

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BELAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

PAGE.	PAGE
The Clubs of New York..... 1	The Women's Journal; Bouffe Journalism..... 10
Some One's Servant Girl (Poetry); Stand by Your Colors!—The Decisive Time has come; The Land Question..... 3	The Consistent (?) Tribune; Bouffe Journalism; A Combined Effort, and Victory is Yours; Strictures on Ruskin's Recent Art Lectures..... 11
Street Pavements—Lava or Asphalt; Stupidity or Vacuity, which; Correspondence..... 5	Interior Sketches of the Bronte Family..... 12
Rise and Ultimate Triumph of the Woman Movement..... 6	People I have met; Miscellaneous 13
Papers for the People..... 7	The Origin, Principles and Tendencies of Government; Equality the Right of Woman; Papers for the People; Book Notices; The Theatres, etc..... 16
Send in the Names; Great Britain Ahead; To all Women who would be Voters..... 8	
Under which King? The Peoples and their Governments..... 9	

CO-OPERATION.

We believe the system of co-operation to be one of the only ones by means of which labor can assume its proper standing and secure to itself a fair reward. It will, therefore, ever be our aim to advance the interest of co-operative associations, whenever we shall consider them to be based on sound principles and conducted in a business-like manner. The success attendant upon co-operation, whenever and wherever it has been fairly tried, should make it the workingman's investment as well as the means of his emancipation from servitude.

It is, therefore, that we now call attention to a large Co-operative Association formed at New City, Greenbank, Burlington County, N. J., having four hundred acres of land, with communication by sea, good mill sites and many other advantages. Among the improvements on the land are two large glass manufactories (suitable sand being in the vicinity), a large hotel, twenty-two dwelling-houses, barns, blacksmith shop, wharf and numerous outbuildings. The capital of the company is \$300,000, divided into 60,000 shares, the par value of each being \$5. All the employees of the Company are to be stockholders. Dividends apportioned to the number of shares by the claimant.

At a meeting of the Workingmen's Union, on Friday evening last, some members objected to the admission of members who belonged to co-operative associations, on the ground that they were capitalists. This we consider to be a very narrow-minded view, and altogether detrimental to the workmen themselves. The Workingmen's Union, so far as we have always understood, have in view the placing of capital more in equality with labor, or labor more in equality with capital, which amounts to the same thing. Now, assuming that some workingmen have invested their savings in a co-operative association, and to have become, therefore, under the cognomen of indirect capitalists, has the Workingmen's Union an objection to these capitalists accepting the principles and rules which that Union promulgates.

It appears to us as though those members of the Union who would fain exclude members of co-operative associations would decree that, whereas labor is endeavoring to place itself on an equality with capital, therefore capital shall not be allowed to descend to a level with labor.

We sincerely hope, for the sake of the Union, that the voice of these misguided objectionists will not affect its action in this matter.

ANOTHER STATE HEARD FROM.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, March 6, 1871.

We are allowed to make the following extract from the private letter of a friend:

*** The world seems to be in a transitional state, and what will be the result is an insoluble problem. I should not be surprised if, within the space of twenty-five years, our money-making monopolists and chartered corporations should be swept from the country, either by mob rule or radical legislation. Their great greed of gain has been so unrestricted and their proceedings so regardless of the public good, that the community is becoming exasperated against them. WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY is doing much to bring this state of things, and whether the better element can remove the abuses in such a way as to save the country may be doubted. What is it to have one's life insured if he has to pay three times the real risk, and for a doubtful insurance?

THE Cosmo - Political Party.

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

SUBJECT TO
RATIFICATION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE CLUBS OF NEW YORK.

THE CENTURY CLUB.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

[CONTINUED.]

COFFEE, RUSKIN, TOBACCO AND GOSSIP.

The Century Club enjoys the enviable distinction of representing every intellectual and commercial profession that obtains among us in this great "Fog-Babylon" of New York. It was originally designed as a club where artists and literateurs might meet and enjoy themselves over coffee, Ruskin, tobacco and the literary gossip of the day. It was not founded upon motives and inspirations of a much higher order than these rather gross things imply, and if it had been, it would not have succeeded. It attracted, however, the cream of such society as existed at that time, and has ever since continued to add to its members all the most cultivated and distinguished of our citizens. It was a good beginning; but neither then nor now could or can it claim to be a genuine artistic and literary club, although it professes as much in the articles of the constitution, and may perhaps feel chagrined to find the claims in question denied to them as their contribution to New York civilization in its higher phases. They did no doubt all that was possible for them to do with the existing material, and that is all that any reasonable man, even though he be a cynic, has any right to expect.

ABSENCE OF ENTHUSIASM.

If the artists who were its founders had been enthusiasts quickened by the spirits of the old masters of the Catholic era and the divine idea of art, constituting themselves the high priests and guardians of its culture and the patrons of its students, manifesting an eternal watchfulness over its progressive growths and births, jealous of its inherent, sacredness as the exponent of beauty and truth to mankind, abjuring all trick, profaneness and sensuality, all the vulgar elements of selfishness, vanity and pride which debase its character, and ruin it for those high human uses which belong, as divine influences, to spiritual and ideal themes—if these had been the bases of their society, set forth with the earnestness of a religious conviction and the conquering energy of devout souls, they might, and no doubt would in

time, have raised themselves and their fellows "up to the gods" by their revival and acceptance of the old gospel of art and its sublime ethics, but they would never have brought these "gods down" to hob-a-nob with them as "hail fellows well met" which is precisely the miracle they have been continually achieving from the foundation of the Century Club to the present hour.

REVERSING THE EGYPTIAN WISDOM.

It is the Egyptian wisdom, wrong end up, which they have been practising; for in the Miscellanies of Plotinus, there is an Egyptian treatise on Providence, translated by Synesius, who was first a heathen and then a Christian bishop of the Alexandrian epoch, which admonished all whom it may concern thus: "Do not seek to pull down the gods to you, but raise yourselves up to them." And this is the only practical advice which poor ordinary mortals can follow in their dealings with these immortal gods, although the extraordinary mortals of the Century Club have had quite a different experience, the gods in their case having adopted the wisdom of Mohammed, who, finding that the mountain would not come to him, very good-humoredly pocketed the affront and went over to it the mountain.

WHAT HAS IT DONE.

For, notwithstanding its brilliant prestige, the Century is to all intents and purposes, an eating, drinking and gossiping club, and has done nothing in its corporate capacity to warrant its reputation. The solid stuff is there, and also the gossamer, but where is the leadership which men looked for, and which they had a right to expect from all the associated wit and genius of the city? What has it done for art, compared with its immense resources and capabilities? What for literature? In no large comprehensive sense can it be said to have done anything for either of these estates, and for the latter, still less than for the former. The reason is obvious enough; it is a *dillitantes* affair, without earnestness or patriotic purpose of any sort. Among all the artists and patrons and lovers of art who belong to it, how many are there who regard art with a feeling akin to religious adoration, and the vocation of the artist as sacred? They can be counted upon the fingers of a hand; and yet we have heard certain poets complain of the dollar-and-cent inspiration which they find in recent New York pictures. But the pictures are the impress of the painter's mind, and they, like him, are either worldly and material or spiritual and sacred.

Every man in every department of art knows the depths or shallows that he works in, and though he never say a word about it, his productions will speak for him. "The light of the public market-place is the best critic of a picture," says Michael Angelo, "and reveals the man by his performance." The earth does not contain crypts or holes enough wherein to hide any man out of sight in this particularly luminous day and generation of ours, and it never did contain them.

NEW INSPIRATIONS THE REMEDY.

The remedy is apparent enough, and as simple as the command to the leper in the Bible to dip seven times in Jordan; but it is not likely to be adopted in our day, for it involves the entire mystery of the new birth spoken of in the gospel, and lies in the total eradication of the old Adam in our artists, and the planting within them of higher and holier principles and motives than belonged to the old regime. The subject is too long and too deep to go into here and now, but it is a sure and certain truth that neither in art nor in literature will there be any great enduring creations until this change takes place in the hearts and minds of the aspirants.

THE FUTURE BROTHERHOOD OF ARTISTS.

If this sound like preaching we can't help it, and besides when it costs nothing and will be found good for the soul. The time is sure to come, in the history of our democracy, when there will be banded together, like the holy brotherhoods of Greece, and in similar battle phalanxes, it may be, societies of brave and noble young men, with clean and healthy souls—not rich as the world counts riches, but with poverty as the mystic tie of their union—who will devote themselves to the service of literature, art and science with the love and devotion of saints and the courage of martyrs. But that time is a long way off yet, and will be one of the results of a revolution in the popular mind respecting the great speculative questions which now agitate society, and the present established ideas upon the moral status both of art and literature. Their object will be to serve these professions as if they were great spiritual portfolios, which indeed they are, and to invest them with the highest feelings of the human heart as things sacred to God and man. They will be ministering servants to them for love, and the favor of heaven and the heavenly inspirations, and no sordid calculation will enter into the articles of the compact; for the moment this affection invades the sanctuary of any theme it corrupts and degrades it.

VOW OF POVERTY.

