen instruments proclaim
"This day is the day of the same!"
Man and woman are one name,
And stand in full equality of right
Before all mortal eyes, and in God's sight."

Fling out your banners to the breeze!
And blow, O breeze! your gladdest breath,
And tune your mellow harps ye various trees,
And sing the life that has come up from death—
Life to the mother of mankind,
Whom no more bands of death shall ever bind.

Mother of mankind and the God of heaven,
Proclaim thy new born dignities abroad!
And swear that since to thee such glory's given,
No more thy soul shall be by man o'erawed!
Thy bosom dropping odors like the flowers
That bloom with fragrance on old Hermon's hill,
Shall henceforth pillow gods in fairy bowers,
And thou shalt do thy own behests and will.
Awake, O woman! to the golden prime
That comes at last to all thy lovely sex,
And wrap you in the glory of the time,
To rule Regina with you quondam Rex,
In all affairs of State;
And bring the wit and wisdom of your mind,
Matured by contemplation, to decide the fate
Of measures most momentous to mankind.
Keen eyes, Victoria Woodhull, were thine eyes to see
The charter of thy sex's liberty
In the same words which made the poor slave free.
Immortal words! big with God's living breath,
Which snatched all woman kind from living death,
To be henceforth the burden of the freeman's song,
And shine in glory o'er the grave of man and woman's wrong.
Ho! for the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth great Amendments!
To our plastic Constitution which, creates
All persons born in these United States,
Or naturalized therein, and their descendants,
No matter what the race,
Or color of the face,
Or what the previous condition of the servitude may be,
The great Republic's citizens enfranchised—born, and free!

O, words are weak,
A woman's gratitude to speak,
For the great right that doth to her accrue,
Thro' woman's queen, Victoria Woodhull, true,
In endless battles since the fight began,
To win the rights of woman 'gainst the wrongs of man;
The right to vote and have a voice of power
Equal to man's, inherent, not a dower
Bestowed by courtesy, as one bestows an alms
Upon some beggar with her brat in arms.

But as a right, the twin of man's right,
Jove's eagle soaring heavenward, not a kite
Weltering in offal—oh! obscene the sight!
As woman cowering in her chains, and fed
By bloody hands, from bodies of the dead,
Living her death-in-life was doomed of yore to welter:
The chattel slave, who owed to men her all,
Her food, her clothing, and her bed and shelter,
Her mind a blank, her soul to greatness lost,
In seas of degradation tempest tost,
The very sky above her dangling like a pall,
No more, thank God! she dwelleth with despair:
Let your triumphs rend the palpitating air!
Shout all ye men who love the right to see
Crowned in its kingly majesty,

And you, ye women, cry a-neighbor and far
From the time of the morning star,
From the sun's golden rising,
All thro' the azure of the livelong day,
Till vesper, night surprising,
Complete the roundelay!

Cry loud, for you are free!
Let the tidings rush from sea to sea:
Let the slave nations hear them;
Let their tyrant's fear them;
Let the world know
How woman's loves and hates,
Inspired at last the long witholden blow
Which struck oppression low
In these United States.
Cry aloud! and smite the jewelled gaw,
Where all the happy, happy women dwell,
Who in their lifetime on each bleeding breast,
Bowed down their bruised heads in sorrow and unrest,
And drank so deeply of the cup of hell.
Unroof the walls of heaven with your rejoicing,
And let the little children, your fair daughters,
Join their glad voices till the concaves ring,
And the mighty diapason of your song,
Grand as loud thunders echoing Alps prolong,
And mingled with wild raptures and wild laughter,
Swell thro' the starry magnitudes which hold
The house of many mansions and the flowery plains of gold
Till all the passionate heart of heaven bursts in one voice of praise
To God for woman's freedom in the coming days.

LECTURE OF MISS KATE STANTON,

BEFORE

THE CENTRAL NATIONAL FEMALE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

Held at Washington, January 12, 1871.

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES:

I fear I should not have the moral courage to address you
did I not feel impressed with the dignity of my subject in be-
half of woman.

It has been my happy privilege to dwell in foreign lands.
Those of you who have done so can fully appreciate what
thrill of joy filled my heart the first time I greeted our dear
old flag as it floated fearless and free in the streets of beau-
tiful Paris. Yes, there I was, thousands of miles from home,
alone and among strangers, with no familiar face to greet
me, unaccustomed to their manners, yet I never felt a greater
sense of protection than when gazing at its folds as they
gracefully floated to and fro.

Was not that flag honored and revered wherever it
waved? Was it not my country's symbol? Was not I an
American? Had I not always breathed the air of freedom
and true liberty? Oh! how fervently a prayer went Heaven-
ward thanking God that I was America's free-born daughter.
I do not know where my pride would have carried me had
it not met with a fall. My cogitations were interrupted by
overhearing a conversation between two Frenchmen, one of
whom was evidently a citizen of the United States. His
heart must have struck a responsive chord to mine, for he
was eulogizing our banner in words as I had been doing in
thought.

He said: "Emile, in the great and glorious country over
which that flag floats every human being is born free and
equal; every person has a right to the ballot—every one can
help make the laws that govern him."

His words, so impressive and uttered with such vehe-
mence, startled me, and unconsciously I exclaimed: "What
an irony—a nonentity? I had never helped to make a single
law. I had never been allowed to do so, and why? Because
I was not a human being—I was only a woman!"

I can never make you realize how degraded I felt because
I was not recognized as a human being, and the chains which
had oftentimes restrained me before seemed more galling to
bear than ever, and I felt as a caged lioness must. Shylock's
words forced themselves upon me and I never before had
such a realizing sense of their meaning.

"Hath not a woman hands, organs, dimensions, senses,
affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the
same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the
same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and
summer as a man is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you
tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die?
and if you wrong us, shall we not strive for our rights? If a
man wrong a woman, what is his humility? License. If a
woman wrong a man, what should her sufferance be, by man's
example? What it is we know, what it should be you may
decide for yourselves.

I have never signed a petition, and while I live I never
will. I have never before spoken in public on the suffrage
question, and all I claim now is, simply, personal independ-
ence for women, their right to judge for themselves what is
right, and their responsibility for such judgment.

There are certainly a great many women who are tax-pay-
ers, and surely they have an interest in the laws that control
their property and the manner in which it is spent. They
have a right to representation, for virtual representation, ac-
cording to James Otis, is not known in law. It is a subtlety,
an illusion wholly unfounded and absurd.

As mothers, they are interested in the laws that govern so-
ciety, for their sons and daughters grow up in it, and work
as human beings. Motherhood is sufficient reason, if no
other, why women should have individual freedom and an
opportunity for the full development of all her powers. The
mother is the artist who moulds future generations.

At this stage of the agitation of the suffrage question, every
one with whom I converse admits that it is right for women
to be enfranchised, but—is it expedient?

Is there any more or as much danger in enfranchising a

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class with whom your mothers, wives and daughters are the representatives, and who have the advantage of your wise counsel and timely suggestions, than of giving the ballot to the uneducated and ignorant of your own sex?

There is a class of women who are exceptional, who are not married, and do not intend to be, who are good citizens and obey the laws, though they suffer from their despotism. These laws do not meet their wants, for they were made by men, and are only for men. They need the women element to make them whole. These women are determined to enjoy personal independence as far as possible, and only be responsible to their consciences and their God for their acts. There is no one to represent them, even if there were such a thing as virtual representation. But do you not think those who have shown such ability in leading care of themselves would prove competent to use the ballot judiciously, and could you not trust them with it?

They could not marry if they would, for they do not dare to share their lot with any man. Even men who are the most advanced in thought, those who have the most liberal theories, but who practice them, and lack the moral courage to do so, even if they have the inclination.

I do not think, however, men ought to be censured too much for their past acts, for they have been better than their laws, and lived according to the light they have received. I have faith that the coming man will equal our expectations. How can it be otherwise, when he has had for his teachers our glorious women, who are leaders in thought? He will surely understand and practice the higher humanities, and keep pace with the coming woman, for God never designed inequalities in nature, but continuous wholes.

The objection that women don't want the ballot I consider of no importance, because they have no right to demand others of their rights.

In demanding equal pay for equal labor for ourselves, we do not demand that they shall be compelled to take equal pay if they don't wish it; nor do we demand that they shall have equal educational advantages thrust upon them; nor do we demand that they shall be compelled to use the ballot, though we think they have no right to be indifferent to their prerogatives, nor should they be countenanced or justified in this indifference. If they are insensible to the claims of their personality, it is our duty to enlighten them and press upon them the necessity of doing their part of labor in humanizing society.

Men have done double work long enough; they should have husbands now, not only in name but in reality. Can we help them worshipping as their shadow, or effectively as their slaves? We must become persons, and our personality must be recognized, or we come short of our stature and the community is defrauded of our contribution of power.

Men not only need woman's assistance in domestic but also in political life; for a good government is a family on a large scale. The housekeeping at the Capitol, we are told, gives evidence of a need of re-organization; a new kitchen cabinet is wanted; a new committee on ways and means—economics such as are never understood by men. John Stuart Mill, Harriet Martineau, Jacob Bright and other English statesmen assert that women understand political economy better than men, because they have been drilled in the habit of husbanding small resources. Some are obliged to husband very small resources, in the shape of the men they have to take care of.

Men have so legislated that women have been forced to "earn their bread by the sweat of their brow." Such being the case, they can never recover their lost manhood until they invite women to equal competition in all things, and until they call them into legislation and leave it for them to say what shall be the remedies for the great civil and political evils which at present degrade them.

Suppose the idea of my friend, Mrs. Davis, had been carried into effect, and a Congress of women critics be sitting here, taking up every political question, running the moral parallel, examining into every financial question, what would be the result?

A rapid change in the economies and moral bearings, fewer speculations for bunkum, and more business, less money spent and more to show for it, better ventilation and less ill-humor.

Mind always governs and not sex, and great minds are willing to accept facts as soon as they are clearly demonstrated, but little ones are too weak to stem the current, and are carried along with the tide.

Section IV. of the Constitution reads that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government.

What is a republican form of Government, taken in its broadest sense?

The German philosopher, Kant, says: "A republic is that form of government where every citizen participates by his representative in the exercise of legislative power."

Jefferson says: "A republic means a government by its citizens, en masse, acting directly and personally, according to rules established by the majority."

Our beloved Lincoln said: "A republic is that form of government of the people, for the people and by the people."

Now are women citizens? If they are not, why are they recognized as such by our own and foreign countries? Why are foreign women naturalized? Why are they obliged to pay taxes? Why are they amenable to the laws when they commit crimes?

Women are citizens, and they have a right to the ballot.

Our glorious Constitution is something like the Bible, it can be construed in so many different ways; but it is entitled to the most liberal interpretation. The prisoner at the bar has the benefit of a doubt, and must be proved guilty before he can be sentenced. So have women a right to the benefit of a doubt as to the construction of the Constitution.

We assume that women have a right to the ballot, not only a moral but a political right; for Congress, by accepting the delegates from Wyoming, has given sanction to a vote by the whole people.

We can brush the Constitution away as we would a cobweb, for we still have a higher law than that, namely, our inherent rights—inherent because we create the Constitution, and the creator is greater than the created.

Gentlemen, that women must know that they have the ballot, and soon, too, is inevitable; now make a virtue of necessity and help spread the glad tidings abroad, so we can have "peace on earth and good-will toward men." Show them that you intend to lead a new life in the future, and to redeem yourselves from your past errors prove to us that you can and will be just. You have provided for the negro, and in providing for him you have builded better than you knew, notwithstanding you placed the crown of Franchise upon the brow of woman, and henceforth she is the "incarnate goddess of Liberty."

The laborer will now take his stand at the right hand of the capitalist, labor and capital henceforth supporting each

other, with their feet on the same level, and their hands joined in one and trust.

Soon we may have a Government of peace—when we shall have a temperance and a non-resistance model Republic will be the pride and glory of future generations.

LABOR AND CAPITAL: A DISCUSSION.

BY J. J. MORAN.

(CONTINUED.)

CAPITAL—Your labor is an article for sale.

The same as merchandise, and I want
Myself of the best market I can find
Wherein to buy it cheapest; bear in mind
You do the same with everything you buy;
I don't admit of any other use.
You are the seller, I the purchaser.
You having got the highest price, demand
I claim that having sold your goods, my friend,
My business with you is at an end;
And if the price I offer is too low,
You are not forced to sell to me, you know.

LABOR—A paltry subterfuge, a mere device

To clear your skirts at my sacrifice;
I am compelled my duty to give,
Because I cannot hold it back, and live
You say you buy my craft as though it were
An article of merchandise, but there
Again I differ; you will surely own
That in all goods the quality alone
Decides the value, and it matters not
Who 'tis for sale the article has rot.
But is it so with labor, let me ask?
'Tis not, for if a girl perform her task
As much remuneration is not paid
As though by hands of males the goods were made.
The work delivered may be just the same
In quality; but just because it came
From female hands, you pay the labor less.
Nor is there any method of redress.
You take advantage with all energy
Of labor's helplessness, necessity;
If capital lies idle you can wait,
The loss to you is after all not great;
You know that I cannot withstand a strife
That must withhold the necessities of life.
You hold a loaf to starving labor's eye,
Well-knowing he must take your terms or die.
Your money is a power in the land
That compasses me round on every hand,
Which binds in a very vice-like grip
And turns my very wants into a whip;
Well-knowing that I cannot lift my hand
To help myself, you say, in tone most bland,
'I'll buy your labor at my price, good man,
If that don't suit you do the best you can.'