Hence the vow of poverty which will belong to the new order of religious chivalry in the new era of which we speak. And it will remain as a perpetual rebuke to the slavish luxury and sensuality of our times, which will then be past and gone, as a phase of American civilization, forever. For so long as wealth is esteemed the chief good of a man, the real "things of a man," as Emerson expresses it, will be at a discount, and the heavenly order will be inversed, as we now behold it in our society. Therefore, so far as the present is concerned, he who proposes to take upon him the painter's robe, or the poet's garland, or the crown of the man of letters, must question himself closely and inwardly if he be prepared to sacrifice, for the sake of art and the soul, these pretty baubles of worldly wealth and fashion—these harlequin caps and gala suits—these equipages of state—these fine household appointments, and the rest of the gewgaws which go to make up the life of to-day, that infernal life upon whose altars so many thousands and tens of thousands are sacrificed every year. Upon the decision to which he shall come in this matter, his life or death as a man, and a high priest of liberty and wisdom, is hung as by a single hair. He may paint in poverty—or in comparative poverty—and produce works which inspire mankind to the noblest deeds and fill him with the highest aspirations, and the divinest sense of beauty and immortality. But he must accept his poverty as a religion to enable him to do this, as a sacred condition which puts him out of the road of temptation to paint, or to write for mercenary motives: and if he do this he will be accredited in the archives of heaven as a true and steadfast soul, faithful to his God, and a lover and benefactor of his race. He may, on the other hand, be caught by the tinsel and false glare of Mammon as he sees it exhibited in society; he may prefer the honor which the world gives to wealth; the smile of fashionable beauty and the distinction of belonging to the masquerade of fashionable life; he may paint or write to please these votaries of pleasure and selfishness, and he will have his reward. He will forego his manhood, but he will put money in his purse; and this is the highest commandment, as the love of money is the highest gospel of the people to whom he has sold himself, and whose world he has adopted.

LIVING IN TIMES OF REVOLUTION.

But we are living in times of revolution, when man's soul is struggling for supremacy over a deadly and demoralizing materialism. We see the very seething of the elements in the world's agony to be free. Never was materialism more pronounced, never was man at the bottom more in earnest to oppose its pretensions. It is the exuberant life of the body politic throwing off a temporary disease, though the disease is the product of long historic centuries of disobedience to the heavenly laws; and the final issue will be a renovated world, where man's spiritual nature will take its true rank, and wealth will find its level and receive its just dues, but never more to lord it over a free republic as it now does; when the claims of capital and labor will be adjusted upon

principles of eternal truth and equity; when the arts, and literature, and science will be the real leaders of society, and the services they render to mankind will take precedent of all material aids, and a religion of charity exemplified in practical usefulness, and rendered good service to man, will supersede the one-eyed religion of faith, by absorbing it in a new form and with new and higher meanings than of old.

INDUCTIONS FROM HISTORY.

This is neither rhapsody nor prophecy; it is the induction of history; it is the announcement of the spirit of this age, not yet fashioned and completed in its final form, in anticipation of its perfected future; and there be some now alive who may be favored to see half the human race on this Continent raised to the dignity of the franchise and woman's slavery abolished as well as my poor brother Sambo's; who may live to see it accounted infamous and a crime against the Republic and against humanity in all who have votes—and all will then possess them—and will not take the trouble to record them on the side of liberty and good government; who may see the professors of art, literature and science revered and honored in the State, and the days of Raphael restored, who so deeply loved beauty and his chosen art, and so widely and profoundly magnetized the highest and noblest youth in the land by his own matchless performances, that he was followed by hundreds of disciples who esteemed him as a divine master, and who hung with devotion and reverence upon his lips as he pronounced judgment on the great master-pieces of his predecessors in the churches of the Roman capital.

VAST IMPORTANCE OF THESE SPECULATIONS.

We have, in the above remarks, followed the inspiration of the hour and let it speak itself right out, so far. If any one be inclined to quarrel with us on that account, we can not help it. It is their fault, and not ours, unless we have been wearisome in our treatment of our subject—which we hope is not the case. For, otherwise, it would be impossible, in connection with the mighty intellectual interests which the Century Club represents, to find a more timely theme than this for disquisition. A false, demoralizing system of ideas, almost solar in its influence, rules American society, and, we might add, the world also—ideas which are subversive of order, harmony, truth and love; making riches the chief end and aim of human life, and the glory of God to consist in hollow hearts and empty heads and enameled women. It is surely the duty of every man who can talk at all to denounce all this as disease—disease which the nation is struggling with all its moral, spiritual and mortal power to root out of the national life. It is his duty, also, to extol the grand humanizing arts and the soul-enlarging sciences, and seek by all the wit of man to raise them to the rank of gods upon Olympian thrones. No one can estimate the power of art as a fashioner of civilization. We do not mean painting alone, but poetry, sculpture, acting, architecture, landscape gardening and what other servants and exponents of beauty and truth there may be in communion with man's life. Whatever lifts one out of the sloughs of self and sin, of grossness and sensuality—whatever exalts the people into thinking, admiring and loving beings—into a profounder consciousness of manhood, into a fuller sense of the infinite value of the human soul over all the empires of materiality and the thrones, principalities and powers of mammon, does so enhance and magnify this common human life of ours that we feel both its divinity and immortality.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DRAMA.

We have in previous articles spoken more or less at large upon the artists who belong to the Century Club—and although we have two or three more notable examples to include among these imperfect sketches, we shall now take a new class of representatives into consideration and begin with

EDWIN BOOTH

as the leading dramatic actor in this city and country.

Mr. Booth represents an art which has done immense service to human liberty wherever it has had free course to run and get itself glorified. In the ancient societies it was the mirror held up to human vices and virtues, that everybody might behold himself thereby in the mirror's page, precisely as it was in the Augustan period of English literature, whereof Shakespeare was the great central figure and master. The structure of the ancient drama is, however, very different from the modern, and could not get on without its choruses, which were a sort of explanation of and connecting links between the different parts of the dramatic action.

THE GREEK DRAMA—THE FROGS.

The Greeks loved dramatic representation and had their comedies and tragedies like the moderns. Great lessons were taught in their theatres, and great scandals were also propagated—and among their very wisest as well as greatest men and greatest benefactors were Aristophanes, Euripides, Æschylus and Sophocles—names which are even now household words with us. What a wonderful piece of humor, wit and manners, satire, and personal enmity to the great Euripides, is "The Frogs!" How cleverly are the vices, foibles, "false" philosophies and general life of the time hit off, and how glibly the characters talk, and with what a superb slang they interlard their speeches! The vulgar lingo which gives such a zest to the gossip of the clubs,

and of Bohemia generally, in our day, was in current use among the Greeks and in the Greek dramas, neither was malignity nor our red Indian revenge a wanting.

THE CLOUDS.

In "The Clouds," another famous play by Aristophanes, the author ridicules and outrages Socrates, thereby swelling the public clamor against him, so that the subsequent judicial murder of this sublimest of the heathens appeared in their eyes to be his just punishment as a public teacher of ethics, and the immortality of the soul. Aristophanes did as much to kill the mighty Greek philosopher as the tribunal that pronounced his sentence. But the Greeks were the most fickle "reeds shaken by the wind" that history deals with, so that when the noble soul of Euripides conceived the idea of a tragedy in which the unjust condemnation and execution of Palamedes by the Greeks, at the siege of Troy, is put forth as a fable to illustrate while it covers the murder of Socrates, the Athenians were so profoundly moved by the pathetic appeals of the poet and by their own regrets that a reaction of great violence took place within them, and they poured all their indignation upon Aristophanes who had so largely helped to strengthen their enmity against the dead philosopher.

It was, indeed, to avert the popular fury that the poet composed his play of "The Frogs," so called from a croaking chorus in the latter part of the first act, and in which he sets to work like an Atropos to ridicule Euripides by representing him as dead and sought after in Hades by Bacchus because there is no living poet good enough to sing songs and celebrate his praises, the covert irony being visible enough all through the performance, and brought to a climax at least by subjecting Euripides to the mortification of seeing his rival Æschylus preferred before him and carried back bodily to the upper air of earth in his stead. They were weather-cocks these "men of Athens," and Aristophanes was something more there than a poetical Jack Ketch.

ENGLISH DRAMA AND SHAKESPEARE.

The genuine English drama tolerates no such malice and personality as the Greek poets so mercilessly indulged in. It is our boast of Shakespeare that even his own personality never appears in his plays. He is unconscious of his greatness and stands for nature. He aims at great public results and achieves them. He is too vast in stature and in compass to be an islander in his thoughts and sympathies, and will descend to no littleness, no petty revenge. He illustrates his great political social and moral truths by and through notable historic examples; he attacks kingcraft and priestcraft and even proclaims the equality of man, and the right of all alike to life, liberty and happiness before Queen Elizabeth and King James, the despotic "learned pig" of his time, but he does this for the "relief of the human estate," and not from vindictive feeling such as animated the Greek dramatist.

THE MIDDLE AGES AND COVENTRY PLAYS.

Before the Shakespearean era, as it is called, the English drama had in reality no existence at all. Marlowe, Kyd, Nash and Green, and others, were before Shakespeare but we are indebted to the Bard of Avon—that is to say, to the authors of the Shakespeare literature—for whoever they were, 'tis certain that Shakespeare was not and could not have been the author of them—we are indebted to the authors, we say, of this literature for the organic drama. The spirit of the Middle Ages, although it produced no dramatic works, incarnated itself in its final epileptic energizings in the form of the Sacred Plays of Coventry; and these were the rudest apories of art that were probably ever conceived by civilized man. They never had to make a Jeremiah over the scarcity of heroes upon this planet—as Byron did in "Don Juan," before he found that pretty young gentleman and set him out upon his travels. Heroes abounded in their parts, and if perchance they were hard put to it at any time, there were the "monks" and "nuns" to fall back upon, and at a pinch they brought in the Holy Ghost and Jesus Christ and God the Father upon the stage, as well as the chief devils and the machinery of the infernal world. The Virgin Mary was a special favorite character with the people, as it was also to the painters of that era who were not compelled to excruciate the features of it as they were in the case of the grave historic subjects—such as the "Crucifixion" or the "Taking Down from the Cross;" for the Church relaxed its grim grip, as of the bony hand of death, over the treatment of this tender and pathetic picture, and did not insist that the idea of the supremacy of the spirit over matter should be represented in it by any of these physical exaggerations and agonies which marked the less favored themes. Hence, too, the beautiful faces and forms of the generality of our Madonnas, over which the artists seem to have put all that they could conceive of heaven—is purity and truth.

THE HOLY TRINITY AS DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

In the Coventry Plays they were not frightened to take big subjects for elucidation. "The Creation and Fall of Man," "The First Murder," "The Deluge," "The Crucifixion of the Blessed Lord"—these were some of the subjects. But the acting was burlesque of the broadest. Not a gleam of talent anywhere to make the dry bones live and the ghastly skeletons of the play to trip a me sure in the dance of death. The truth was that the Church of Rome, which had played, on the whole, so beneficent a part in European civilization, had lost not only the dewy freshness of

its virgin life, but all the grandest attributes of life itself, and was but a galvanized corpse. It was impossible, with this Church so conditioned as the "soul" of the world's civility, for any of the arts to flourish. The productive power of the Church was dead; its mission was ended; and we are indebted to Protestantism for all that we now enjoy in government and education, in society and in religion.

PROTESTANTISM AND HUMAN LIBERTY.

Protestantism freed the human mind from feudalism and popery. Protestantism means freedom and all its grand empires. What a mighty swoop of the genius of man it was from Coventry plays to Shakespeare's! between the dissolution of Rome as master of the mind and conscience of man and the free individualities of sectarian religions, free thought, free literature and free art and science. The Middle Age era was the struggle of the human race to free itself from tyranny, inequality and unbrotherhood, and in Europe they were vastly aided by the trade guilds and manufactures and commerce, which had got themselves established as privileged institutions, and which were presently crowned with the enfranchisement of universal liberty. This was the doing of Protestantism. Had there been no Protestantism there would have been no Shakespearean literature; no Baconian philosophy; no publication of free ideas among the masses; and the three-headed giant, embodying the English Commonwealth and the French and American Revolutions, which is henceforth the champion and security of popular freedom throughout the world, would never have been born.

WHAT THE RACE OWES TO THE DRAMA.

We owe far more, however, to the plays of Shakespeare, to the drama of that era, than most of us are aware of. Upon the boards of that Globe theatre, while the minds of the auditory were being fascinated by the story of Julius Cæsar, Coriolanus or King Lear, and the eye was being appealed to by vivid pictures and by living characters, which give to the representation an appearance of reality like some great historical enactment whereof they were actual spectators, they found when the excitement was over and they were alone with their thoughts that there was more in these exhibitions than was apparent upon the surface; that there was a great method in them, an intent of propagandism through the medium of great ideas and generous sentiments, whereby the people might become free in thought, and the great ideas so boldly announced in the plays, and so vital and all absorbing in them, might presently, in the right hour take tangible shape in action, in laws and in institutions.

AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKESPEARE.

We do not propose to enter in this place upon the question of the authorship of the Shakespearean plays, but we have gone through the whole of that intensely interesting and important study, and we claim for Miss Bacon,

THE SOLVER OF THE SPHYNX'S RIDDLE,

an American lady, in the face of stolid prejudice and unreason and of desperately ignorant assertions to the contrary, that she has the honor of having solved this, the greatest of all the literary problems which have puzzled and confounded the nations. She proves, by evidence so strong and circumstantial, that if we refuse to credit it we must give up evidence upon all other subjects, that Shakespeare, an uneducated man, did not and could not have written these learned, elaborate, philosophical productions, as solid in wisdom as they are brilliant in creation, the mightiest masterpieces of genius, and an honor to the human intellect. But she proves that there were great statesmen and courtiers, scholars and poets of rank, living in that superb age who might, and in all probability did, write them and employ Shakespeare as a sort of mask, to assume the fatherhood of them and put them on the stage.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

It is necessary, however, to a full understanding of the case, to be well read in the general history of that time, to understand the social and political condition of the people, the idea and character of the Government, the hopes and aspirations of the times, and the ambition of the great leaders to whose enlightenment, and the Esoteric literature which they gave us, we owe so much of our liberty and intellectual supremacy.

Miss Bacon's proven proposition is this: that Lord Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh and other great statesmen, with the leading poets and men of letters and enlightened gentlemen of that time, had got so fast in the terrible grip of Protestantism that they could no longer endure the curse of irresponsible Kingship, founded upon "Divine right," in which was vested the absolute power of decreeing the life or death of the subject, in defiance of law. They saw this power most menacingly ascendant in the person of Elizabeth, and in James they beheld a human brute bloated with enormous and unnameable vices, ruling over a comparatively enlightened people whom he regarded as serfs, whose only value lay in their defensive uses for the purposes of state, and in their ability to pay taxes; any one of whom was immensely his superior both in mind and morals.

They resolved, therefore, to form themselves into

A CLUB OF EMANCIPATION,

inviting all the known liberals of England, France, Holland and Germany to join them, with a view to spread abroad free ideas of politics, enlightenment and religion by means of books, poems, etc. But that it occurred probably first of all to Lord Bacon, who was then writing his "Novum Organum," that the best and safest mode of political propagandism would be in the creation of dramas for the stage,

laying the scene afar off in distant Rome or Venice, or in unhistoric Britain, wherein should be woven all the tyrannies, abuses, vices and unjust laws and government of the present time, concealed in historic actors, events and circumstances.

DISCOVERY OF THE FOURTH PART OF INSTAURATION OF LEARNING.

That the brilliant idea was adopted and put into execution, and that the Shakespearean plays are the upshot and direct issue; that such a club actually existed; that it employed signs, watchwords and anagrams, both in life and in the books proceeding from them as associated members of the club; that Bacon publicly declared that he had written the Fourth Part of his Instauration of Learning, which was a practical application, made plain to the eye and ear, "in living diagrams" of all the theoretic, moral and political principles which the previous books contained, as the guides and directors of human life; that all mere theories were worthless until they were put into living and breathing "diagrams," which was precisely what he had done with these theories in the fourth part of his book, and that as the fourth part never appeared as such, the Shakespeare plays are the fourth part.

SCAPEGOAT OF THE PLOT.

All this, we know, is loosely enough rendered here, and we wish it were better done, but there is neither time nor space to do it in. If, however, these statesmen so well known, of whom so many were jealous, had not thus bound themselves by their oaths and honor to secrecy inviolable, and if they had not employed some one as agent between them and the public, to throw off suspicion from the true authors, but had accepted the entire responsibility of their own performances, instead of King James quietly sitting at the play of Julius Cæsar to hear himself abused as a tyrant of the vilest, a liberty-hater, but a mere man like his subjects, he would long ago have ordered Lord Bacon and Sir W. Raleigh to the headsman's block.

THE STAGE, THE GREAT GLASS OF CIVILIZATION.

So much at present for the stage as the Agrippa's mirror of a nation and the enlightener of it. The profession of acting involves the highest culture and the most versatile genius to do it full honor, and it very rarely happens that there are more than two or three really great actors in any age. Tragedians are the rarest crop of all. There are always many respectable comedians to one real tragedian; and the true artist in either department, or in any department of the drama, is a man of genuine power and influence, and worthy of the highest recognition and honor. It is fashionable to abuse the stage, and, indeed, it sadly wants reforming—and is choked with incumbrances, and hangers-on whom it would be good to hang out of the way, rather than that they should be there at all—for they do but bring discredit upon the profession by their utter incapacities. But a theatre well appointed and served by masters and mistresses of their art is second only in sacredness to the Church itself and subserves nearly as great human interests.

FORREST AND BOOTH.

We have two native tragedians, both of them more or less engaged in their profession, and both having won a great and high reputation. We allude, of course, to Edwin Forrest and Edwin Booth. Mr. Forrest is far the elder of the two, and has, like his rival, an immense number of friends who swear by his name. We do not propose, except incidentally, to make any analysis of Mr. Forrest's great and acknowledged abilities as an actor. Our business in what follows will be with Mr. Booth as the representative of the American drama.

SOME ONE'S SERVANT GIRL.

She stood there leaning wearily
Against the window frame,
Her face was patient, sad and sweet,
Her garments coarse and plain;
"Who is she, pray?" I asked a friend;
The red lips gave a curl—
"Really I don't know her name;
She's some one's servant girl."

Again I saw her on the street,
With burden trudged along,
Her face was sweet and patient still,
Amid the jostling throng;
Slowly but cheerfully she moved,
Guarding with watchful care
A market basket much too large
For her slight hands to bear.

A man, I'd thought a gentleman,
Went pushing rudely by,
Sweeping the basket from her hands,
But turning not his eye;
For there was no necessity
Amid that busy whirl
For him to be a gentleman
To some one's servant girl.

Ah! well it is that God above
Looks in upon the heart,
And never judges any one
By just the outer part.
For if the soul be pure and good,
He will not mind the rest,
Nor question what the garments were
In which the form was dressed.

And many a man, and woman fair,
By fortune reared and fed,
Who will not mingle here below
With those who earn their bread,
When they have passed away from life,
Beyond the gates of pearl,
Will meet before their Father's throne
With many a servant girl.