CAPITAL—If female labor is not so well paid

As male, the charge to me must not be laid.
Because I wish to most distinctly state
I buy it at the current market rate;
When I can buy your labor cheap, I do,
And sell at highest rate, and so would you.

LABOR—You thus concede the whole of my complaint.

Yet would absolve yourself from any taint
Of your responsibility; because
When 'neath the present system, present laws
Of trade, you prove the very highest rate
Is paid my labor, you reiterate
Just what from the commencement I have said—
That do the best I can as they are made,
My labor will not give me such return
As for old age a just repose to earn;
And if you act so fairly and so just,
And, after all, I grovel in the dust.
A very drudge from cradle to the pall,
The system as a principle must fall,
Unless you hold the laborer a slave
To toil till he shall sink into his grave.
I said my work is underpaid, abused,
In every argument that you have used
You answer to my list of labor's wrongs.
By common practice such to it belongs.
And so this discourse need not be enlarged
Since you admit the very thing I charged.

THE LIBERAL CLUB.

LECTURE BY MR. MORAN.

The Division of Labor—Free Competition.

Mr. Charles Moran read a paper on this subject before the members of the Club on Friday evening last. The writer was present, and would have replied to the lecturer then and there, but in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, he was anticipated by several doubtless more able debaters, among whom Dr. Donai, late editor of *The Arbeiter Union*, particularly excelled. Notwithstanding, some thoughts occurring to the writer may, perhaps, be profitably ventilated through the columns of the WEEKLY, since several members of the Club are numbered among its constant readers.

The lecturer assumed that unrestricted freedom of production, trade and commerce, constituted the normal condition of society, or, rather, that whatever interfered with this freedom, impeded the progress of society. All human laws, except merely repelling laws, and all trade unions and other combinations of laborers that interrupt the regular course of events, were unqualifiedly condemned. In his eyes, laws of supply and demand determine wages, prices, rents, and everything else, assuming that all things are marketable. Middlemen, speculators, brokers, etc., were

unjustly ennobled as public benefactors. Division of labor, and the competition engendered by the operation of the natural "rings," were, therefore, considered as indispensable elements in human progress.

Now, reader, consider this matter. Let it be admitted that in the progress of society toward better conditions, division of labor became a necessity. What then? Would not the condition of all persons in society to-day have been much better than it is if a greater degree of equality had been attained in effecting this division? Why need there be in society two classes—three-tenths masters, and seven-tenths slaves? Why should all the labor devolve upon the slaves, and the masters be exempt? Why should seven-tenths of the products of labor inure to the benefit of the masters, and only three-tenths to the benefit of the slaves? These words "master" and "slave" have nearly been obliterated from the vocabularies of political economists, but the things signified thereby survive the words. Though the laborer is no longer the personal property of an individual owner, his labor, or the product of his labor, is a marketable commodity (which is pretty much the same as if his body were, also, minus certain privileges), and this condition of servitude is in some respects much worse than that from which he has been delivered, since the personal service due to his former owner imposed certain duties upon that owner, and "Duty" is a word unknown to modern employers.

It is clear, then that something is wanting to perfect existing systems in the division of labor. May they not be so improved as to abolish servile relations, and enable each man to perform the share of labor that should justly devolve upon him, substituting equality of right in the place of diversity of privilege? Or if this may not be, why not? To-day a few privileged employers are permitted to live in luxurious idleness, "reaping where others have sown." To-day many unprivileged laborers are compelled to lead lives of compulsory idleness, imposed by the heartlessness of those very employers. And it cannot be otherwise (if there be any truth in the lessons of political economy). Laws of supply and demand avail nothing to prevent, but much to facilitate, the production of this result. If capitalists will pay two men only one dollar and fifty cents per day for work they should pay four men three dollars per day for doing, what other result is possible?

It is alleged that competition is a great equalizer, and if the word were construed to mean that each person, without distinction, should be perfectly free to exercise, to the extent of the wants of the community, all the powers with which he is endowed; then, indeed, competition would fulfill this desirable office. But the word is construed very differently, and the fact is exactly the reverse. The reality would require the combined action of the whole of the community to protect each person in the exercise of his rights, which would be substantially co-operation, not competition. And the apparent fact is, that taking things as they exist in society, competition is construed to mean, that "those who have much shall have more, and those who have little shall have less;" success and honor to the strong and cunning, failure and disgrace to the weak and artless. It is essentially unfair and unjust, the conditions of the rival competitors being unequal from the start; much the same as if two men were running a race—the one well trained and comfortably shod, traversing a smooth, hard, even course, carefully prepared for the occasion; the other untrained and barefooted, traversing a road hilly, muddy, and strewn all over with prickly thorns (so to speak); the first might reach the goal in a better condition than he was in when he left the point of departure, but the second would be sure to stumble and fall by the wayside.

Much is said of the virtue of what is called "enlightened self-interest," but in this world such virtue is very rare. RULOFF (teacher, philologist, author and lawyer), recently sentenced to be hanged in Binghamton, N. Y., is its latest most eminent exemplar. If he had been but a trifle more enlightened he might have been a speculator, etc., instead of a burglar and murderer. He should have operated within the pale of the law, instead of outside of it. He would then have been honored as a public benefactor, though he had sacrificed thousands of human victims, instead of being despised as a malefactor and doomed to die ignominiously for the murder of only one man.

The truth is, that the whole of humanity is a unit, and the interest of all is that of each, which each must make the object of his efforts, or the entire body will perish. Whosoever, by whatever name he may be called, whether middleman or banker, burglar or highwayman, that obstructs the equitable exchange of labor and its product—that is to say, an exchange based upon terms of exact equality, measured by the disposition, ability and wants of the laborer, hour for hour, day for day, and so on, is equally guilty—within the limits of the consequences of his action—of gross violation of the natural law controlling the growth of society. And, namely, there is in human nature more disinterestedness and devotion to the public welfare than there is enlightened selfishness. If there were not, anarchy would speedily ensue and all things social dissolve, like the "baseless fabric of a dream." Bad as society may be, competition is but the "centrifugal" or regulating force, while co-operation is the "centripetal" or centering force, without which all progress would cease. Let it be inaugurated by law and incorporated in the production and distribution of wealth, under the providential superintendence of a reconstructed, democratic State.

WILLIAM WEST.

New York, January 14, 1871.

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WEEKLY.

THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN STEAMSHIP CO.

THEIR BILL AS AMENDED.

EXTRAORDINARY AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL
PRIVILEGES.

A MONSTER MONOPOLY.

A BILL DISOWNED BY ITS INTRODUCER!

MR. ROACH'S MODEST PROPOSAL.

In our issue of the 7th of this month we published a long account of this projected enterprise. We discussed the provisions of the bill for its incorporation then before Congress—showed clearly its real character, its tricky, unconstitutional and anti-republican features—how utterly ruinous it was to all hopes of commercial advancement—how opposed it was to every element of individual or State rights—how it was shaped entirely in the interest of a set of men innocent of the first rudiments of commerce, and hidden behind whom stood those most dangerous, most unprincipled monopolies, from which the nation has to-day so much to fear, while not one solitary public benefit was sought in the bill. Not only this, but we pointed out distinctly the privileges for smuggling—the control of the “general order business”—the bold swindle by which the public lands were to be robbed from the people. We denounced the whole bill as a fraud—a fraud of the most glaring and impudent description that had ever been presented before a legislative assembly; one which placed every man who assented to its passage on a level with those conspirators who, ten years ago, raised their bloody hands against the life of the nation; for the passage of such a bill—the organization of such a company—would ring the death-knell in this land to official and legislative purity, productive industry, commercial honesty, individual mercantile exertions, which, being gone, where would be the value of a citizen's rights? where the worth of the National existence?

After the publication of our article the instigators of this scheme took counsel together—saw the impossibility of its success in the face of such an exposure—withdrew the bill, and have now again introduced it in Congress in a new shape, and, if that were possible, a more tricky and dangerous one than before; but the “land grabbing” part has been dropped—thanks to our denunciation, and not to any modesty or honesty in the schemers.

As the bill now stands, if stripped of the mass of verbiage by which its real provisions are most cunningly screened, it amounts simply to this: to giving a set of men—not one of whom have the least claim on the Government, and behind whom stand concealed the greatest enemies that the workingmen of this nation have ever known—a monopoly of commerce, such a monopoly as will crush out of existence every private merchant, every

competing company—a monopoly of the ocean and lake steam and sail marine of the country—a monopoly of mail lines—a destruction of our ship-building interests (for where is the use of building ships if this monopoly is able to drive off from any route all but its own vessels?)—an unconstitutional exemption from taxation. The 1st article, 7th section, 6th clause, of the Constitution, says, “No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another. The bill of this company demands (section 1, line 46), “Said real estate, vessels or other personal property and bonds so issued by said company shall be exempt from taxation.” If this is not a preference to any port to which this company may run its ships—giving their ships in that port an advantage unduly over those which may be sent by other owners to another port—what is? So that, besides attempting to swindle the revenues of the nation, as hereinafter shown, these parties, in their utter ignorance of commerce, of law, of constitutional restrictions, of the broad principles of equity and justice, of equal trade privileges in our National ports, complacently ask Congress to confer on them a usurpation of the rights of citizens!

But not only are these demands made, but the company asks an enormous mail subsidy, under a peculiar system of contracts, which the Postmaster-General is directed to make, and which are to extend for fifteen years from their date; so that for fifteen years an entire monopoly is given on all routes, and, before the end of the fifteen years, another contract will have to be made with the same company for another fifteen years, and so on! But not yet are we at the end of all this: the same smuggling privileges we have, in our previous article, exposed are incorporated in the new bill, and, to make amends for having to abandon the “land grabbing,” are actually enlarged! At section 8, line 2, of the bill, by striking out the part in brackets, “not exceeding ten cubic feet in solid contents,” the whole business of the country is thrown into the hands of these men to practically “smuggle” as they please. The whole “bonded warehouse business,” the whole “general order business,” legally goes to them if this bill is passed!

To pass such a bill as this, or even to propose it, under the pretence of reviving American commerce, is not only an outrage on the people at large, but an outrage upon common sense. If it becomes a law it will show the most corrupt and ruinous state of things in Washington; for here it is openly asserted, however falsely, that heads of the Departments and Members of Congress are secretly interested in and openly advocate this measure which will burden the people with a shameful incubus—will make commerce not worth pursuing, and will thus give the entire control of it to foreigners, because the corruptions in this bill will ultimately destroy it and no merchants will be left here to compete with aliens.

If the contrivers of the proposed “American and European Steamship Company” succeed in their shameful plot to fasten on this nation an odious, swindling, smuggling, commercial monopoly, in which they claim to have interested high official persons, it will at least be fatal to the reputation of every man who votes for it. The people all over the country are awaking to the dangers they are in from such monopolies. The Workingmen's Party is rapidly growing, faster than most persons may think. They are debating these questions, they are watching the action on them, and their opinions will soon be expressed in a tangible manner. Nor, sympathizing as we do in their efforts, their aspirations and their wrongs, shall we be unmindful of our duty. This paper now circulates in every county of every State of the Union and in all the financial centres of Europe where, as here, the masses of the people are now thinking over their inherent rights, and our best efforts will never be left untried to save private rights from the oppression of special legislation which has created the “vast machinery of organized theft” incarnated in our existing corporations.

We have placed ourselves fairly on the record in favor of giving every proper encouragement to American commerce and to our ship-building interests, and through them, to the development of our internal resources, our collieries, our iron blast furnaces, our rolling mills, and employment to our miners and mechanics. The workingmen of this country own this country. For them—the great majority of the population—is the Government instituted; the benefits of that Government should be for them, and not for “robber capitalists” and monopolists. In the past experience of England—in the results of the support, by her Government, of private ship “yards,” in her subsidized lines of steamers honestly managed and kept separate and free from monopoly, in her powerful navy built in her private “yards”—we have sufficient practical evidence to show how our own country and our own workingmen would be benefited by a similar policy. And we ask for the benefit and protection of that policy, and we oppose such selfish and scandalous encroachments

as that of the American and European Company, or the bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Reeves in the House of Representatives, although it is but justice to that gentleman to say that he disclaimed any regard for it—stated that he did not endorse it in any way and was opposed to its provisions, which he well might be, for this bill granting aid to anonymous parties, or “stool-pigeon directors,” whose names are not even given, in the first part of section 2 ostentatiously parades provisions already existing sufficiently in law, if either good faith or ability existed in the company, and then in the last part of the same section attempts by a trick to obtain an actual subsidy of \$780,000 per annum, not to be affected by any future reduction of postal rates! In section 3 the bill in a barefaced manner seeks the same unconstitutional advantages, for the port of New York, which we have pointed out in speaking of the American and European Company, asking that ships, ships' stores and provisions in that port shall be exempt from dues and taxes!! Section 4 has the usual “clap-trap” about ships which comes from parties whose only experience is in crossing the ocean a few times, possibly by a “dead-head pass” in “wooden tubs,” and whose gratitude therefor leads them to believe that these “wooden tubs” should be continued and the iron ships banished, but who are nevertheless willing to take the alternative of iron if they have no choice.

By section 5 does W. Chase Barney mean to compel himself to take up the feed bonds of this company which he sold abroad to meet his traveling expenses? If so, it is possibly the only show of integrity there is in the whole bill. Section 6 is a mere dodge to gain credit for bonds which would have no substantial basis, as it is clearly seen that wooden ships are intended, and their life is only ten years. As to the bonds not exceeding three-fourths of the cost, it is easy to see how that can be arranged by adding fifty per cent. to the ship estimates, and the fact that the Postmaster-General pays over all the money quarterly, after retaining the interest, nullifies the value of the mortgage and takes the only fund there would be to pay any portion of the bonds, thus making the Post-Office Department accessory to the ultimate ruin of the bondholders.