STAND BY YOUR COLORS! THE DECISIVE TIME HAS COME.

There are five millions of men in the country who are favorable to extending suffrage to women. Let them join the same number of women in petitioning Congress to pass the Declaratory Act. See petition on page 8.

THE LAND QUESTION.

No. II.

As has been already said, our land policy should be shaped with reference to the occupation of the soil by a large population. The capabilities of any portion of the earth's surface for supporting organic life are never applied to their highest purpose until it is inhabited by as large a number of human beings as it can adequately sustain. Mankind is the noblest product which can be borne upon the soil, and the latter should not be withheld from its worthiest use, or prevented from subserving that use in the fullest measure.

Moreover, sparse communities must always be debarred from many of the chief material advantages of civilization and from the best opportunities for culture. This point is well illustrated by the case of our own Southern States. Although some of them were among the first to be colonized, they are even at this late day comparatively unsettled. The result is that their people cannot muster numbers enough within a given area to supply themselves with many of the most ordinary conveniences of civilized life. Their roads are generally of the most primitive description, their streams unbridged, their undrained swamps the fountains of malaria, their schoolhouses few and far between, their towns generally small and wide apart, and a large majority of the people have never had an opportunity of listening to a lecture or looking into a book-store. Their land policy was framed with special reference to slavery, and the result is that one of the finest regions on the surface of the planet not only fails to support more than a tithe of the population which it could well sustain, but fails also to afford to its few inhabitants the physical comforts and the opportunities for mental culture which a denser population might enjoy. Now, suppose that instead of permitting the land of this region to be partitioned among a comparatively small number of persons, with a view to its tillage by slaves, it had been carefully reserved for settlement in small homesteads by independent cultivators. Does it need any argument to show how much larger and how far superior in condition and in general culture would have been the population? Would not such a policy have come far nearer to realizing the desideratum referred to in the first sentence of this article than has been done by the policy actually pursued?

Apart from the attractions held out by a republican form of government, the opportunity of obtaining land is the chief incentive to emigration to this country. In Europe this opportunity is impossible to a great majority of the people. They can only live there upon the hard condition of paying a very large portion of the products of their industry as a tribute for mere earth-room. The original titles to the land rest for the most part upon the exercise of the physical power to appropriate it. Subsequent titles have in most cases been acquired by what may be considered fair purchase, yet in strict justice they must be regarded much as we regard the title to stolen goods when acquired in a similar way. At all events, the result of the original unjust appropriation is to deprive a great majority of the people of Europe of a natural right—the right to occupy a small portion of the earth's surface without paying tribute for it to some other co-heir of the free gift of God to the human race in common.

This language may perhaps seem like aggrarianism; but I need make no apology for advancing a view which has the support of so eminent and authoritative a thinker as Herbert Spencer, and which, moreover, as an abstract proposition, no intelligent man who has given the subject his serious attention would be likely to contest. The Creator has given to no man, no generation, and no government, any other than a usufructuary title to any portion of the earth's surface; and the truth of this proposition is so obvious that those who support the existing system of land tenure do so only upon the ground that it is upon the whole best for society. This is an argument which deserves the most respectful consideration; for we cannot afford to ignore the question of practical results. But is there not reason to believe that the best results would after all be attained through some system more nearly in accordance with abstract justice? This is a question which shall be considered more in detail hereafter.

Whatever we may think of the general principles of land tenure, we of America have pretty generally agreed to believe that the practical operation of the unequal division of land in Europe is extremely bad. We are shocked to think that one-half of England is owned by one hundred and fifty families, and that out of the twenty millions of people who inhabit the country there are only about thirty thousand landholders. We know that the tribute which these landholders levy upon the masses is crushingly heavy, that the condition of the latter is one of abject and hopeless poverty, and that nearly one in twenty of the population actually belong to the pauper class. We take an honest pride and a generous satisfaction in welcoming the victims of land monopoly there and elsewhere in Europe to free homesteads upon our public domain. But do we ever reflect that we are pursuing upon a gigantic scale a system which will either prevent the settlement of the country, as in the South, and condense sparse populations to drag out weary centuries of semi-civilization, or else build up a society very much like that which exists in Europe today? It is true, we shall have many large communities of well-to-do farmers, for which our homestead settlements are now laying the foundation; but tracts much larger in extent than those so occupied have already been turned over to monopoly; while for our city and town population, destined to comprise more than fifty per cent. of the whole, we have made no provision whatever to protect them against the exactions of landlordism. Would it not be a sad and humiliating discovery if we should find that the vaunted advantages which we are now able to offer to the poor and oppressed of other lands are after all such as are only incident to a comparatively unpeopled country—a condition which is and in its very nature should be temporary—and that our republican government is deliberately laying for posterity a foundation precisely similar to that which military chiefs and feudal barons laid for the communities of European nations? If when we have a population as dense as that of Europe our system will give us the same inequalities and oppressions, what occasion have we to boast of our republican institutions?

E. T. PETERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1871.

[CONTINUED FROM NINTH PAGE.]

Republican party. This influence looks confidently to the same success in the future, as in the past. It intends, for its own purpose, to uphold the party it is mostly affiliated with, to pay off the national debt in gold, to preserve the nightmare over the people of 2,000 national banks, all animated by a single purpose working in a single way. The rights of the States are menaced, and "centralization" is the end in view, that the few great land subsidized railroads, the creation of the Republicans, may hereafter send their vassals to Washington to be the rulers, in their interest, of the country.

But this programme will be much interfered with by the dissensions and exposures breaking out among the Republicans, which have now become so public. The scandal of Whately of Georgia, drawing pay as a Senator, and also as a Representative from the Federal Government, and at the same time receiving a salary as Solicitor General of the State of Georgia, and all the minor shame of the radicals are small compared to that cap-sheaf placed on them by the very head of their party, and denounced by their own press everywhere. The *Chicago Republican* calls the substitution of Cameron for Sumner, that of villainy for virtue—ignorance for intelligence; and suggests as a fitting accompaniment, the exaltation as Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary of *Revels* for Trumbull! In fact, in this Sumner act, Grant's administration, remarkable only for bayonet rule at elections, interference with the reserved rights of States, robberies by land-grabbers of public domain (witness those of only the last Congress: Oregon Pacific R. R., - - - \$4,760,000 Northern Pacific (additional), - - - 11,000,000 Texas Pacific, - - - 18,000,000

Total, - - - - - \$33,760,000)

maintenance of taxation, and refusal to pass laws for the restoration of commerce, has committed its crowning blunder and alienated its best friends, and first, most unflinching supporters in New England. New Hampshire has voted the Republican ticket every year since and including 1855. One of its Senators in Congress—Senator James W. Patterson—was at home engaged in the past election. He was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Sumner was Chairman, and the news of the proscription of Sumner by General Grant must have had its effect on Senator Patterson and his co-workers. The loss of this State, hitherto so "truly loil," may have an effect now on Grant, particularly as the majority of two-thirds in Congress hitherto held by his party, is at last broken, notwithstanding the abortive radical attempt of Garfield to perpetuate control, by giving to a simple majority the same power as a two-thirds vote to perfect legislation. Meantime, another State election, that of Connecticut, will soon take place. Its Senators, Ferry, a former brigadier general of volunteers, of no brilliant record; and ex-Governor Buckingham, are not believed to cordially support the San Domingo policy of the administration; and should this State, too, secede from the party there will be a perfect panic in the ranks of those preparing the way for the President's re-election, which will still more split up the party, already demoralized by contention and jealousy, and may end in one wing of it bolting to the Democrats or joining "the Workingmen's party," as foreshadowed by General Butler?

This brings us to the consideration of the Democratic side. We have gone hastily over the Republican aspect; altogether too hastily to do justice to its errors or merits. As has been seen, its great failing is want of party discipline; its great crime, its adoration of wealthy monopolies. From both of these we can acquit the Democrats. The party discipline of "Tammany" is now very stringent, and Democrats in office have been more famed for private corruptions and "rings," than for open political dabbling in the organization, or protection of vast corporations. But if we are to judge of the future by the past, the destinies of the nation will hardly be much better under Democratic auspices—a party whose name is synonymous with all the evils of the past fifteen or twenty years—which repealed the Missouri compromise—which attempted to force slavery upon an unwilling people—which, coming into power with a treasury filled to overflowing, in four years had not enough to pay the crew of a man-of-war—which, by the premeditated, concerted plan of a portion of themselves, brought on this country all the horrors and all the bloodshed of a four-years' civil war—which later on has been actively participant in all those shameless frauds connected with the "Erie" railroad, covering the name of American with infamy abroad, making the New York judiciary a by-word and reproach and passing in the New York legislature, bills aptly designated "to legalize the issue of counterfeit money"—which only in its last election, here in this city of New York, openly affiliated with Jas. Fisk, Jr., for the sake of the votes of his railroad employees!!! And which, beside all this, to-day, among many pretensions to public support, stands the exponent of national repudiation. Is this denied? How can it be? It

has long been avowed publicly by the leaders of the party. It has been openly predicted as the result of their accession to power. Their party speeches abound with the vindication of such a policy. Here are extracts from Democratic utterances on the floor of Congress:

"Who is not robbed by the tax-gatherer? Who is a freeman, except the bondholder, exempted from taxation? If the bondholders had to visit their victims, the tax-payers, in person, and exact the payment of their gold interest, how long would the people submit to such a thing?"

"This state of things must end. Labor which produces every dollar of wealth, pays every dollar of interest on the bonds, pays every cent of Government expense, cannot stand such pressure, and must and will free itself from tyranny and oppression. It has been truly said, that 'no large national war debt was ever paid or discharged, except by repudiation.' For one, so far as the debt represented by the bonds of the United States—I mean the bonds represented by the terms 'five-twenties,' 'seven-thirties' etc.—I am in favor of repudiation."

Again and again have Democrats adduced instances of repudiation. All history, from the time of Lacedemon to Henry VIII, of England, has been quoted. The repudiation of the public debt by Charles II, has been extolled, while his subsequent compromise, for one dollar in five, has been bitterly blamed as the origin of the public debt of Great Britain. The five national repudiations of France, the repudiation of the United States' revolutionary money, which Congress had repeatedly declared should be redeemed dollar for dollar, and had passed legal-tender acts, penal laws, etc., to sustain, which it finally resolved to repudiate by "funding" at the rate of one dollar to one hundred, but did not, so that it depreciated to the rate of a thousand to one and was then actually repudiated in toto—all these facts have been raked up to do duty to support a presumed cardinal principal of the Democrats. The continental money was estimated by Alexander Hamilton, at \$357,476,541. "Now," say the Democrats, "it cannot be denied that the public faith was as sacredly and solemnly pledged to the payment of the continental money as it is to the payment of our present public debt."

And we may observe that from "Erie" experience, the payment of the public debt by the Democrats is just about as likely to be "sacredly and solemnly" observed, as far as they are concerned. We will make a few quotations from speeches delivered in Congress on this subject, to show the reasoning of the Democrats.

"A Wall street capitalist purchased a Government bond calling for \$1,000; for this he gave to the Government, forty per cent. or \$640. He received interest, say for seven years, regularly at six per cent. per annum on \$1,000 payable every six months. Compound interest on \$1,000 at six per cent, will, in seven years, amount to \$512 56 in gold. He has been exempted from local and municipal taxes, which saves him two and a half per cent. per annum, or in seven years \$175. These items amount to \$687 56 in gold. Is there anything wrong or unjust in repudiating such a debt? The people have paid the bonds and are entitled to have them cancelled, just as much as a person is entitled to have his promissory note canceled when he pays it up in full with interest. It is gross injustice to grind the laborer, the merchant, the mechanic, the widow and crippled soldier to the earth, to pay these bonds a second time for the sole purpose of keeping up a bloated and insolent bondholding and banking aristocracy."

"Gentlemen may and do talk about the faith of the Government being pledged to the payment of the bonds and the sacredness of that plighted faith. The receipts and vouchers given by our army officers to loyal men for hundreds of millions of dollars worth of property, taken or used by the army during the war, are certainly as sacred as bonds signed by the Treasurer. This plighted faith of the Government is totally disregarded by the party in power. I am in favor of repudiation as a set off to the repudiation of \$4,000,000,000 of the claims filed by loyal men against this Government for losses and damages sustained by war, and property furnished for and used and taken by our Government for war purposes. But gentlemen are loud-spoken against repudiation when it touches the bondholder or national banker. Have not some gentlemen, members of this Congress, voted in a former Congress for the so-called legal-tender act which authorized and legalized the repudiation of private debts and contracts? The courts are full of cases where persons who had loaned gold on a contract to receive gold in payment, were forced to take greenbacks at forty cents on the dollar. How much more honorable or less dishonorable would it be to refuse to pay the interest and principal of these bonds, especially when the bondholders have been fully paid and overpaid? * * Sixty per cent. of the cost of their bonds represent "shave," and forty per cent. "money."

The so-called Democracy are also understood to be a unit in favor of Free Trade, which, opponents say, involves low wages for American workmen, and, the rev-

enue being attacked by the exemption of tariff duties, the way would be opened to a deficit—an increase or repudiation of the debt—and the impoverishing of the country through the proceeds of foreign labor. The yearly interest on the debt, under "Andy Johnson," beginning at \$64,419,628 increased to \$124,255,350, and is said, under Grant, to have been decreased to \$118,104,949, which sum he now further attempts to reduce by new loans at less interest. These very figures show the magnitude and importance of the questions which the Democrats will agitate to the uttermost when in power, if for policy's sake they refrain for the present. And in the mismanagement of Boutwell and the enormous thefts of his poker-playing subordinates, they have a wide door left open to them, through which, on this subject, to assail the Republicans hereafter.

We have only two more matters concerning this party to name, and then we shall leave our readers to draw their own comparisons and conclusions. The first is the amazing ignorance it has already exhibited in the few days' session of the present Congress on the subject of taxation. Professing to be for Free Trade, it has not discriminated between a tariff duty for revenue and one for protection; and when an abolition of \$17,000,000 of duties—levied almost entirely for protection—was adopted, a Democratic member proposed also the repeal of duty on tea and coffee (wholly revenue, as neither are produced in the United States), and almost every Democrat, we think every one, voted *aye*! Thus under the sham fusion of the Protectionists and Democrats, this measure was carried with the result of making a farce of the whole subject. The other matter relates to the well-known "Tammany" control. Its reputed bargain, in the late election of Oakley Hall over Ledwith, with the Catholic Church, by which Tammany or rather the Tammany "ring" made a pledge conditioned upon the support, moral or material, of the priests, to legislate in Albany for their sectarian interests in such a manner as to permit the Catholic Church here to play the role of property holder, which, contrary to the principle of this Government, and in other nations already proved to be so tolerably burdensome, is not relished by a large body of thoughtful Democrats.

The Irish Catholic vote of the lower classes of New York has always been an integral part and parcel of Tammany property—and, however inferior ethically to woman's suffrage may be the elective franchises lodged in the hands of stupid, drunken, ignorant effigies of men controlled by the keeper of a corner rum hole, who calls himself a "member" of, and certainly is a worker for, Tammany—in the aggregate they swell to an election return, for which the party is ready to make almost any concession of principle or means!—another instance of the consistency of those opposed to woman's rights. But, not only have these concessions been wrong in themselves, they have, while conciliating one class, deeply offended another. The members of other Church denominations throughout the country are indignant—the government of New York city, under Democratic rule, is pointed out in horror—though the real truth is that the cohesive attraction of public plunder discovered there has been pretty much all that has held the party together since the last Presidential election, and it is openly asserted that Democratic leaders and editors in other States than ours have had long spoons reaching to the public pap in the New York City Hall, or even to the luncheon provided by Tammany's friends, James Fisk, Jr., and his Erie railroad!! However that may be, there have been strong symptoms, only lately suppressed by the silly squabbles of the Republicans, of a bolt in the Democrats and a quasi repudiation of Tammany control. The disruption of the Republicans has had, and may continue to have, the effect of uniting the other party to secure the political victory which seems now almost in their grasp. Yet, on the other hand, the seeds of discord may so quickly ripen on each side as to place the balance of power in the hands of a third party which to-day holds the position of a weak neutral between two powerful but equal contending armies, helpless by itself, but able to turn the scale of victory to whichever side it espouses, or to make up a force of deserters from both sufficient to overawe either. Butler sees this and is already a careful observer of the

WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

Nor is there any doubt but that several of the old and wise pillars of the Democracy, who joined the Radicals in 1860-61, and seem about to leave them, are also looking to this scarcely-heard-of organization as a possible nucleus around which to rally the discontented, and either lay down conditions for joining one or the other of the present prominent parties, or make up a new one with a decent platform. To two wise propositions the workingmen are already committed—the support of women's suffrage and opposition to landed monopolies. The unexpected strength which they have, in several instances, lately allowed to be seen has only been productive of general regret that they should not have had commensurate wisdom to direct that

strength. It is simply *vis inertia*, without any directing skill. A specimen of its leadership is shown in a half-demented, poetic fellow, whose greatest ambition is to connect himself, in any humble capacity, with a prominent banking house, and who, with a mental character and social position which it would be insulting to a cypher to compare them to, delights in wandering around the country, with a flower in his button-hole, proclaiming his connection with the "labor party," and speaking of himself as a second Warwick, promising the "Presidency of the United States" to whoever takes his fancy for the time being! Supreme ridicule can attach to any body of men who permit such Shanghai-chicken championship, and only profound pity can be felt at the misdirected efforts of the various associations of workingmen, as evidenced in the present "strike" in the Pennsylvania coal region. Under skilled, sagacious, statesmanlike management, the votes of these men would go far to rectifying any evils they complain of, and would make them a power against monopoly, extortion and corruption, and a preservation to the Republic, instead of which they are remotely represented by such visionary simpletons as we have described, and immediately controlled by reckless, ignorant demagogues, who would be jealously impatient of the intrusion amongst them of the wise counsels of a skillful and successful statesman or man of affairs. Hence, all their plans are failures, in execution and the sheerest folly in conception, while behind these lies dormant the brute strength of compact numbers sufficient to give success to any sensible, appropriate, well-digested scheme of political operations. The present struggle in Pennsylvania between the coal-miners and railroads, an account of which we gave in our last issue, may be regarded as one phase of "workingmen's" power and stupidity. Abstractly having much to complain of, they have adopted the most injudicious possible means of obtaining redress. There are no American-born citizens among their leaders who, not understanding the true position, are enticing the mine laborers into ways that will end in their ruin, and only benefit English producers. It has been estimated that not less than 2,000 children of miners in one coal region have been hopelessly ruined in their habits by the present "strike," not counting the families whose fathers have gone into idleness and intemperance. The prices of coal have been raised so high as to give floating capital the opportunity already to introduce foreign coal to profit, and, besides the loss of time and money never to be regained, a fluctuating market has been created, very detrimental to the interests of the miners. The price of iron has been raised with the price of coal, and yet their brother workmen in the furnaces are kept unemployed. Nevertheless, these men have almost had the influence to organize for their support a similar strike among the workmen in the bituminous coal-fields who had made no complaint. Naturally, the result of this is a general feeling throughout the country favorable to the abolition of the duty on coal. Suppose this to take place, the wages of the miners will be largely reduced, and their "strikes" laughed at. England tells the hopeless condition of labor under such circumstances. Heaven help these bituminous coal miners when the dictation of the workingmen's associations have led to acts that will eventually in the introduction in the United States of any required amount of coal free of duty, and which can be delivered "free on board" in England for one dollar and a half per ton. Now, contrast such a future state of things with the simple expense, exclusive of mining cost, of bringing our bituminous coal to the Atlantic seaboard, and marvel at the folly of these men, who waste the sinews of what might be a strong political influence adverse to monopolies, and compelling legislation for the benefit of labor, in such egregious, pig-headed blundering.