This bill, bad as it is, however, is infinitely better than the shameful demands of the American and European Company, or the extraordinary “moonshine” of the project of John Roach, which is really the most remarkable “grabbing” enterprise of the century, and asks Government to pay about \$1,400,000 in gold for thirty years and give its entire patronage besides to one ship-builder!!!

PEOPLE—PERSONS—CITIZENS.

If there is wanting to the mind of any living human being the not-to-be-doubted evidence that every human being has the right of suffrage, he or she has but to anew examine the positions these terms occupy in the Constitution, and the authorities upon it, to obtain it. A perverseness which cannot be convinced, because it will not, will only remain unconvinced.

Art. I., Sec. 2, ¶ 1 of the Constitution provides that, “The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people.”

Article XIV. of Amendments to the Constitution provides that, “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. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.”

“Representation shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.”

Chief Justice Taney, in his celebrated Dred Scott case, speaks as follows: “The words, ‘people of the United States’ and citizens are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the Government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the sovereign people, and every citizen is one of the people and a constituent member of this sovereignty. There is not, it is believed, to be found in the theories of any writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term citizen, which has not been considered as confining the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political.”

It appears from all this that people, persons and citizens are synonymous terms, and that all people, persons or citizens are the “political body” who form the sovereignty and conduct the government “and possess equal civil and political rights.” That all representation must be chosen, not by a part, or any part of the people, but by “the people,” the whole people; and that these terms—people, persons or citizens—include females as well as males; for the whole number of “persons” in the States are counted to form the basis of representation, and every 100,000 males and females thus

Counted promiscuously! What candid, reason plain showing will at every 100,000 persons voting for the representation of the basis of

This becomes still held up as a restriction XIV. Amendment, the right to vote is etc., etc. This is no term female; so that if the rights of men cannot, for it be denied the right excluded from the inferred from this might be denied to the right to vote by the right to vote or previous condition comprises all persons female are now included in the reasons, people and nited and cannot is not within the title or word of perfect civil and

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It was a fact that d ment to th rialized Co ting forth as they we pealing to rights, su groes to e their con said slave reason, fo synonym upon any gress as v them ass they have to; there of suffra vote or b It is a constant servitude regardin they fur where, v woman “We do Gentl are the to meet and th which y lowness ridicul ator w women citizen and me tion w ready Ever racy. The v over w have a such would possib the pr monst in reg Soc been ted by mens to dr the

Counted promiscuously are entitled to one representative. What candid, reasonable person under this concise and plain showing will attempt to say that the female part of every 100,000 persons can rightfully be excluded from voting for the representative—the right to which they form a part of the basis of granting?

This becomes still more impossible if we look at what is held up as a restrictive clause, contained in Sec. 2, of said XIV. Amendment, which is as follows: "But whenever the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants," etc., etc. This is no grant of right, nor does it contain the term female; so that if it means anything, it may be inferred that if the rights of men to vote can be denied, that of women cannot, for it specially includes men. If women could be denied the right to vote, why, too, should not they be excluded from the basis of representation? But if it might be inferred from this negative phrase that the right to vote might be denied to both males and females, that right is positively denied by the XV. Amendment, which provides, "That the right to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude"—each of which terms comprises all persons of both sexes; but as the terms sex and female are nowhere mentioned in the Constitution, except as included in the more comprehensive terms of race, color, persons, people and citizens, and as the right to vote is not denied and cannot be denied on either of these accounts, there is not within the entire text of the Constitution a single particle or word of authority by which the right of females to perfect civil and political equality can be denied.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

Mesdames Sherman, Dahlgren & Co. Assuming the Role of the Negro Slaves of the South.

THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTION TO SUFFRAGE.

3,000 DWINDLE TO 300.

WHO ARE THEY.

It was a well-known and is an equally well-remembered fact that during the pendency in Congress of the Amendment to the Constitution, a number of negro slaves memorialized Congress against freedom and political equality, setting forth that they were perfectly satisfied to remain slaves, as they were. In these latter times, when women are appealing to Congress for their clear, constitutional, republican rights, such as Congress was endeavoring to enable the negroes to exercise, come Mesdames Sherman, Dahlgren and their confederates, re-enacting the same part played by the said slaves, and it is to be presumed they act from the same reason, for the language of the former and the latter is nearly synonymous. We were not aware that we should encroach upon any of the rights of these ladies by going before Congress as we did, and we confess to not a little surprise to find them assuming to interfere in things in which they confess they have no interest. Voting is what no one can be compelled to; therefore, when women are enabled to exercise the right of suffrage, it will not be compulsory for these ladies to vote or have anything at all to do with those who shall.

It is a notorious if not a universal fact, that imbecility is a constant accompaniment of a desired condition of political servitude, and if anything were wanting to decide this fact, regarding the heads of this movement, if not of all its parts, they furnished it to Senators in the Senate reception room, where, when asked what were their reasons for opposing woman suffrage, said: "We don't want to go to the polls." "We don't want to come in contact with the Biddies."

Gentlewomen, workingwomen of the United States, these are the great Constitutional arguments by which they assume to meet our demands, seek to hinder the action of Congress, and thus retard your ascension to the political equality to which you are entitled by the Constitution. The utter shallowness of these ladies needed no further proof than such a ridiculous and pretentious assumption of caste. Every Senator who heard or learned it blushed for shame that such women were the wives of prominent, influential and useful citizens of the United States and officers of the Government, and more than one remarked that if such is to be the opposition woman suffrage is to receive from "the sex," it is already a foregone conclusion and we might as well accord it.

Everybody knows that there is a real and a sham aristocracy. These ladies have proven themselves of the latter. The very classes these ladies so affect to despise are those over whom they have ridden into position. They could never have acquired it by any personal merit, for, had they any, no such contradictory conduct as they have been guilty of would have occurred. They have taken the most public way possible to utter their deprecation of women appearing before the public, and have proved their unfitness to so do by demonstrating themselves utterly hypocritical and inconsistent in regard to profession and practice.

Such capacity as these "ladies" have exhibited must have been most delighted to find the three hundred names submitted by them increased to as many thousand by such specimens of the "Press" as occupy positions which enable them to drop either side as the occasion seems to require, to be on the right side of the fence. We scarcely know whether to

deny more the pretensions of these ladies or their ignorance. Every election ever held in the world where women were allowed to vote gives the "lie direct" to their attempt to show that women do not desire the ballot. To present such untruths to Congress, to Senators, who, they must have been aware, would detect them, together with the remaining inconsistencies contained, completes a drama which, should Senators rightly interpret, would be the best evidence to them that, were all the sex like them, Congress would be perfectly justifiable in denying them the right to vote, even in the face of the Constitutional right. But we trust Senators will make no such comprehensive application of this showing as to include the entire sex, and that, though ignorance and stupidity have here made a remarkable demonstration, there are those among the sex whose intelligence entitles them to the suffrage.

IS IT A QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCY,

OR

IS IT A QUESTION OF RIGHTS?

By reason of the great demand which has arisen out of the new position of the rights of women under the Constitution, for information upon the subject we have been induced to compile in this number an outline of all that has occurred which places the question in its present status as contra-indicated from that of the necessity for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

We would call special attention to the extracts made from the great speeches of Mr. Sumner, because we cannot conceive that any person of average common sense can read them in the light of the present and not be compelled to the conclusion that if negroes are enfranchised, women must also be. And all Constitutional and legal authority there is which touches the point makes the position still more complete.

It is a matter of serious significance whether or not the entire existing Government is not a usurpation under the true meaning of a republican form of government. It surely is so far as it exists where women have been positively denied the right to vote in its construction. If there is a representative in Congress or a Governor of a State holding office, in the election of whom women were positively denied the right to participate, such office is unconstitutional and the Supreme Court would be obliged to so declare it. Otherwise there is no meaning in words, except such as those in power choose to allow them.

There are several other points in the Constitution which we have not thought proper to develop, which, if Congress shall deny the present demand, will be urged before a higher tribunal than it is. Some Congressmen there are who are so ignorant of the form of government under which we live as to really imagine that they, that is, Congress, is the government. Such must live to know that there is no ultimate governing power in this country except that which always remains with the people.

Some Congressmen, while acknowledging the right we claim, say they can't advocate it because their wives or daughters don't believe in it. We desire to remind all such shallow statesmen that they were not sent to Congress to legislate for their wives, but they were sent there to support a republican form of government, and are sworn to support and give vitality to the provisions of the Constitution. Gentlemen, Representatives and Senators, have you forgotten your oath? We are aware that there are many of you who cannot tell anything about the Constitution, and some who have not read it in years; but such legislators assume to tell us that we had better look the Constitution a little more thoroughly through.

We have studied the Constitution for the last eight years. Ever since we saw that slavery was sure to be abolished, and knowing that some legislation would be required regarding it, we watched, with the greatest anxiety, every movement in Congress. We always felt assured that women were citizens under the Constitution as it stood; but when the XIV. and XV. Amendments were added thereto, we knew it would be suicidal for Congress to attempt to deny the right to participate in elections. We waited patiently until the proper time, and then went forward and demanded the right. By that demand we intend to stand until it is granted. We do not assume to speak for any one else; but we do assume to know what we wish and what we are entitled to, viz.: to speak for ourselves. If the right exist, and no other women than ourselves desire to exercise it, the petition of every other woman against it could not prevent us from enjoying it. Such is the beauty and the justice of a republican form of government.

THE FEMALE SHERIFF.—Mrs. J. C. Headley, sheriff in Montana, fulfils the duties of the office to the full satisfaction of her constituents, and at the same time takes proper care of a family of five children. She is ready to hang all the rogues in her bailiwick, and do all the other work appertaining to the position, except turning poor women with drunken husbands out in the cold for the non-payment of rent.

RUFUS HATCH'S CIRCULAR, NO. 2,

ON THE

LAKE SHORE AND MICHIGAN SOUTHERN R. R.

This circular, which will be found upon the last page of this paper, contains very suggestive figures which give a showing of one part of the process by which the productive interests of this country have been sapped year after year until they are in a fair way of becoming as prostrate as the same are in other countries where the government is both professedly and practically the rich man's government.

The fact, that such things are permitted not alone in rail road management, but in the management of all interests which proceed upon incorporated powers in a country which has a government professedly the poor man's, is one of the best of reasons for the conclusion that such a government cannot last. In the eagerness to improve, to develop the resources of the country, those who have its interests in charge have failed to perceive that a system of internal improvements may be made an oppression to the people. Their attention has been alone upon one side of the question, forgetting that besides the cororations there are also the people upon whom they must depend for maintenance.

In other words, and in short, in giving, as has very properly been done, the necessary protection to enable the construction and inauguration of improvements which were demanded by the growing country, they utterly neglected to provide for the protection of the people from their impositions. This neglect requires to be remedied. The people demand it. Government must listen and rectify the conditions its want of sagacity has imposed upon the productive interests of the country.

This remedy is not demanded for railroads only; the same protection to systems of obtaining the people's money is at work in every possible direction country-wide. Every interest which can obtain incorporate powers is being made subservient to a class of citizens who, whether intentionally or not, are assuming the control of the National affairs. Unless this tendency is turned in other directions, we shall soon have no government but such as capital shall dictate. Those who are crying out for protection to home industries would do well to look or a portion of the relief required in this direction. We commend a thorough consideration of Circular No. 2.

RAPID TRANSIT.

Start the public in any path of thought and you will have as diverse ideas as if there were no semblance in individuals. The various opinions upon the subject of quick transportation of people from business to homes is no exception to the general diversity of results from the same basis of reasoning.

The advocates of the arcade plan say the elevated track will not do all the work; the advocates of the complete tunnel say the arcade is impracticable. Each plan is propped up by proving the others useless, when the truth is, that any of the plans can be carried out and will serve the purpose, in but slightly varying degree. A double tunnel, with trains up one and down the other, will relieve the street railways of the longer journeying passengers, and a single tunnel, with double track, will do the same thing. With stations each mile (and the stoppages should not be any oftener) there will be no difficulty with ventilation. Some persons, whose prominence in this matter gives us a right to demand that they should study the subject, recommend stations to be but half a mile apart, forgetting that would make it slow transit instead of rapid.

Given: the wants of the public; twenty minutes from City Hall to the creek that makes Manhattan an island: to find the means. A famous inventor has said, It is more difficult to discover what is needed than to invent the machine to supply the need. But that is not the case with the rapid transit question. All agree that we want to be carried from one end of this city to the other in less than half an hour; but all do not agree with us that nearly all of the plans that have been submitted to the public will answer the purpose.

A tunnel can be driven from one end of the city to the other, deep enough not to interfere with present use of the immediate surface for sewers, gas pipes and Croton. That such a tunnel would serve the purpose is proven by actual experience.

A tunnel can be made by a clean cut through private property and across streets, then arched over and entirely concealed except at the stations. This would be equally serviceable, and could have better ventilation than the deep tunnel.

If the close tunnels be both objected to then the arcade plan is entirely feasible, and as it is designed to accommodate both fast and slow travel it more fully meets the wants of the public.

The elevated iron track now standing in Greenwich street, is also a possibility. The folly of using but a single line of posts can be obviated and when properly completed can be made to do good service.