Freight charge, West Virginia gas coal to Baltimore	\$4 00 per 2,000 lbs.
George's Creek coal to Georgetown	1 91 "
" " Broad Top coal to Philadelphia	3 80 "
(with a drawback of \$1 per ton if shipped thence)	5 00 "
Freight charge, Irwin gas coal to Philadelphia	3 50 "
Osceola coal to West Philadelphia	2 65 "
Cumberland coal to Baltimore	

Here is a natural tariff operating against our coal to which the Government protective tariff is compensating. Practically, the efforts of the miners are against the last! So much for the wisdom of their leaders. Yet, let these workingmen's associations, lying loosely around, scarcely understanding themselves or their capabilities or wants, united only in their expression for universal suffrage and their opposition to the monopolies and oppressions of capital, once come beneath the forming hand of an intelligent, active and aggressive man like General Butler, and either by uniting with the party which will best represent its requirements, or by making a voting power by the addition of the disaffected from both sides, they will sweep the land like a besom. Between the Republicans and Democrats alone, as matters now stand, the success of the last will depend much on their common sense and their adoption of a platform free from those heresies which formerly swamped them. As Captain Fluellen said about the leek, "There is occasions and causes, why and wherefore, in all things."

A.

STREET PAVEMENTS—LAVA OR ASPHALTE.

BEIDLER'S "SECTIONAL PIN" WOOD PAVEMENT.

The recent disturbances in Brooklyn, caused by the very proper refusal of property-owners to pay the assessments for laying down in front of their houses and lots the miserable stuff known as concrete, lava or asphalt—a fine specimen of which patent abomination was presented some months ago to the residents along Fifth avenue in this city, and, after depreciating property, sickening the neighborhood and ruining carpets and curtains, dug up and carted away—have awakened interest afresh on the subject of metropolitan paving. The citizens of Brooklyn are actually suffering in health and pocket from these nasty poultice pavements, frauds in themselves, brought forward in some instances by notorious swindlers (we have one particularly in view whose record is about as bad as it can be, and who is now operating with a worthless "patent" lava or asphalt pavement company, to the patent on which neither he nor the company are any more entitled than the man in the moon) and carried out by corporation "rings" because these pavements have been experimentally proved to offer more convenient opportunities for "jobs" with less risk of detection than any other, and in the pure, incorruptible, money-hating atmosphere which surrounds city fathers, both in Brooklyn and in the concrete-circled New York City Hall, that is of course a consideration not to be lost sight of. Notwithstanding all this the excellency of wooden pavement, wherever tested, has become so apparent, that both "rings," patentees, and contractors in lava or concrete, will be forced to give way to public opinion. Wood, placed with the fibre vertically, has shown itself superior in practice to any pavement we yet know of. It best fulfills the conditions of enhancing the value of animal power in draught, maintaining, in all seasons and conditions of the weather the same compact and even surface, lessening the wear and tear of vehicles—and durability. It is actually the case that wood, fibre vertical, will wear, as a pavement, four times better than granite. The reason is, that the last substance, resisting percussion and pressure, is abraded, while the first, being elastic, receives no injury. Moreover, a wooden pavement, gradually becoming more compact in fibre, wears better the longer it has been laid. As to its superiority to the old-fashioned cobble-stone pavements of Philadelphia and Baltimore, which are so painful to the nerves of every one whose misfortune it is to ride over these nuisances, there can be no two opinions. One might as well be bounced over a corduroy road of the Army of the Potomac as to drive over some of the Philadelphia cobble-stone streets.

Several patents have been procured for wooden paving, and American ingenuity has, in the Nicolson and other varieties, invented perforated pavements, keyed pavements, pavements in sections, wooden blocks, surrounded with tar, gravel, and so on. The latest improvement seems likely to be a formidable competitor to all the others. It does away with the necessity of using pitch or other substances to prevent rot, and its method of construction prevents sinking. It is known as "BEIDLER'S 'SECTIONAL PIN' WOOD PAVEMENT" and consists of wooden blocks bound together by heavy oak dowel pins. The blocks are six inches deep by three wide, placed vertically against a board an inch thick and three wide, running through the section and separating the blocks. Each block is placed one inch apart, thus providing foothold and such drainage as to prevent rotting. The cost of this method is said to be from ten to fifteen thousand dollars per mile less than that of any other wooden pavement, which, other things being only equal, would be in itself *conclusive evidence of superiority*. Certainly, a pavement uniting "firmness, solidity, durability and cheapness," and of which a section can be taken up or laid down by two men in ten minutes, is very well worth the most careful examination and trial, particularly if it rids us forever from the sticky slime, dust, duck puddles and villainies of the lava or concrete men.

STUPIDITY OR VACUITY, WHICH?

The New York *Tribune* had the effrontery in an article on Monday last to vaunt itself as an advocate of equal rights, and to talk as though it had ever been an advocate of impartial justice to all the citizens of our Union. It undertakes to lecture the New York *World* and *Evening Post* as being opponents to its assumed advocacy of impartial justice, quoting the Constitution as guaranteeing to citizens the right to vote *State laws to the contrary notwithstanding*. We shall not undertake any defence of the *World* or *Evening Post*, the latter being quite able to defend itself, and the former being a *veritable surgeon* when operating on the fallacies that impregnate the articles of the *Tribune*.

What we desire to call attention to is this:

1st. When the *Tribune* prates of the rights of citizens it don't mean all citizens.
2d. When the *Tribune* quotes constitutional law as guaranteeing citizens the right to vote, it does not intend you to suppose that it (the *Tribune*) really supports any such an idea, it only desires to apply such a right to those who may suit the convenience of its party.

For are not women citizens? We cannot allow the *Tribune* to assert itself as a champion of either law or justice. We cannot allow it to impertinently and shamefully put

itself forward as advancing the equal rights of citizens, or their protection in the exercise of such rights. It has neither sense of right or justice, and it is downright effrontery for it to assume any connection with them.

Can it be that the *Tribune* really considers itself consistent? No, we cannot allow it even this loophole. Stupid, bigoted and prejudiced it certainly is, but, having no principles to guide it, it flounders hither and thither, no one knowing what it may say to-morrow in contradiction to its statements, or position, or any question to day.

To-day it asserts the constitutional right of citizens to vote, to-morrow it will qualify that statement by a qualification as to sex, and so on to the end of the chapter. We are really surprised, when we come to think of the ease with which the *Tribune* can bolt its own inconsistencies, and the ease with which it seems to digest them, and think nothing of it. This is a happy faculty, no doubt, and saves a great many of what would be superfluous expletives in the *Tribune* building. We attribute this faculty to a peculiar state of the editorial mind, during which, principles in embryo are floating about in chaotic form to be afterward formed to fit the occasion, and subsequently modified to creep through knot-holes. The nearest approach to an illustration of this state of mind, of which we know, can be seen in the engravings by Doré in Don Quixote.

In conclusion, we protest against any journal using the words "equal rights" and "citizens" in any connection in which they are not prepared to support these terms in the full meaning. We insist that, in any case, where women are excluded, they say explicitly *male* citizens. If this debars them from quoting the constitution, that is conclusive proof that their qualification is at variance with it.

Now, gentlemen of the press, take your choice, the term equal rights means equal rights to all. The term citizen does not mean male citizen only, so please to say, in future, what you really do mean, so as not to place yourself in the position of Congress, which has guaranteed the right to all citizens to vote; forbidden any State to curtail the right so guaranteed, prescribed penalties upon all officers of elections who shall refuse or neglect to receive such votes, and decreed that any obstructions that deter citizens from voting, whether such obstruction exist in the form of law or practice, be removed, and then would fain plead that women are not included in such rights.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HAMMONTON, N. J., March 10, 1871.

MRS. E. C. STANTON:

My Dear Madam—My wife wrote you a note the other day, promising to report the progress made by herself and other women of this town, in their attempt to secure the ballot. The natural result, of course, of their course, has been what the wise old women of my sex have always predicted, that she has become so interested in the matter, and finds so much occupation in organizing the Woman's Club, that she has not time left for her regular duties, in attending to my comfort; and has, consequently, been forced to delegate this report of progress to me. Under these circumstances what better can I do than assert my manly prerogative of implicitly obeying all my wife's commands.