The plan of carrying the rails upon arches of masonry through the blocks and across the streets upon bridges is entirely practicable and has been proven for years. In and around London there is more than a hundred miles of this elevated railway.

There is no use in condemning any of these plans, the aim

[CONTINUED ON FIFTH PAGE.]

REAL ESTATE AND INSURANCE.

Promises of real estate men of an advance in prices and an appearance of brisk purchasers after the holidays have not been fulfilled. We are told these things will occur in the spring; we don't believe it. Real estate prices are higher now than they ought to be and will fall, not rise, and speculators are finding the difference between purchasing property on which they have to continually pay taxes and interest without meeting a purchaser, and "carrying" stocks on a margin. Both are bad enough, and when both are abandoned and people go back to a productive industry, it will be a good day for the country. One recent auction sale, of No. 15 Walker street, for but \$17,000, shows a very remarkable depreciation of value in that locality of dry goods men. Several properties have been offered at auction, but withdrawn for want of bidders, and a large additional number of fore closure suits have been filed against city property during this month.

Suburban property continues absolutely unsaleable. We hear of meetings and efforts with the view of "improving" Staten Island, coupled with statements of its present condition—the cheapness of property there, paucity of population, and abundance of malaria, all of which these improvements will rectify—but that kind of argument is too often the "avant courier" of more taxation, of which, under the circumstances, and of no drinking-water, we think Staten Island has already enough.

Very much is being said about the annexation of Westchester County to New York City. Mr. Wm. B. Ogden, in a couple of sentences, gives the reasons for and against it in a concise and masterly manner. He believed the taxes in Westchester County would be increased, but was disposed to try annexation, for "if he had to be skinned, he would rather be skinned by an accomplished artist than be subjected to the operations of a bungler." The collapse of our old acquaintance, the Farmers' and Mechanics' Life Insurance Company, so quickly succeeding the closing up of the "Great Western," gives a final, delicious point to the advertisements of its President, that all New York insurance companies were required by law to make a deposit at Albany, and all therefore were equally good!

The *World* says, "The laws of New York afford perfect security to the insuring public."

Oh, Mr. *World*!—The "Globe," the "Ocean," the "Interritorial," the "Atlas," the "Astor" and others that have left their policy holders in the lurch! besides scores of companies, like the "Brevoort," whose shareholders are on the stool of repentance. Think of the "Brevoort" whose nominal assets of \$140,197 dwindle to \$16,500, and whose shareholders are now to receive a final and only dividend of \$5 50 per share.

The *World* says, if the Farmers' and Mechanics' Life Insurance Company's assets are not sufficient to reinsure all risks in another solvent office, it will be because Mr. Miller, the Superintendent of Insurance at Albany, was not his own predecessor. Wasn't he, though? Wasn't Mr. Miller reappointed by Governor Hoffman? wasn't Mr. Miller, in 1865, in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, calling on the various actuaries to do a little sum for him of the simplest kind, as a rule by which to determine the valuations of policies? And didn't this same Mr. Miller, finding no two actuaries able to get at the sum with the same result, invent a plan of his own for doing it, which he has twice since replaced by others, also of his own manufacture? At any rate, we find in an insurance journal a detailed account of this trifling circumstance. The supposed policy was for \$1,000, taken out at the age of twenty-six; thirty-two premiums of \$19 50 each had been paid; seven different actuaries each gave different results, each result sustained by the most abstruse reasons and algebraical proof, viz.:

Entz	\$514 52
McKay	459 84
Wright	424 64
Coffin	417 77
Fackler	387 00
Shepherd Homans	379 50
Bacon	42 46

No wonder Mr. Miller thought mathematics was not such a very certain science after all, and that he could worry along by himself just as well. And when we find authorities speaking in general terms of such indications as premiums in hands of agents, or uncollected, being found on examination of companies, "unnaturally or suspiciously swollen," or being found "natural and unstrained," we must say we, too, begin to disbelieve in mathematics altogether, and to fancy that any old woman with spectacles on and a tart tongue would make a better examination of a company and be a more wholesome terror to its officers than all the "actuaries" put together, with Mr. Miller at the head of them.

From Boston we learn that the New York Superintendent of Insurance detailed lately one of his assistants to make an examination of the Laurence Fire Insurance Company, of that city, and that for this examination, last-

ing evening, only a single specimen of this kind of examination was made, and that these charges may be put to rest, not only to the credit of the Superintendent, but also to the credit of the former statement from Mr. Miller, of New Haven, had half a million of capital, when its Vice President now declares it had then but \$100,000!

A new work on "the science of mathematics," not the kind of mathematics which was believed in, but it remembered, by Newton, La Place, Herschel or other old world mathematicians, who were so "old foggy" as to pretend to correctness, has appeared, purporting on its title page to be the production of "Shepherd Homans, Esquire, Actuary," and presenting a theory for an estimate (guess) of unknown quantities, which, judging from a *résumé* and account of it, published by a well-known insurance writer, appears to be an endeavor to get at results by means of counterbalancing mistakes, added to a little preparatory work, introduced for the amusement of "brother actuaries," of adding up some four thousand columns of figures.

We hope Mr. Homans is not intending to make a "reductio ad absurdum" of insurance, and that he does not lay himself open to the accusation which Festus made against Paul. We have no doubt, on the other hand, that his "reviewer" had spitefully dipped his pen in too much "gall," but, really, a little sober, common sense—a little less fine theorizing—a little more of the "rule of three"—a little less algebra and "rule of thumb"—less extravagance, more honesty—would not injure the "insuring public," who are so safe now, according to the *World* and Mr. McMurdy, under the protection of our New York Insurance Laws.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES OF Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE UPON THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL STATUS OF THE NEGRO.

It is a somewhat startling fact to observe how applicable to the present condition of woman are all the arguments which were advanced to support the right of citizenship for the negro. Substitute the words sex for color and woman for negro, and we have the incontrovertible evidence that woman is already as much enfranchised as the negro is. This is so plain that comments would be superfluous:

MARCH 7, 1866.

"The very act of taxing exercised over those who are not represented appears to me to be depriving them of one of their most essential rights as freemen, and if continued, seems to be, in effect, an entire disfranchisement of every civil right. For what one civil right is worth a rush after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure without his consent? If a man is not his own assessor, in person or by deputy, his liberty is gone, or he is entirely at the mercy of others."—*Otis, Rights of the Colonies*, p. 58.

Stronger words for universal suffrage could not be employed. His argument is that if men are taxed without being represented they are deprived of essential rights; and the continuance of this deprivation despoils them of every civil right, thus making the latter depend upon the right of suffrage, which by a neologism of our day is known as a political right instead of a civil right. Then, to give point to this argument, the patriot insists that in determining taxation "every man must be his own assessor, in person or by deputy," without which his liberty is entirely at the mercy of others. Here, again, in a different form, is the original thunderbolt, "Taxation without representation is Tyranny," and the claim is made not merely for communities, but for "every man."

"That every man of the commonalty, except infants, insane persons and criminals, is, of common right, and by the laws of God, a freeman and entitled to the free enjoyment of liberty. 'That liberty or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man; life, property and peace; for the all of one man is as dear to him as the all of another, and the poor man has an equal right but more need to have representatives in the Legislature than the rich one. That they who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives; for to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us, and be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf.'—*Franklin's Works*, vol. 2, p. 372.

But it is said that this claim is as applicable to women as to men, especially where women are taxpayers. To this I reply that Locke, Somers, Otis and Franklin, in making this claim, did not give to it any such extent, and the question which I now submit is simply as to their meaning in the words "Taxation without representation is Tyranny." Clearly their claim was for men, believing, as they did, that women were represented through men; and it is hardly candid to embarrass the present debate, involving the rights of an oppressed race, by another question which is entirely independent.

"Every freeman, who hath sufficient discretion, should have a voice in the election of his legislators. All the members of the State are qualified to make the election, unless they have not sufficient discretion, or are so situated as to have no wills of their own; persons not twenty-one years old are deemed of the former class from their want of years and experience. Women, what age soever they are of, are also considered as not having a sufficient acquired discretion; not from a deficiency in their mental powers, but from a natural ten-

derness and delicacy of their minds. Their natural modesty, life, and various domestic duties, render them unfit to intermingle with the world, and to qualify themselves for electors. Slaves are of the latter class, and have no will."—*Patrick's Life of Chief Justice Parsons*, p. 376.

The reasons assigned for the exclusion of women are a very unsatisfactory, but they show at least that the Fathers, when insisting that taxation and representation must go together, did not regard women, any more than men, within the sphere of this common-law principle.

Curiously enough we find confirmation of the true principle where you would little expect it, in that very *Dred Scott* case, which undertook to blast a race. Chief Justice Taney on that occasion laid down a rule which at this moment is applicable to every citizen without distinction of color. Here is his rule:

"The words, 'people of the United States' and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the sovereign people, and every citizen is one of this people on a co-equal member of this sovereignty."—19 *Howard Rep.*, 404.

"There is not, it is believed, to be found in theories of writers on government or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term citizen, which has not been considered as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment of the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."—*Ibid.*, p. 476.

Thus does that terrible judgment, which was like a ban to the colored race, now testify to their indisputable rights as "citizens."

Therefore I do not hesitate to say that when the slaves of our country became "citizens" they took their place in the "body-politic" as a component part of the "people," entitled to Equal Rights and under the protection of these two guardian principles, first, that all just government stands on the consent of the governed, and, secondly, that taxation without representation is tyranny; and these rights it is the duty of Congress to guarantee as essential to the idea of a republic.

The good statesman must be like the good sea-captain. His ship is the State which he keeps safe on its track. He, too, must see the image of God in all his fellow-men, and, in the discharge of his responsible duties, must set his face forever against any recognition of inequality in Human Rights. Other things you may do; but this you must not do.

JUNE 10, 1868.

A fundamental condition in favor of human rights is of that essential character that it must be required. Not to require it is to abandon a plain duty; so it seems to me. I speak with all deference to others, but I cannot see it otherwise.

The Constitution declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." These are grand words, perhaps the grandest in the Constitution, hardly excepting the Preamble, which is so full of majestic meaning and such a fountain of national life. Kindred to the Preamble is this supreme obligation imposed on the United States to guarantee a Republican Government. There it is. You cannot avoid this duty. Called to its performance, you must supply a practical definition of a Republican Government. This again you cannot avoid. By your oaths, by all the responsibilities of your position, you must say what in your judgment is a Republican Government, and you must so decide as not to discredit our fathers, and not to give an unworthy example to mankind. Happily the definition is already of record in our history. Our fathers gave it to us, as amid the thunders of Sinai, when they put forth their Declaration of Independence. There it stands in the very front of our Great Charter, embodied in two simple self-evident truths; first, that all men are equal in rights; and secondly, that all just government is founded only on the consent of the governed—the two together making an axiomatic definition which proves itself. Its truth is like the sun; blind is he who cannot see it. And this is the definition bequeathed as a torch by our fathers. Though often assailed, even by Senators, it is none the less true. So have I read of savages, who shot their arrows at the sun. Clearly, then, that is a Republican Government where all have equal rights and participate in the government. I know not if anything need be added; I am sure that nothing can be subtracted.

Here I might close this argument; but there are two hostile pretensions which must be exposed; the first, founded on a false interpretation of "qualifications," being nothing less than the impossible assumption that because the States may determine the "qualifications" of electors, therefore they can make color a criterion of the electoral franchise; and the second, founded on a false interpretation of the asserted power of the States "to regulate suffrage," being nothing less than the impossible assumption that, under the power to regulate suffrage, the rights of a whole race may be annihilated. These two pretensions are, of course, derived from slavery. They are hatched from the eggs that the cuckoo bird has left behind. Strange that Senators will hatch them.

(1.) By the Constitution it is provided that "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures." On this clause Senators build the impossible pretension that a State cannot be interrupted in its disfranchisement of a race. Here is the argument. Because a State may determine the qualifications of electors, therefore it may deprive a whole race of equal rights and of participation in the Government. Logically speaking, here are most narrow premises for the widest possible conclusion. On the mere statement, the absurdity is so unspeakable as to recall the kindred pretension of slavery, that, because commerce is lawful, therefore commerce in human flesh is lawful also. If the consequences were not so offensive, this "argal" might be handed over to consort with that of the Shakespearean grave-digger. But the argument is not merely preposterous, it is insulting to the human understanding, and a blow at human nature itself. If I use strong language it is because such a proclamation of tyranny requires it. Admitting that the States may determine the "qualifications" of electors; what then? Obviously it must be according to the legitimate meaning of this word. And here, besides reason and humanity, two inexhaustible fountains, we have two other sources of authority; first, the Constitution in which the word appears; and secondly, the dictionaries of the English language, out of both of which we must condemn the intolerable pretension.

The Constitution, where we find this word, follows the Declaration of Independence, and refuses to recognize any distinction of color. Search and you will confess, that there

is no word of "color" there on which to The "qualifications President, Senators "color" is not among Commandments are in its promise. there can be none; what title do you? no such title; you talu is pure; it is bitterness proceed. The dictionaries Constitution. Le Worcester, the tv will find that the accomplishment?—not mean "color! education, and t conditions which nature of regulat

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is no word of "color" in its text; nor is there anything there on which to found any disfranchisement of a race. The "qualifications" of different officers, as President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, are named; but "color" is not among these. The Constitution, like the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes, embraces all alike within its promises. There are none who must not obey it; there can be none who may not claim its advantages. By what title do you exclude a race? The Constitution gives no such title; you can only find it in yourselves. The fountain is pure; it is only out of yourselves that the waters of bitterness proceed.