Fifteen women went to the polls; they were all but three married women, one of them the wife of one of the judges of election, two of them were mothers of two of the unmarried women, and they were all of them enthusiastic in the cause. One of the most noticeable effects of the movement was to see its influence upon these women themselves. Mothers and grandmothers as they are, yet life, social questions, political rights and duties acquired a new interest and a new significance to them. They began to realize what dignity there is in being human beings. After an argument with the judges of election, they (the judges) said that they had consulted together, and agreed that under the laws of New Jersey, they felt they must refuse to receive the votes. But they would take them, keep them apart, register the women and report their ballots. At the same time the judges, or the majority of them, allowed that in their opinion the women had the right to vote. The judges then signed an acknowledgement of their refusal to receive the votes of the women. It is clear now that the thing to be done is to carry up the case to the Supreme Court. The only question is the money one. I do not want the women, here, nor do they themselves wish, to undertake anything which they cannot carry through to the end. Whether we could afford, unassisted, to bear the expense of going through the courts of this State, I am much inclined to question. None of us are rich, though we are willing to do all we can. I have not the data for estimating what would be the cost of the necessary legal expenses. You most probably could arrive at that better than we could here, and at the same time your larger experience could suggest better than ours how best to set to work to gain the money necessary to carry the case through. Meanwhile, the Woman's Club, who have inaugurated this movement, will continue their work, and I have no question that at our next election at least fifty women here will present themselves at the polls. Such a course as this, pursued generally over the country, would force the decision from the Supreme Court. I am yours, very respectfully,

ONE OF THE LORDS OF CREATION.

DEAR SIR—You must find some lawyers in every town who will work for nothing and beg money to pay the costs. Let the women now give up all other societies, organizations and associations and work for their own enfranchisement. Let their religion, philanthropy, charity, art, science, literature centre here. Let balls, parties, picnics be suspended. Let the churches go without carpets, lamps or decorations; pastors without donations; the heathen without tracts; men without buttons and children without bibs, until we can raise money enough to force the recognition of our humanity on the nation, and decide our citizenship in the courts. We have worked 6,000 years to lift men up into gods. Now let us lift ourselves up, and, like them, learn good and evil; or, what is better, the difference between them.

Yours truly,

E. C. STANTON.

RISE AND ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 10, BY DR. FULLER-WALKER.

[Reported expressly for Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

Indications are not wanting on every hand to show that marked progress has been made in the drift of public sentiment concerning woman and her place in the world. The persistent agitation of the questions comprehended under the general term of "woman's rights" has provoked much thought and roused opposition. Nothing could be more encouraging. The decay of nations is detected in the gradual diminution of thought. We must have our ideals; for the mind of a whole people, as of an individual, grows by the vigorous assimilation of food which is external to the mind. This nation was founded by idealists who left Holland two hundred and fifty-one years ago, whither they had been driven by the Stuarts. Their ideal was freedom, and the constitution promulgated on board the Mayflower asserted that "all governments entitled to live have laws alike just to all." "This was a planting," said Mrs. Sigourney, "whose bloom should be the envy of nations." And we of the present day have lived to see this ideal carry us triumphantly through the most gigantic civil war recorded in history. Has not the little plant first called to life off the bleak shores of Cape Cod put forth a wonderful blossom, when we see, in the House of Representatives, at Washington, to-day, the State of South Carolina represented by three black men, and one white man? All this has not been accomplished for men without much effort, individual and national sacrifice. If it took more than two hundred years to make citizens out of colored American men, should we be discouraged or grow impatient at this early day because the nation is not yet quite ready to give heed to our ideal and place women on a social and political equality with men? Not at all. We know that some mysterious power has loosened and set in motion the great interior fields of icy bigotry and ignorance, which, like the glaciers of Greenland, cover the whole surface of the country, killing all the flowers, trees, grasses, and destroying the vegetable kingdom of beauty and life, and that they are irresistibly moving toward the open sea of truth, where they plunge in, to melt and disappear forever! One of these icebergs has found its way to the Senate Chamber in the shape of a petition from some thousands of wealthy and comfortable ladies of society, who protest against having suffrage thrust upon them. Such petitions as these remind us of the pro slavery petitions and speeches which reared their heads in the same chamber in ante-bellum days. It only needs a vigorous opposition to any ideal founded in justice and common sense to give it life and ultimate triumph. Defeat is the logical end of bigotry butting against eternal truths. The anti-Woman Suffrage Association will exist just long enough to attend its own funeral.

OUR SOURCE AND OUR TAP.

Everybody knows that it is a rule of political economy as well as of hydraulics that we must have a source higher than our tap. The same rule is true of all moral and social reforms. Heretofore men have placed women so low down in the scale, that little could be asked or expected of them. If the tap has only yielded small beer where strong wine was looked for, or if it has proved to be absolutely dry, the fault has been with those who controlled the source. We hope to open a new and pure spring, high up on the side of Mount Harmony, which shall give forth sweet waters, full of life and vigor, even to the regeneration of the race. This is our aim, our ideal, and under this banner we propose to conquer. In glancing at the question of the elevation of women, we shall only be able to touch upon some of its more important phases, since it is as vast and varied in its interests as the half of the human race it so deeply concerns. And first let us for a moment look at the present actual condition of women in this country.

ACTUAL CONDITION OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

What is the prospect opening up before tens of thousands of our sisters? What is the condition our mothers and wives may be reduced to any moment if a reverse of fortune should occur, or death should take away their support? Every woman in this land stands upon the brink of a precipice, and whether she goes over or not depends upon a fluctuation of the stock market, upon the life of some male friend, upon a thousand and one circumstances, against which there is no absolute safeguard. Fortune is fickle, life is uncertain, and so long as a woman has no resources within herself, but is dependent upon a father, husband, brother, or lover, just so long she stands upon thin ice which may give way at the most unexpected moment. A very large number of our women are thus dependent, and they will continue to be until some rude shock brings them to their senses.

FALSE AND DESTRUCTIVE IDEAS.

What is worse, most of the girls of the day who now enjoy comfortable homes, are being brought up with the false notion that it is degrading to work, that the accomplishments and graces are all sufficient to take one through this life—the great end and aim of which is marriage. This destructive teaching and practice sheds its baneful effects over all ranks and conditions of society, producing the most deplorable results. The girl who has to support herself considers her condition most miserable, and she longs for the opportunity to become a parlor boarder at some fashionable school, to display fine dresses upon the promenade, to drive her pony-carriage in the park, to shine in society and be admired by the gentlemen. It is natural that she should desire to rise above and out of her life of drudgery and neglect, for human nature is the same in all breasts and loves the admiration of its fellow-men, and the comforts which wealth brings. Our complaint is, that so many of the fortunate and wealthy lead utterly useless lives, while those who are forced to earn their own bread have no higher aim than the

attainment of the same condition; there are noble exceptions to this rule, and very many women have risen above the low level custom and traditions of men have assigned to them, and have proved to the world that in all walks of knowledge, in all the trades and professions, in all the great interests which concern the welfare of the human race, they are fully equal to men.

A DEMORALIZING IDEA.

But the demoralizing idea is abroad that woman is an inferior creature, that she was created for a special purpose, that her sphere is limited, that she should be utterly and entirely dependent upon man, that to do anything useful unsexes her and robs her of those sentimental graces, those angelic charms, which are so essential to the comfort and happiness of men.

Tennyson has given expression to the same idea in his "Locksley Hall," where he sings:

"He will hold thee, when his passion shall have spent its right force,
Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse.
What is this? his eyes are heavy; think not they are glazed with wine;
Go to him; it is thy duty; kiss him; take his hand in thine;
It may be my lord is weary, that his brain is overwrought;
Soothe him with thy finer fancies, right him with thy lighter thought."

This doctrine has come down to us from the Aryan and Semitic accounts of the creation of the human race, through writers and poets of all ages, to Dr. Bushnell and Gail Hamilton in the last number of the *Independent*. The Greek poets taught that Jupiter created woman in a fit of spite against Prometheus; Genesis teaches that through her "all our woe" came into the world, and that unhappy husband, Milton, has sung in his "Paradise Lost":

"O, why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
With spirits masculine, create at last
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With men, as angels, without feminine,
Or find out some other way to generate
Mankind?"

DO WE MAKE PROGRESS?

With these ideas so long in the world, and coming from such sources, perhaps it is not strange that men like St. Paul and many clergymen of to-day, should conspire to keep women in a subordinate position. If we measure the height of human progress by its motives instead of its instruments, we shall find that far too many men of the present day have not moved an inch from the ground occupied by the Greek poets, who held women as creatures to minister to their pleasures and comfort. If, as Lord Macaulay has said, as the world advances in civilization poetry declines, it is because we are leaving the sentimental and imaginative for the practical and real. We cease to envelop woman in a rose-colored garment of right and look upon her as a mortal like ourselves, subject to the same wants, and liable to the same ills, and fit for the same opportunities and privileges.

A DARK PICTURE.

How has this false idea of woman degraded her and hedged her in? How has it forced her into the background, filling our garrets and cellars with suffering, with bitter anguish, with grief unutterable? Let woman keep silence in the churches; shut her out of our colleges; deny her admission to schools of art, as they do in Munich to-day; thrust her outside of Christian associations, as they do in New York and Chicago; cut down her wages to the starvation point, as they do everywhere; neglect her if she is poor and unfortunate; flatter her and talk disgusting nonsense if she is handsome and in society; shut up all doors to useful occupations; laugh and sneer if she lectures or preaches, or pleads at the bar, or does business in Wall street; and to complete the work of injustice, deny her a voice in the laws of the land under which she must live; tax her without representation, force her to live with a brute of a husband, bound her if she sues for a divorce, deny her the power to put in force any moral reform! This is the way women have been treated, and there is far too much of the same treatment now.