The dictionaries of our language are in harmony with the Constitution. Look at "qualifications" in Webster or Worcester, the two best authorities of our time, and you will find that the word means "fitness"—"ability"—"accomplishment"—"the state of being qualified;" but it does not mean "color!" It embraces age, residence, character, education, and the payment of taxes—in short; all those conditions which when honestly administered are in the nature of regulation, not of disfranchisement.

"Some States might regulate the elections on the principle of equality, and others might regulate them otherwise." "Should the people of any State, by any means, be deprived of the right of suffrage, it was judged proper that it should be remedied by the General Government."—*Ellis's Debate*, vol. 3, p. 347.

Thus was it expressly understood, at the adoption of the Constitution, that Congress should have the power to prevent any State, under the pretence of regulating the suffrage, from depriving the people of this right or from interfering with the principle of equality.

Kindred to this statement of Mr. Madison is that other contemporary testimony, which will be found in the Federalist, where the irrepealable rights of citizens are recognized without distinction of color. This explicit language cannot be too often quoted. Here it is:

"It is only under the pretext that the laws have transferred the negroes into subjects of property that a place is disputed them in the computation of numbers; and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants."—*The Federalist*, No. 54.

This testimony is as decisive as it is authentic. Consider that it was given in explanation and vindication of the Constitution. Consider that the Constitution was commended for adoption by the assertion, that on the termination of slavery "the negro could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants." In the face of this assurance, how can it be now insisted, that, under the simple power to regulate the suffrage, a State may deny to a whole race that "equal share of representation" which was promised? Thus from every quarter we are brought to the same inevitable conclusion.

High above States, as high above men, are those commanding principles, which cannot be denied with impunity. They will be found in the Declaration of Independence expressed so clearly that all can read them. Though few, they are mighty. There is no humility in bending to their behests. As man rises in the scale of being while walking in obedience to the divine will, so is a State elevated by obedience to these everlasting truths. Nor can we look for harmony in our country until these principles bear unquestioned sway, without any interdict from the States. That unity for which the nation longs, with peace and reconciliation in its train, can be assured only through the Equal Rights of All, proclaimed by the Nation everywhere within its limits, and maintained by the national arm. Then will the Constitution be filled and inspired by the Declaration of Independence, so that the two shall be one, with a common life, a common authority, and a common glory.

FEBRUARY 5, 1869.

Anything for Slavery was constitutional. Such is the lesson we were taught. How often I have heard it! How often it has sounded through this Chamber and been proclaimed in speech and law! Under its influence the right of petition was denied, the atrocious Fugitive Slave Bill was enacted, and the claim was advanced that Slavery traveled with the flag of the Republic. Vain are all our victories, if this terrible rule is not reversed, so that State Rights shall yield to Human Rights, and the nation be exalted as the bulwark of all. Beyond all question the true rule under the national Constitution, especially since its additional amendments, is that *anything for Human Rights is constitutional*. Yes, sir; against the old rule, *anything for slavery*, I put the new rule, *anything for Human Rights*.

Sir I do not declare this rule hastily, and I know the presence in which I speak. I am surrounded by lawyers, and now I challenge any one or all to this debate. I invoke the discussion. On an occasion less important, Lord Chatham, after saying, that he came not with the statute-book doubled down in dog's ears to defend the cause of Liberty; that he relied on a general principle, a constitutional principle, exclaimed: "It is a ground on which I stand firm; a ground on which I dare meet any man." In the same spirit I would speak now. No learning in books, no skill acquired in courts, no sharpness of forensic dialectics, no cunning in splitting hairs, can impair the vigor of the constitutional principle which I announce. Whatever you enact for Human Rights is constitutional. There can be no State Rights against Human Rights; and this is the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

A State exercises its proper function, when, within its own jurisdiction, it administers local law, watches local interests, promotes local charities, and, by its local knowledge, brings the guardianship of government to the homes of its citizens. Such is the proper function of the State, by which we are saved from that centralization which is elsewhere so absorbing. But a State transcends its proper function, when it interferes with those Equal Rights, whether civil or political, which by the Declaration of Independence, and repeated texts of the national Constitution, are under the safe-guard of the nation. The State is local in its character, and not universal. Whatever is justly local belongs to its cognizance; whatever is universal belongs to the nation. But what can be more universal than the Rights of Man? They are for "all men;" not for all white men; but for all men. Such they have been declared by our fathers, and this axiom of Liberty nobody can dispute.

It is under the National Constitution that the champions set up their pretension; therefore, to the National Constitution: I go. And I begin by appealing to the letter, which from beginning to end does not contain one word recognizing "color." Its letter is blameless and its spirit is not less so. Surely a power to disfranchise for color must find some sanction in the Constitution. There must be some word of clear intent under which this terrible prerogative

can be exercised. This conclusion of reason is reinforced by the positive text of our Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, where it is expressly announced that all men are equal in rights, and that just Government stands only on the consent of the governed. In the face of the National Constitution interpreted first by itself and, then by the Declaration of Independence, how can this pretension prevail?

Of course, if there were no other way of accomplishing the great result, the amendment should be presented, even with all its delays, uncertainties and provocations to local strife. But happily all these are unnecessary. The same thing may be accomplished by act of Congress without any delay, without any uncertainty, and without any provocation to local strife. The same vote of two-thirds, required for the presentation of the amendment, will pass the act over the veto of the President. Once adopted, it will go into instant operation, without waiting for the uncertain concurrence of State Legislatures, and without provoking local strife so wearisome to the country. The States will not be turned into political caldrons, and the Democratic party will have no pudding-stick with which to stir the bubbling mass.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 21, 1870.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Arnell, on leave, introduced the following bill:

A BILL TO DO JUSTICE TO THE FEMALE EMPLOYEES OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter all clerks and other employees in the civil service of the United States shall be paid, irrespective of sex, with reference to the character and amount of services performed by them.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That, in the employment of labor, clerical or other, in any branch of the civil service of the United States, no discrimination shall be made in favor of either sex.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That where examinations of candidates for positions in the civil service of the United States are prescribed by law or by the heads of departments, bureaus, or offices, said examinations shall be of the same character for persons of both sexes.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the designations chief clerk, chief or head of division, chief or head of section, clerk of the fourth class, clerk of the third class, clerk of the second class, clerk of the first class, copyist, messenger, laborer, and all other designations of employees, in existing acts of Congress, or in use in any branch of the civil service of the United States, shall be held, hereafter, to apply to women as well as to men; and that women shall be regarded equally eligible with men to perform the duties of the aforesaid designated clerks and employees, and shall receive the compensation therefore prescribed by law.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That this act shall not be so construed as to require the displacement of any person now employed, but shall apply to all vacancies hereafter occurring, for any cause.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with any of the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby, expressly repealed.

It is difficult to understand why a bill so manifestly just as the above should find any obstacles in becoming a law. No reason can be formed except the very absurd one of sex, or that any person being a female may be subjected to any inequalities to which males may desire to compel her. A female under the practice of this Government seems to be a kind of a nondescript—nothing. Politically she has no status, although a Republican form of Government forbids the existence of any such arbitrary assumptions by one class of persons over another class. Males, however, having the power, do not seem disposed to yield it until compelled; and in this usurpation we find the obstacles to all justice to the female sex.

THE PAINFUL POSITION OF THE PRESS.—Were it not enough to disgust manhood, it would be a laughable thing to contemplate the position the Press of the country has been placed in by the late movement in Congress in regard to the rights of suffrage under the Constitution without regard to sex. No one would suppose that this was a question of any vital moment to the country. The Press is dumb. It has no convictions on the subject. It must, however, be undergoing a most distressing parturient period, if we are to judge by the frightful and ludicrous contortions it performs. One day its faces are all wreathed in smiles; the next they are distorted with evidences of having been seriously hurt; the next it frets, scolds and gives other evidences of exceedingly bad temper; the next it resorts to blackguardism, and when nothing else is left it to fly to to ease its "pent-up powers," it suddenly takes a fit of respectability.

Gentlemen of the Press! We must confess that we pity you from the very bottom of our hearts, and we beg to assure you that we will do to the last what lies in our power to assist you hastily down from that terrifically uneasy fence you are tipping from side to side upon; for we shall never be able to forgive ourselves for having been instrumental in placing you in this distress.

GIVE HER REST.—A little Sunday-school scholar at Fallsburg, named Lillie Smith, committed to memory three hundred and sixty-nine verses of Scripture in one quarter. At last accounts she was slowly recovering from brain fever.

ANOTHER PRACTICAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS WOMAN.—Miss Emily J. White is Assistant Cashier of the National Bank of Weymouth, Mass. Never say fail, Emily. We hail you as a sister.

AMERICA.

In the city of Genoa, in the year 1429, was born, of poor, obscure parentage, the man who was destined by God to discover America. Centuries had passed over the old world, empires were founded and passed away, men of genius had risen to dazzle and surprise mankind, armies were raised great battles fought and won, arts and sciences had made great strides, and still America was not. This mighty Continent, immersed in almost impenetrable gloom, slumbered in solemn silence on. The site whereon now stands this beautiful city was a vast forest, and the wild bear and wolf alone held high revel here, and the only sound which greeted the morning sun was the burst of praise which ascended to God from the forest songsters. The ocean which now bears hither ten thousand ships upon her heaving bosom, dashed in haughty pride upon these silent shores, and recked not of the enterprise which was to penetrate its boundless depths, and transmit over hidden caverns its cable messages.

Little did the monarch of Spain dream when at last Columbus started upon his perilous adventure, that when Spain would be verging upon ruin, that the unknown land, the belief of whose existence was considered a visionary dream, would be peopled by men and women, unto whom none are superior; that here would be founded a nation whose foundation is immovable, whose arms protect the down-trodden and oppressed, and whose eagle eye watches with fostering care her myriad children. Yes, behold America, which has not yet celebrated her one century of independence from the grasp of that power which first by persecution and bitter wrong drove your ancestors from their native land to seek a home upon this Continent; and even now she has a glorious history written, even now she has a galaxy of talent which shines as a bright meteor to guide her children into a fair "haven of peace" and prosperity, and while thrones are tottering and nations are trembling, calmly we can view them and feel that "America needs no bulwarks;" in the loyalty of her sons and daughters lies her strength, and when in danger, she beats in unison, as one great heart. May God bless, and help, and protect our native land. "EXILE."

We are in receipt of a superb Christmas number of the *Maryland Republican*. It is a perfect model of beauty, and though sixty years of age it has all the freshness and charm of youth. Its conductors evidently are not of that conservative class who believe in doing just as their fathers before them did, but who believe in and practice the ideas of the times. It is, no doubt, with pride that they announce their vigorous age, and we hope it may be theirs to make many more such announcements. We gladly accept the graceful proffer and trust benefit may flow therefrom.

WHY NOT?—It is said that a Rev. Mr. Ingham delivered a thanksgiving sermon out West while her husband sat behind the pulpit holding the baby? And why not? If the Rev. Mrs. could preach a better sermon than the Rev. Mr. why should not the latter hold the baby?

A TOUCH OF NATURE.—A number of depraved women in Chicago recently endeavored to dissuade a country girl from entering upon a life of shame. When they found their advice would not be heeded they sent for a police-officer, had her arrested and then raised a sufficient sum to pay her way back to her parents.

A LIGHT GONE OUT.—Mrs. Dr. J. B. Witherspoon, of Sumter, S. C., died last week. She was a lady of the brightest intellect and an honor to the profession of which she was master, and of the cause of which she was a champion. We cannot afford to spare many such.

DOMESTIC HUNTERS.—A party of gentlemen went over to Long Island on a hunting excursion last week. They brought back two sparrows, four snow-birds, fifteen barn-yard fowls and four brace of frosted feet.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
INSURANCE DEPARTMENT, ALBANY, Jan. 17, 1870.
CHARLES C. LATHROP, Esq., Vice-President of the New Jersey Mutual Life Insurance Company, of Newark:

DEAR SIR—In pursuance of your request I have made a thorough examination of the affairs of the New Jersey Mutual Life Insurance Company. The result of that examination has been to satisfy me that the business of the Company is systematically and honorably conducted, and that its financial condition is such as to warrant its continuance in business in this State, and to entitle it to public confidence. I congratulate you especially upon the total abandonment by your Company of the note system.

Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

GEORGE W. MILLER,
Supt. Ins. Department.

FACTS FOR THE LADIES.—I can inform any one interested of hundreds of Wheeler & Wilson Machines of twelve years wear, that to-day are in better working condition than one entirely new. I have often driven one of them at a speed of eleven hundred stitches a minute. I have repaired fifteen different kinds of Sewing Machines, and I have found yours to wear better than any others. With ten years' experience in Sewing Machines of different kinds, yours has stood the most and the severest test for durability and simplicity.

LYNDENVILLE, N. Y.

GEO. L. CLARK

HENRY T. HELMHOLD'S TEMPLE OF PHARMACY.

The magnificent Temple of Pharmacy of H. T. Helmholtz, 594 Broadway, is, beyond question, the finest and most attractive establishment of its kind in New York. It is one of those places which arrest the eye of the passer-by, and compel him to stop and examine it, almost against his will. Not that externally it is marked by any striking architectural beauty, but that there is a certain nameless fascination about it, the combined result of an exquisite taste in the arrangement of the various articles exposed for sale in the windows, and a delightful harmony of color.

The first floor has been most tastefully fitted up—being used as the largest and finest Retail Drug Department in the World. The upper portion is used for Wholesale Business, while down in the basement and cellar is the Laboratory for the manufacture of his celebrated Fluid Extract Buchu, Fluid Extract Sarsaparilla, Rose Wash, Catawba Grape Juice Pills, and, in fact, a general chemical laboratory for preparing the various articles used in the retail business, such as Toilet Waters, Colognes, Hair Tonics, Pomades, Tooth Powders, Washes, etc.

There is no Drug Store in the world more beautiful and luxuriously furnished than this valuable acquisition to our Broadway attractions.

The blaze of light from the windows, charged with the brilliant colors of the liquid in the large globes, adds vastly to the attraction of the scene by night, and illuminates the adjacent walls and counters with a surprising brilliancy of crimson, purple, green and amber.

To look at it, it seems incredible; and more especially so when it is examined in detail. The walls, extending over half the retail hall, are adorned all along the ceiling to the two first Corinthian columns with a series of moulded arches on each side, and eighteen magnificent and costly plate mirrors from floor to ceiling, and extending the entire length of store. These rest upon an elaborate moulding, supported by elegant Corinthian pillars with ornamental capitals overlaid with gold, and the roof also is richly painted and fretted with gold. The shelves are divided into a number of ranges, each of which is backed by French mirrors. Then come the counters, composed of solid marble throughout, the top also supported by richly carved brackets starred with gold, and having two square compartments on the side faces, each one of which bears the inscription "H. T. H."

Indeed, throughout the establishment there is a harmony of form, color and disposition. A lavishly hand has been at work in all the departments, and this marble palace is one more proof of the swift withery whereof money is capable.

Connected with the establishment is a reception room, which is intended for the comfort of those obliged to wait while the prescriptions they desire to purchase are being prepared. This is a room which has been a desideratum, and which Dr. Helmholtz has supplied. The room is furnished with costly lounges, sofas and velvet carpet. Taking this establishment altogether, it deserves to rank as one of the magnificences of our city.

THE GRAND RECEPTION ROOM AND LADIES' BOUDOIR, fitted up in the most elegant style possible for the accommodation of ladies, in the centre of which stands one of the most elaborate and superb of soda fountains, twelve and a half feet from point to point, octagonal shape, and is a combination of the choicest specimens of marble, Pyrenees, Greyot, Victoria Red, Vermont and Lisbon stone. The fountain is surrounded by a magnificent Chinese pagoda, frescoed in the highest style of art, by one of our most eminent artists. The room is furnished in truly oriental splendor with costly sofas, chairs, lounges, etc. The walls are decorated with portraits of some of our most eminent physicians, and are of extra Roman richness.

The result of advertising is truly remarkable. During the year ending December, 1870, over three million bottles of Buchu were packed and shipped to various portions of this Continent, and the amount expended in advertising was a little over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, exclusive of posters, almanacs, show-cards, etc. A one or ten thousand-dollar order to some newspaper is nothing extraordinary for him, providing the paper is of sufficient importance. On one occasion he offered the sum of \$5,000 for a page in the "New York Herald." The offer was accepted, but afterwards declined, on account of pre-arrangement, notwithstanding it was double the usual advertising rates.

WOMAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS.—Mrs. Frances Rose Mackinley will deliver a lecture on this subject, this evening, the 23d inst., before the New York Sociological Club, at the Geographical Society Rooms, Cooper Institute. The public are invited to attend. The beauty, eloquence and profound powers of thought of this lady have earned her a warm welcome whenever she has appeared before an audience. We can assure to those who attend to-night an intellectual entertainment of the highest order.

HILMAN & THORN have just opened a first-class dining-saloon at 98 Cedar street, a few steps west of Broadway. They supply, by their arrangement of private dining-rooms, a need, long felt in that vicinity. Gentlemen who have private business to arrange can attend to it there while discussing their lunches and dinners. It is also a most desirable acquisition to the accommodation of ladies who must dine down town, and who have an aversion to public dining-rooms. Everything is served up in splendid style and at about one-half the price of many other places. They also keep a choice selection of wines, liquors and cigars. General entrance as above. Private entrance next door below 92.

Nothing marks the character of a man more distinctly than his dress. It is not necessary that a person should have a two hundred dollar suit of clothes to be well dressed. Dressing does not consist so much of the material worn as it does in the style of its make up. Few people are adapted to conduct a Ready-Made Gents' Clothing Emporium. It is a difficult task to have clothing to suit and to fit all customers. But if there is one who more than any other has overcome all these difficulties it is Randolph, at his Clothing Emporium, corner of Great Jones street and Broadway. He not only sells to everybody, but he fits everybody to whom he sells. If you want to be "fitted" instead of "sold," go to Randolph's. If you want to be sold instead of fitted go to some one who will force bad fits upon you if he can't fit you well.

"WILLARD'S," at Washington, is still the favorite resort of all who visit the capital. If a stranger is in the city he can always be found by going to "Willard's." The immense popularity this hotel has gained may be traced directly to its talented and obliging proprietors, Messrs. Sykes, Chadwick & Gardner. Though the two latter gentlemen have now retired from the management, Mr. Sykes is a host within himself, in more senses than one, and fully sustains the very enviable reputation of this famous hotel, than which none in the world is more widely known.

The Society of Progressive Spiritualists hold regular Sunday seances, morning and evening, at Apollo Hall, in 36th street, near Broadway. The following talent is engaged for the current season: Miss Lizzie Doten, Professor Wm. Denton and N. Frank White.

Of all things in which parents should take interest none is of so great importance as that of education. In selecting schools sufficient deliberation is seldom had. The whole future of a child's life may be darkened by a false step in early years. There are comparatively few people who are fitted for having charge of the young. It requires the most exquisite tact, the most comprehensive grasp of characteristics, as well as an almost infinite adaptation to circumstances. The instincts of childhood are always pure and true. They should never be stunted and blunted by an unreasonable curbing. They should simply be directed so as to avoid the quicksand and shoals which certain predispositions might drift them toward. True education is not so much the stuffing process as it is the weeding or eliminating process, by which the whole mental strength may be exerted in producing a mind capable of the highest and noblest purposes of life. Most of our boarding schools teach those things which relate too palpably to the external, and are therefore to be deprecated. There are, however, some whose principals have the true idea of education. Among them may be mentioned the School for Young Ladies, at No. 15 East Twenty-fourth street, under the charge of Mesdames Millard & Carrier, whose advertisement appears in another column.

MADAME RALLINGS, Importer, 779 Broadway, is prepared to show some elegant notions in Carriage and Walking Costumers, in a variety of colors. Sacsques, Lingeries, etc.

There have been many attempts made to combine the usefulness of a sofa and a bed in one article of household furniture, but it may be said they have been total failures, and it had come to be thought that nothing could be invented which would present the elegance of a first class parlor sofa and also possess all the convenience and comfort of the best bed. All the difficulties, however, have at last been overcome in the combined Sofa Bed, manufactured by Wm. S. HUMPHREY, 634 Broadway, who presents the public with an article of furniture which no critic could detect was anything more than a sofa when closed, and which no one would ever suppose could be converted into a sofa when in its bed form, and yet the conversion is made instantaneously. It is the desideratum long sought but never before attained.

HALL, DAVIS & CO.'S PIANOS.—The following testimony is from one of the most successful teachers in New York: "It gives me great pleasure to add my testimony to that which you already have in favor of your pianos. I have had the opportunity of examining pianos of the best makers, and, being a great lover of music, have taken much pains to get the best piano for my own house. Several years since I purchased one of your seven-octave instruments, which has given me the most perfect satisfaction. It is unsurpassed in every essential particular." W. Redfield, Phelps & Co., 927 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, are the agents, and are very popular.

BEEBE, THE HATTER.—No part of a gentleman's dress is more indicative of character than his hat and his linen. Beebe is an artist in these matters, giving not only the choicest styles, but the most durable quality. For hats and shirts try him.

We take special pleasure in calling the attention of all our readers who need dental service to Dr. Koonz, at No. 1 Great Jones street, New York, who is both judicious and scientific in all departments of dentistry. His rooms are fitted tastefully and elegantly, and being constantly filled with the *élite* of the city, testifies that his practice is successful. He administers the nitrous oxide gas with perfect success in all cases.

MADAME RALLINGS, Importer, 779 Broadway, has a rich and elegant assortment of Bonnets and Bound Hats, the most exquisite novelties imported; all the new colors.

E. HOWARD & CO., No. 15 Maiden Lane, New York, make the best Stem-Winding Watch in the country. Ask for it at all the dealers. Every watch guaranteed.

Everybody wanting anything in the line of "dressing for the feet," are referred to the advertisement of Porter & Bliss, in another column.

THE Central Railroad Co., OF IOWA,

Have built and equipped 180 miles of the new road through the richest portion of Iowa, thus opening the first through route across the State from North to South. Parties desiring to invest in

FIRST MORTGAGE 7 PER CENT. GOLD BONDS,

upon a finished railroad, issued at the rate of only \$16,000 to the mile, and offered at 90 and accrued interest in currency, are invited to send to this office and obtain pamphlet, with full particulars.

Parties exchanging Governments for these Bonds will receive about one-third more interest upon the investment.

W. B. SHATTUCK, Treasurer,
32 Pine Street, New York.

MISS SIBIE O'HARA, Ladies' Hair Dresser

AND
CHILDREN'S HAIR CUTTER,

(Late with J. Hanney, of Baltimore.)

No. 1302 F STREET, 2d door from Thirteenth,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Braids, Curls and Fashionable Hair Work for Ladies constantly on hand.

THE UNDERSIGNED BEG TO INFORM their friends that they have opened a branch office at

No. 365 Broadway, cor. Franklin Street,
connected by telegraph with their principal office,

No. 46 EXCHANGE PLACE,

and solicit orders for Foreign Exchange, Gold, Government Securities and Stocks, which will be promptly attended to.

CHAS. UNGER & CO.

January 3, 1871.

"THE BLEES".

NOISELESS,

LINK-MOTION,

LOCK-STITCH



Sewing Machine

Challenges the world in perfection of work, strength and beauty of stitch, durability of construction and rapidity of motion.
Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents wanted.

MANUFACTURED BY

BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,
362 BROADWAY, New York.

FASHIONABLE MILLINERY
ESTABLISHMENT.

Madame A. A. Binns, 773 BROADWAY,

Second door from Ninth Street—opposite Stewart's.

Offers to the public a splendid assortment of Bonnets, Round Hats, Chignons, Ribbons, Feathers, &c., &c., of the latest and most elegant styles.

REMEMBER,

OPPOSITE STEWART'S.

MADAME DURBROW,

MODES,

DRESS-MAKING AND MILLINERY,

30 East Eighteenth Street,

One door from Broadway.

DRESS AND CLOAK MAKING
ESTABLISHMENT.

Madame Webb

Has the honor to inform her numerous customers that she has opened a first-class establishment at

No. 773 BROADWAY, N. Y.
(Opposite A. T. Stewart's).

Where she intends carrying on the above business in all its branches.

DRESSES made in the latest and most fashionable styles, on shortest notice. Special attention paid to mourning suits.

MISS E. HARRISON, FASHIONABLE

Dress and Cloak Making.

212 WEST TWELFTH ST.,

BETWEEN FOURTH STREET AND GREENWICH AVENUE.

THE RAILROAD DEPOT ADVERTISING AGENCY.

Having purchased the privilege and sole right of Advertising in all the Depots along the route of the Morris and Essex Railroad, I beg to solicit your kind favors.

For those who desire their names and specialties constantly before the public, there can be no better medium, as the Depots are constantly re-filling with residents and strangers—the great centre of attraction, both in city and country, being the Railroad Depot. All Advertisements will be neatly framed and kept in good order.

Parties not already having Show Cards are requested to have them made of the following sizes:

PRICES.

FOR ONE SHOW CARD IN ONE DEPOT.

Size of Frame, 6in. by 9in. \$3 per annum.

" " 6in. by 12in. \$5 " "

" " 12in. by 18in. \$8 " "

For Larger sizes, where the Frame is furnished, \$4 per square foot per annum.

DISCOUNT.

For the same Advertisement in more than one Depot, a discount of 1 per cent. for each Depot will be allowed, viz.:

For 5 Depots - - - - - 5 per cent.

" 10 " - - - - - 10 " "

" 20 " - - - - - 20 " "

Special contracts made on application to the Railroad Depot Advertising Agency, William B. Humphreys, 17 Cedar street, N. Y.

TERMS:

All Amounts less than \$25, Cash.

All Amounts less than \$100, half Cash, remainder in three and six months.

All larger amounts, special agreement.

P. O. Box 6 717

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC notice is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all Houses and Lots, in the following Assessments have been completed, and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz.:

1. For building sewers in Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth streets, between Fourth and Fifth avenues.
2. For building sewers in Forty-eighth and Fiftieth streets, between Eighth and Tenth avenues.
3. For fencing lots corner Fifty-second street and First avenue.
4. For fencing lots in East Fifty-first street.
5. For fencing lots corner Madison avenue and Twenty-seventh street.
6. For flagging north side Forty-first street, between Broadway and Seventh avenue.
7. For flagging Rutgers slip, between Water and South streets.
8. For setting curb and gutter and flagging Sixty-fifth street, between Third and Fifth avenues.
9. For laying Nicolson pavement in Forty-fourth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.
10. For laying Nicolson pavement in Forty-third street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.
11. For laying Nicolson pavement in Fifty-fifth street, between Seventh and Ninth avenues.
12. For laying Nicolson pavement in Cliff street, between John and Frankfort streets.
13. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-first street, between Second avenue and the East River.
14. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter in Eightieth street, between Eleventh avenue and the Drive.

The limits embraced by such assessments include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land situated on—

1. Both sides of Sixty-seventh street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues, and both sides of Sixty-eighth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.
2. Both sides of Forty-eighth street, between Ninth and Tenth avenues, and both sides of Fiftieth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues.
3. The property situated on the corner of Fifty-second street and First avenue.
4. The north side of Fifty-first street, between First and Second avenues.
5. The west side of Madison avenue, commencing at Twenty-seventh street, and running southerly fifty-six feet therefrom.
6. The north side of Forty-first street, between Broadway and Seventh avenue.
7. The south side of Rutgers slip, between Water and South streets.
8. Both sides of Sixty-fifth street, between Third and Fifth avenues.
9. Both sides of Forty-fourth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.
10. Both sides of Forty-third street, between Madison and Third avenues, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.
11. Both sides of Fifty-sixth street, between Seventh and Ninth avenues, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.
12. Both sides of Cliff street, between John and Frankfort streets, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.
13. Both sides of Fifty-first street, between Second avenue and East River, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.
14. Both sides of Eightieth street, between Eleventh avenue and the Public Drive.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same or either of them, are requested to present their objections in writing to Richard Tweed, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED,
THOMAS B. ASTEN,
MYER MYERS,
FRANCIS A. SANDS,
Board of Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,
NEW YORK, Dec. 30, 1870.

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC notice is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all Houses and Lots, in the following Assessments have been completed and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz.:

1. For laying Belgian pavement in Lighthouse street from Canal to West street.
2. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-eighth street, from Lexington to Sixth avenue.
3. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-ninth street, from Third to Fifth avenue.
4. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Fifty-sixth street, from Tenth to Eleventh avenue.
5. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Seventy-eighth street, from First avenue to Avenue A.
6. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Fifty-sixth street, from Third to Sixth avenue.
7. For building outlet-sewer in Sixty-second street and East River, and in Avenue A, between Sixty-first and Seventy-first streets, with branches.
8. For building sewers in Water, Monroe, Pitt, Clinton, Grand, Mangin and Goerck streets, Manhattan lane, and Avenue B.

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land, situated on—

1. Both sides of Lighthouse street, from Canal to West street, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.
2. Both sides of Fifty-eighth street, from Lexington to Sixth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.
3. Both sides of Fifty-ninth street, from Third to Fifth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.
4. Both sides of Fifty-sixth street, from Tenth to Eleventh avenue.
5. Both sides of Seventy-eighth street, from First avenue to Avenue A.
6. Both sides of Fifty-sixth street, from Third to Sixth avenue.
7. The property bounded by Sixty-first and Seventy-first streets, Second avenue, and the East River, and the property bounded by Sixty-second and Sixty-eighth streets, and Second and Third avenues.
8. Both sides of Water street, between James and Oliver streets; both sides of Monroe street, between Gouverneur and Montgomery streets; both sides of Pitt street, between Broome and Delancey streets; both sides of Clinton street, between Grand and Division streets; both sides of Grand street, between Ridge and Columbia streets; both sides of Mangin and Goerck streets, between Grand and Broome streets; both sides of Goerck street, between Stanton and Houston streets; both sides of Manhattan lane, between Houston and Third streets; both sides of Avenue B, between Third and Fourth and between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections in writing to Richard Tweed, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED,
THOMAS B. ASTEN,
MYER MYERS,
FRANCIS A. SANDS,
Board of Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,
NEW YORK, November 30, 1870.

THE LOANERS OF THE CITY OF

ORGANIZED UNDER

"Continental L"

22 NASSAU STREET

CAPITAL.....
Subject to increase to.....

BOARD OF

WILLIAM M. TWEED,
A. F. WILMARTH,
EDGAR W. CROWELL,
DORR

This Bank negotiates
TIONS, advances on
DEPOSITS.

Accounts of Bankers,
will receive special at-
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CURRENT BALANCE
to our CUSTOMERS.

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LOANERS' BANK

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

10 NASSAU STREET

CAPITAL \$1,000,000

RESERVE FUND \$250,000

PAID UP CAPITAL \$500,000

LOANS MADE ON REAL ESTATE

AT THE RATE OF 10 PER CENT

PER ANNUM

ON DEPOSITS OF CURRENCY

AND GOLD

AT THE RATE OF 4 PER CENT

PER ANNUM

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Montclair Railway.

NEW JERSEY

First Mortgage Bonds.

INDORSED BY THE
NEW YORK AND OSWEGO

Midland Railroad Co.

The First Mortgage Bonds of the MONTCLAIR RAILWAY COMPANY, the New Jersey section of the M. & O. R. Co., are offered to the amount only of

GREAT MIDLAND ROAD.

The First Mortgage Bonds of the MONTCLAIR RAILWAY COMPANY, the New Jersey section of the M. & O. R. Co., are offered to the amount only of

HALF A MILLION DOLLARS.

They are payable, principal and interest,

IN GOLD.

The rate of interest is 7 per cent., payable semi-annually, FREE FROM GOVERNMENT TAX.

These bonds are secured by a first mortgage to MARCUS L. WARD and ABRAHAM S. HEWITT, Trustees, on the most valuable and profitable portion of the MIDLAND RAILROAD, the traffic of which alone suffices to pay a fair profit on the cost of construction.

THE MONTCLAIR RAILWAY,

having been leased perpetually to the New York and Oswego Midland Railroad Company, becomes an integral part of that great work, and its bonds are guaranteed by that Company.

NEARLY 200 MILES

In extent of this important Railroad is now completed and in successful operation; and the MONTCLAIR RAILWAY, constituting the Eastern terminal section—40 miles in length, is in process of rapid construction, and will be completed by December, 1871, simultaneously with the entire line, thereby establishing a new route from New York westerly by way of Oswego 50 miles shorter than by the Central, and by way of Buffalo 70 miles shorter than either the Central or the Erie route.

We recommend these bonds as a safe and valuable investment, because—

First. They are secured by a first mortgage on the MONTCLAIR RAILWAY and all its franchisees, and each Bond bears the indorsement of the

NEW YORK AND OSWEGO MIDLAND RAILROAD COMPANY.

Second. The local traffic of this road must be large, as it connects New York City with its most attractive suburbs, thereby insuring a profitable business to the road.

Third. The franchise of the Company, embracing lines of railway and branches to be built, and an independent ferry across the Hudson River, all of which are included in the mortgage, confer a value on these bonds in addition to that afforded by the main line.

Fourth. The entire capital of both Companies, amounting at the present time to nearly \$2,000,000, paid in, all of which has been faithfully devoted to the economical construction of the road, is liable for the payment of these bonds.

Fifth. The large rate of interest,

PAYABLE IN GOLD COIN,

affords to holders of the Government Bonds a great inducement to change their investment. For instance:

A Government Bond of \$1,000 costs (say).....	\$1,100
yielding an income of.....	60
\$1,100 invested in Montclair Railway Bonds, at par, yields an income of.....	77
Difference, \$17, or 3½ per cent.	

These bonds are issued in denominations of \$1,000, \$500 and \$100, respectively. For sale by

LEONARD, SHELDON & FOSTER, BANKERS,

No. 10 WALL STREET.

MAXWELL & CO.,

Bankers and Brokers.

No. 11 BROAD STREET,

NEW YORK.

COLBY WRINGERS! Best and Cheapest! COMPOSED OF indestructible materials! IMPACT, simple, durable, efficient! COMPARE it with any other machine! COLBY BROS. & CO., 508 Broadway, N. Y.

Traphagen Hunter & Co. The Popular One Price Clothiers: Nos. 39, 40, & 41, Broadway, N.Y. Men's & Children's Clothing.

HARVEY FISK. A. B. HATCH.

OFFICE OF

FISK & HATCH.

BANKERS,

AND

DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

No. 5 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bankers, Corporations and others, subject to check at sight, and allow interest on balances.

We make special arrangements for interest on deposits of specific sums for fixed periods.

We make collections on all points in the United States and Canada, and issue Certificates of Deposit available in all parts of the Union.

We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes of Government Securities, and the Bonds of the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also, Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange, miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commission, for cash.

Communications and inquiries by mail or telegraph, will receive careful attention.

FISK & HATCH.

MIDLAND BONDS

IN DENOMINATIONS OF

\$100, \$500 and \$1,000.

These favorite SEVEN PER CENT. BONDS are secured by a First Mortgage on the great Midland Railroad of New York, and their issue is strictly limited to \$20,000 per mile of finished road, costing about \$40,000 per mile. Entire length of road, 345 miles, of which 220 have been completed, and much progress made in grading the remainder.

RESOURCES OF THE COMPANY.

Full paid stock subscriptions, about.....	\$6,500,000
Subscriptions to convertible bonds.....	600,000
Mortgage bonds, \$20,000 per mile, on 345 miles.....	6,900,000

Total.....\$14,000,000
Equal to \$40,000 per mile.

The road is built in the most thorough manner, and at the lowest attainable cost for cash.

The liberal subscriptions to the Convertible Bonds of the Company, added to its other resources, give the most encouraging assurance of the early completion of the road. The portion already finished, as will be seen by the following letter from the President of the Company, is doing a profitable local business:

NEW YORK, Dec. 2, 1870.

Messrs. GEORGE OPDYKE & Co., New York:
GENTLEMEN—Your favor of the 1st inst., asking for a statement of last month's earnings of the New York and Oswego Midland Railroad, is at hand. I have not yet received a report of the earnings for November.

The earnings for the month of October, from all sources, were \$42,709 17, equal to \$224 510 04 per annum on the 147 miles of road, viz.: Main line from Sidney to Oswego, 125 miles; New Berlin Branch, 22 miles.

The road commenced to transport coal from Sidney under a contract with the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in the latter part of November. The best informed on the subject estimate the quantity to be transported the first year at not less than 750,000 tons, while some estimate the quantity at 800,000 tons. This will yield an income of from \$375,000 to \$450,000 from coal alone on that part of the road.

Taking the lowest of these estimates, it gives for the 147 miles a total annual earning of \$549,510 04. The total operating expenses will not exceed fifty per cent., which leaves the net annual earnings \$449,755 02, which is \$314,555 02 in excess of interest of the bonds issued thereon.

I should add that the earnings from passengers and freight are steadily increasing, and that, too, without any through business to New York. Yours truly,
D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

The very favorable exhibit presented in the foregoing letter shows that this road, when finished, with its unequalled advantages for both local and through business, must prove to be one of the most profitable railroad enterprises in the United States, and that its First Mortgage Bonds constitute one of the safest and most inviting railroad securities ever offered to investors.

For sale or exchanged for Government and other current securities, by

GEORGE OPDYKE & CO.,

25 Nassau Street.

BANKING HOUSE

OF

HENRY CLEWS & Co.,

No. 32 Wall Street.

Interest allowed on all daily balances of Currency or Gold.

Persons depositing with us can check at sight in the same manner as with National Banks.

Certificates of Deposit issued, payable on demand or at fixed date, bearing interest at current rate, as available in all parts of the United States.

Advances made to our dealers at all times, on approved collaterals, at market rates of interest.

We buy, sell and exchange all issues of Government Bonds at current market prices; also Coin and Coupons, and execute orders for the purchase and sale of gold, and all first class securities, on commission.

Gold Banking Accounts may be opened with us upon the same conditions as Currency Accounts.

Railroad, State, City and other Corporate Loan negotiated.

Collections made everywhere in the United States, Canada and Europe.

Dividends and Coupons collected.

BANKING HOUSE

OF

KOUNTZE BROTHERS,

NEW YORK,

52 WALL STREET.

Four per cent. interest allowed on all deposits.

Collections made everywhere.

Orders for Gold, Government and other securities executed.

8 Per Cent. Interest

First Mortgage Bonds!

OF THE

ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY RAILROAD COMPANY.

Principal and Interest Payable in Gold

105 MILES COMPLETED and in operation, the earnings on which are in excess of interest on the total issue. Grading finished, and ONLY 6 MILES OF TRACK ARE TO BE LAID TO COMPLETE THE ROAD.

Mortgage at the rate of \$12,500 per mile.

Price 97½ and accrued interest.

We unhesitatingly recommend them, and will furnish maps and pamphlets upon application.

W. P. CONVERSE & CO.,

24 PINE STREET

TANNER & CO.,

11 WALL STREET

American Patent Sponge Co.

R. E. ROBBINS, Esq. President. W. R. HORTON, Esq. Treasurer.

MANUFACTURES OF

Elastic Sponge Goods.

ELASTIC SPONGE
Mattresses, Pillows.

AND

Church, Chair, Car and Carriage
Cushions.ELASTIC SPONGE
A SUBSTITUTE FOR CURLED HAIR.For all Upholstery Purposes.
CHEAPER than Feathers or Hair, and
FAR SUPERIOR.It is the Healthiest, Lightest, Softest, most
Elastic, most Durable and BEST Material
known for

MATTRESSES, PILLOWS, CUSHIONS, &c.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Makes the most LUXURIOUS and DUR-
ABLE BEDS, MATTRESSES, PILLOWS
and CUSHIONS of any material known.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Does not PACK and become MATTED like
Curled Hair.

ELASTIC SPONGE

is REPELLANT TO, and PROOF against,
BUGS and INSECTS.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Is the VERY BEST ARTICLE ever dis-
covered for STEAMBOAT and RAIL CAR
UPHOLSTERY.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Is absolutely UNRIVALED for SOFA
SEATS and BACKS, and for ALL UP-
HOLSTERING PURPOSES.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Is the HEALTHIEST, SWEETEST,
PUREST, MOST ELASTIC, MOST DUR-
ABLE, and BEST MATERIAL IN USE
for BEDS, CUSHIONS, &c.SEND FOR CIRCULARS AND
PRICE LISTS.SPECIAL CONTRACTS MADE
WITH
Churches, Hotels, Steamboats, &c.

W. V. D. Ford, Agent,

524 BROADWAY,
OPPOSITE ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL,
NEW YORK.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH INSTITUTE.

YEAR 1871-72

BOARLING & DAY SCHOOL
FOR
YOUNG LADIES.No. 15 East 14th Street, near Madison Park,
NEW YORK.Principal—MADAME MALLARD AND MADAME
CARRIER.Madame Carrier, with whom she has associated her-
self after a co-operation of six years, is a niece of the
late Sir David Brewster. From her early training and
a thorough education, received in Scotland, together
with several years' experience in tuition, she is in
every respect qualified to take charge of the English
Department of the Institute.The Principals hope, by devotion to the mental,
moral and physical training of their pupils, to secure
their improvement and the encouraging approbation
of parents and guardians.
For particulars, send for Circular.HOME
INSURANCE COMPANY
OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE, No. 135 BROADWAY.

Cash Capital.....\$2,500,000 00
Assets.....4,578,008 02
Liabilities.....199,668 71A dividend of FIVE per cent., payable on demand,
free from Government tax, was declared by the Board
of Directors this day.

J. H. WASHBURN, Secretary.

"THE BEST IS THE CHEAPEST."

STANDARD
AMERICAN BILLIARD TABLESBeing constructed with regard to scientific accuracy,
are used in all tests of skill by the best players in the
country, and in all first-class clubs and hotels. Illus-
trated catalogue of everything relating to billiards
sent by mail.

PHELAN & COLLENDER

738 BROADWAY, New York City.

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE,
AN
EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT
AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION.By C. S. JAMES,
Author of "Manual of Transcendental Philosophy."
For Sale by the Author, post paid, for 25c.
Address
Louisiana, Mo.E. D. SPEAR, M. D.,
Office, 713 Washington St.,
BOSTON, MASS.The medical record of Dr. E. D. SPEAR, as a suc-
cessful physician in the treatment of chronic diseases,
is without a parallel. Many are suffered to die who
might be saved. Dr. Spear makes a direct appeal to
the substantial, intelligent and cultivated citizens of
our country, and asks that his claims as a physician of
extraordinary powers may be investigated. If you
are beyond human aid Dr. Spear will not deceive you.
If you have ONE CHANCE he will save you. Come to
his office and consult him. If you cannot visit, con-
sult him by letter, with stamp.Dr. Spear can be consulted at his office, 713 Wash-
ington street, Boston, or by letter, with stamp, free of
charge, upon ALL diseases. Those who have failed to
be cured by other physicians are respectfully invited
to call on Dr. Spear.NEW JERSEY RAILROAD—FROM
FOOT OF CORTLANDT ST.—For West Phila-
delphia, at 8:30 and 9:30 A. M., 12:30, 5*, 7*, 9:20* P.
M., 12 night. For Philadelphia via Camden, 7 A. M.,
1 and 4 P. M. For Baltimore and Washington and
the West, via Baltimore, 8:30 A. M., 12:30 and 9:20*
P. M. For the south and southwest, 8:30 A. M., 9:20*
P. M. Silver Palace cars are attached to the 9:20 P.
M. train daily, and run through to Lynchburg without
change. For the West, via Pennsylvania Railroad—
9:30 A. M. and 7* P. M. Silver Palace cars are at-
tached to the 9:30 A. M. and run through from New
York to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chi-
cago without change. Silver Palace cars are attached
to the 7* P. M. daily, and run through to Pittsburgh,
Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis and Chicago without
change. Tickets for sale at foot of Cortlandt St., and
Dodd's Express, 944 Broadway. ("Daily.")
F. W. JACKSON, Gen. Supt.
November 1, 1870.

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EVERYWHERE.



LARGE PROFITS.

To sell a little article, endorsed by every lady using
it. It keeps the needle from perforating the finger
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MEALS SERVED AT ALL HOURS.

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This pure Brandy has now an established repu-
tation, and is very desirable to all who use a stim-
ulant medicinally or otherwise.Analyses made by the distinguished Chemist, J.
G. Poble, M. D., and Professor S. Dana Hayes, State
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For Sale in quantities to suit the demand.

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Rheumatic Remedy

IS WARRANTED TO CURE.

This great standard medicine has been used in thou-
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and distressing cases yield at once to its magical in-
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a strictly scientific remedy, prepared by a practical
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resort at once to this remedy. Why should you suffer
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TEAS AND COFFEES, at LOWEST
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A SPECIALTY.

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JAMES MCCREERY
BROADWAY AND ELWILL O
a fresh assortment of the
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AT 19cCUT IN DRES
and to facilitate sales.WILL BE DISPLAYED
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From 30 Cents 1

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FINE EMPE

In all Shades, at 50 Cents.

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New Styles, fr

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Dress Goods to

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BROADWAY AND

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At 87 1/2 Cents pe

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100 Pieces of

24-INCH BLAC

At \$1

A Full Line of

VERY HEAVY

RICH GOURD CRO

At \$2 1/2

An Immense Res

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In all Shades,

NEW YEAR'S

JAMES MCCREERY

BROADWAY

FOR 2

Ladies' Walk

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RUFUS HATCH'S CIRCULAR, No. 2.

FRAUDS IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT.

LAKE SHORE AND MICHIGAN SOUTHERN RAILROAD.

This line is the complement of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, from Buffalo to Chicago—the two having a length of 982 miles; that of the former, from Buffalo to Chicago, being 540 miles; that of the latter, from New York to Buffalo, being 442 miles. This whole line is now under the control of a single will—that of Mr. Vanderbilt, he being the President of the Central, and his son-in-law, Mr. Horace F. Clark, being President of the Lake Shore.

Mr. Vanderbilt first appeared in the latter line in 1866-67, when he got control of the Cleveland and Toledo, in order to sever the connection of the New York Central with the West—the opponents of this railway potentate having at that time the control of the latter road. Here he displayed his watering capacity, though in a very humble way, in the union which he effected between the Cleveland and Toledo, and the Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula. Upon the Share Capital of the former, then \$5,000,000, a scrip dividend of 25 per cent. was paid, amounting to only \$1,250,000. But this was in the earlier days of Mr. Vanderbilt's railroad experience, and while he was yet a novice in the aqueous art.

In his waterings of the Cleveland and Toledo Railroad, Mr. Vanderbilt showed to poor advantage alongside of the trained veterans who for a long time held control of the Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula. The following statement, taken from the annual reports of the latter company, of the dividends paid in six years, will show to what account its managers turned their position in this road:

Years.	Share Capital.	Bonded Debt.	Dividends In Stock per cent.	In Bonds per cent.	In Cash per ct.
1862.....	3,300,000	1,353,000	10	13½	10
1863.....	3,600,000	1,507,000	10	..	13
1864.....	4,000,000	1,503,000	26
1865.....	5,000,000	1,501,000	25	..	10
1866.....	5,000,000	1,500,000	10
1867.....	8,750,000	2,500,000	75	20	10
			120	33½	79

The aggregate dividends paid for six years equalled 232½ per cent. The annual rate was 40 per cent. The total amount paid in the six years was \$6,597,000!

These dividends commenced on a Share Capital, in 1861, of \$8,000,000. The happy possessor, that year, of \$10,000 of stock, held, at the end of six years, \$32,500 in stock and bonds, for the original \$10,000. In the meantime, he received \$7,900 in cash; in other words, he received in dividends, in six years, \$30,400, on an investment of \$10,000.

Brilliant as was this achievement, it was fairly eclipsed by the managers of the Buffalo and Erie Railroad, which now forms the eastern portion of the Lake Shore line. In 1866 the Share Capital of this road, 88 miles long, was \$2,200,000. Its funded debt was \$1,018,000, the total capital account being \$3,218,000. In 1867 its Share Capital was watered to the tune of \$2,000,000. In 1869 it was increased to \$6,000,000, and its bonded debt to \$4,000,000, making a total of \$10,000,000, at which figure it was taken into the consolidated company. The waterings in this case amounted to \$6,778,200,

in addition to an annual cash dividend of 10 per cent.

The waterings in the line from Buffalo to Cleveland, a distance of 203 miles, equalled \$13,379,000, or \$65,906 per mile. The dividends upon this sum, at 8 per cent., amount to \$1,070,320, or at the rate of \$5,272 per mile, annually.

The waterings in the Cleveland and Toledo Railroad, as already shown, amounted to \$1,250,000. In addition to the above specific waterings, there was a general one, when the consolidation was entered into, to the extent of \$5,440,670. The amount of the share capital and debts of the several companies, according to these reports, immediately preceding their consolidation, was as follows:

	Share Capital.	Debts.
Michigan Southern.....	\$12,125,000	\$3,876,581
Lake Shore.....	15,197,700	5,649,000
Buffalo and Erie.....	6,000,000	4,000,000
	\$33,323,300	\$18,525,581

The total stock and debt of these lines previous to the consolidation was \$51,848,881. The consolidation capital was \$35,000,000. The funded and floating debt of the company, as stated in its first annual report made after the consolidation, deducting leased roads, was \$22,289,551. The two made an aggregate of \$57,289,551. The total watering in the whole line, consequently, equalled \$20,065,870, as follows:

Waterings in Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula.....	\$6,597,000
" Buffalo and Erie.....	6,778,200
" Cleveland and Toledo.....	1,250,000
Excess of new capital account over old.....	5,440,760
	\$20,065,870

This was a year ago. The capital account of this company has since been increased to, probably, \$65,000,000, as provision was made by the terms of consolidation, for a bonded debt of \$30,000,000. It is to be presumed that amount has been wholly issued.

As shown in the previous circular, the watering in the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad equalled \$57,578,900. The watering in the Lake Shore, added to this sum, makes a total of \$77,644,770. The dividends paid on this sum, at 8 per cent., equal \$6,211,725 annually. The waterings equal \$79,000 per mile, for the whole distance from New York to Chicago. The dividends paid equal \$6,325, annually, per mile, for the whole distance.

The capital account of the New York Central and Hudson River, and the Lake Shore Railroads, equals \$163,017,203. The amount of their waterings equals \$77,645,770. Their actual cost, consequently, has been \$85,372,433. The waterings, \$79,000 per mile, equal the cost of constructing a first-class double-track railroad, laid with steel rails, direct from New York to Chicago, costing \$100,000 to the mile, with an equipment sufficient to earn \$40,000,000 annually.

The present charge for transporting freight over the line equals, say, two and one-half cents per ton per mile. Of this sum, one and one-quarter cents per ton per mile represent cost of transportation; and one and one-quarter cents per ton per mile,

profits on capital. Admitting this rate of charge produces 8 per cent. upon \$163,000,000—the nominal cost of the road—then, if dividends were to be declared upon cost only—upon \$85,000,000—the charge for the capital might be reduced very nearly one-half, or to five-eighths of a cent, per ton per mile. In such case, the reduction per ton for the whole distance of 982 miles would be \$6 14. For example: it costs forty cents per hundred pounds to bring grain—which is fourth-class freight—from Chicago to New York; this is twenty-four cents per bushel of sixty pounds. Allowing sixty per cent. of this sum, or fourteen cents per bushel, for cost of transportation, we have ten cents per bushel for profit on the actual capital. Now, as the nominal capital is double the capital invested, ten cents a bushel has to be added to pay dividends on the entire \$163,000,000. Every ton of freight transported pays this tribute. Nothing now escapes this universal tax.

If the State or General Government should impose a tax of one cent a bushel on grain, it would create a revolution, and yet Commodore Vanderbilt taxes the producers ten cents a bushel, that an 8 per cent. dividend may be paid on his watered stock.

Such is a statement of the burdens placed upon the commerce of one great route. The managers of this, in connection with those of two other great lines, constitute a grand monopoly, which holds in its grasp the internal commerce, and with it the material interests of the whole country. Whatever they decide in secret conclave is law. In rates of charges for transportation they fix the profits of labor and capital, the price of food, of fuel, in fact of everything that is consumed. They just met at Erie to consider and correct the evils of excessive and ruinous competition! At this conclave rates were advanced about 25 per cent., though the telegraph announced an advance of only ten per cent. But Mr. Vanderbilt must have more money to give him 8 per cent. on the \$77,646,570 of bogus capital. If 25 per cent. will not do it, 50 must be added. It is winter—all the water routes are closed. The West is full of produce which must come forward, no matter what portion of its value Mr. Vanderbilt may take in charges for transportation.

Is there no remedy for such abuses and oppressions? Of course there is. The statement of them is the remedy. The Western farmer is not going to pay Mr. Vanderbilt on his bogus stock; neither is the Eastern merchant or manufacturer. They will either compel him to disgorge or will prescribe to him the rate they will pay. But it is not to be expected that an annual tribute of \$6,211,725 will be given up without a tremendous struggle. Mr. Vanderbilt may hold on for a year or two. If the present Legislature will not give relief, the members returned to the next will. The people have too much of taxation, assessed by legitimate governments—by powers instituted by themselves—to put up with self-constituted and illegitimate ones, whose rapacity is only measured by their ability to oppress. They will give him a fair, even generous, return upon the money that has been actually invested, but they will not give him a dollar upon share capital that does not represent an investment. This is the issue that the public will make with him.

WOO

PROGR

VOL. 2.—N^O. 12.—VVICTORIA C. WOODHULL
EDITORS A

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