A FEW RAYS OF LIGHT.

But some progress has been made in the past ten years. In the matter of physiological knowledge and physical culture, progress has been made for women in so far as it has introduced high boots, warm flannels, thick soles, thick winter dress goods and cloakings, skating and other out-of-door exercises. These have promoted health and beauty. Colleges have been opened where both sexes are educated alike; new occupations and employments have been found. Some men, like Mr. Vassar, Mr. Peter Cooper and A. T. Stewart, have taken pity on the sex, and built them hotels and furnished instruction of various kinds. But, best of all, women have commenced to think for themselves, and have combined together for mutual benefit and protection, or for the purpose of doing good. They have formed clubs and associations in this and other countries, and each day they are demanding even-handed justice and equal rights! A gradual change for the better is taking place in public sentiment on this great question, and soon we expect to see the whole drift of it tending in the right direction.

MEN LARGELY RESPONSIBLE.

We hold men largely responsible for the present condition of American women, and if they do not at all times come up to the masculine standard they are not to blame. The time has gone by for pretty flatteries, sentimental poetries and aimless nothings. It is time something were said suited to the individuality, duty, and possibilities of women. The fact that Horace Greeley, through the columns of the *Tribune* recommends unemployed poor women to commence farming in New Jersey or elsewhere, is significant, coming from one who stubbornly resists bestowing upon them political rights, since in so urging he tacitly admits that they are capable of performing and directing that labor which has engrossed the chief attention of mankind since the days of the Garden of Eden. We do not hesitate to say to Mr. Greeley that if a woman is capable of farming she is equally capable of comprehending a political question, and voting upon it.

THE YOUNG WOMAN OF THE PERIOD.

What can we say of the young woman of the period? Contrast her situation with that of the young man of the day. As society is now organized, and under the prevailing public opinion, the condition of these two beings is as different as can be conceived. The young man may form his life plans and carry them out in any direction he chooses. Once having decided, all the currents of his life sweep into that channel. The wife he chooses will have some influence over him, but marriage will not interfere with his professional or business pursuits. A man who marries is like a coach which pauses for a short time to take in a passenger, and then proceeds on its journey. With the young woman the case is sadly and vastly different. If she has been so fortunate as to receive a good domestic education from her mother; if she

has had male relatives to warn her of the dangers of the world and to interest her in questions outside the gossip of the drawing-room, the chances are that she has no definite purpose in life, no trade, no profession, no occupation in case of necessity. Possibly there is a cambric needle between her and eternity; possibly there is a piano between her and poverty; possibly there is a clear head and strong arm between her and the loss of virtue, which will do anything to keep body and soul together until death separates them. Here and there a woman has been taught book-keeping, some can paint and draw, some can lecture and give readings, some can telegraph, and some can write for the press. But the majority of them have been brought up to be married—to regard that as the sum of all good; so they are like the shipwrecked sailor out at sea, floating wherever the tides and winds carry them. Whether they will ever be picked up they do not know. A shark or a whale may swallow them. They may be cast upon the desolate island of necessity, to work at starvation wages all their days. If they are picked up it is impossible to guess what craft will heave in sight and motion to them. Ship, brig, yacht, fishing-smack, man-of-war, dug-out, raft, Chinese junk, they cannot conjecture. She can form no notion of the port she is going to. This is really her condition. Isolation and uncertainty hem her in, proving fatal to all far-reaching plans. Now, the woman may be so fortunate as to marry well, and she may lead a happy life; or she may never marry at all and have to depend upon herself.

SUFFRAGE AND HAPPY HOMES.

The suffrage movement, and the general effort to elevate the sex, does not contemplate breaking up happy homes, or abrogating the marriage relation; it only intends to place women on their feet, to educate them for the worst in life; to prepare them for the future. Anything is better than the present attitude of suspense and quietness which is now prevailing among women. A thousand possible paths run from their feet, but none are threaded, because they feel and hope that, sooner or later, some hand will beckon them to follow.

"And, even when she turned, the curse
Had fallen, and her future lord
Was drowned in passing thro' the ford,
Or killed in falling from his horse."

WHY WOMEN MARRY DISSOLUTE MEN.

In the dreary prospect of leading a single life, which, from the necessity of the case, stares so many young women in the face, there is a perplexity and a trial of a very refined order. Too sensitive, or too true to themselves, to speak one word of this to others, it cannot be doubted that this fact has a very large influence in bringing a great many young women into those inconsiderate and unequal matches which so frequently take place. Vexed and chagrined at the position they find themselves in, filled with apprehensions for the future, they run all risks for the sake of settling the question. How else can we account for the fact that sweet, beautiful and accomplished women marry such uncouth, dissolute men? Advantage is taken of their helpless condition, and they are entrapped against all of their instincts. Not yet has progress struck the hour when woman is free, as man is free, to elect and achieve lofty aims without opposition; but the hands are slowly creeping toward it, and before many years pass away, we shall hear the new Independence bell ring out the glad tidings.

A MODERN CHICAGO CLERGYMAN.

All over the world men are advancing. Why should not women, with queenly steps, walk by their side? Is it not astonishing that the American man of to-day attempts to block up the path of progress for woman? Is it not astounding that so respectable a clergyman as Rev. R. J. Collier, of Chicago, should stand up and say that "the sort of women who are clamoring for ballots and rights are of the type of our men lobbyists and intriguers, and dead-beats generally. And in plain words, what is the scheme in its last analysis, stripped of its flimsy rhetoric, but free-love and libertinism?" When a clergyman can utter such a sentiment as that from the immoral city of Chicago, famed the world over for its divorces, we can only say it is a pity he ever entered a pulpit. As Rev. Henry Morgan, of Boston, says, "This is the age of patent medicines, spirit mediums, quack doctors, fortune-tellers, lucifer matches, stump speakers and Jim Fisk, Jr." He might have added priests who indulge in slander and canting hypocrisy.

THE LAST ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY.

We shall be much obliged to the reverend Collier if he will give us the last analysis of society. Perhaps he will hold up to us the model young man of the day, one that in the salad and hair oil period of his existence smokes a sweet Havana, is scented strongly with apothecary shop, dandles a cane, calls himself a lady's man, and sports a moustache, if Nature will give her consent. He is the hero that can pick up a lady's handkerchief and bow in adoration of her bonnet. He drives out on Harlem Lane or the Coney Island road of a Sunday afternoon.

Possibly he is a young clergyman, and elopes with the deacon's daughter, leaving a wife and babe behind. This man, produced by the "latest analysis of society," teaches woman the notion that she hasn't the capacity to do for herself what man can do for himself, and that inevitable failure awaits every effort she may make. He is one of the crowd who keeps these opinions afloat. He, with the rest of his sex, have from the beginning controlled women, made the laws for them, assigned their spheres, said exactly what they could and could not do, what was proper and improper for them to attempt. All this prevailing sense of woman's incapacity and inferiority, is of man's creation. Now, instead of doing something to correct the wrong, we find him blackguarding and stating that which is false. He denounces and ridicules. In his intercourse with her in society, he indulges in an immense amount of insipidity and frivolity and nonsense. His conversation is of the rapid, gossipy, demoralizing order. No tributes of great fact and royal thought are paid to them. Nothing robust or inspiring is said to challenge the intellect or increase knowledge. Says Rev. Mr. Alger: "As company is held in fashionable society now, the talk is not kept tenaciously to important themes for end of conviction, culture, light or joy, but is a hodge-podge of trifles—an incoherent succession of unconsidered remarks." Never anywhere else does talk become quite so meaningless as when men address women. It is then empty, vain and inconsequential. It is witless folly, facetious banter, quip and whim, and personal pleasantry, without a single underlying sound thought. Men constantly starve women on this thin diet and then complain that she is ignorant and cannot comprehend the great social and political questions of the day.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE.

At this late hour in the progress of the reform it is unnecessary for any one to repeat the long list of names of women

April 1, 1871.

who have accomplished ends which demonstrate that they have a superiority equal to men. In the self-assumed sphere of the male sex he is his rival. They have ruled States, led the world in reformation, accomplished revolution, written the history of science and philosophy, constructed roads, towns, labor industries and managed charities, practiced the highest art, endured fatigue and hard labor, with a success which is the fact of their ability to do these things better at rest. Those who assert that it rolls woman forward at rest. Those who have her do these things, either by her peculiar charms to have her do these things, either by her privilege to enjoy the acquaintance of such women as high Professor Maria Mitchell, of Mrs. Lyman, the late principal of Vassar College; of Miss Professor Dr. Avery, of Mrs. Dr. Louie, of Mrs. E. C. Stanton, of Miss Miley of the Times, and many more who might be named; and we assert that they are as truly feminine and as good as any ladies we ever met in the brilliant drawing-rooms of Fifth Avenue or Murray Hill!

VOTING WILL NOT UNSEX WOMEN.

It is worse than foolish to assert that going to a ballot-box would unsex women. At the polls she would only meet her husband, her sons and her neighbors. The polls of America should be as dignified and free from disturbances as the churches; they are the sanctuaries of the people—the places where the universal conscience, the sovereign will, finds expression, and we read that *our people, our dei*. At the polls the people speak; in the churches the people go to listen to the word of God. No one thinks of crying out about the impropriety of vast crowds of men and women heaving to one of our cathedrals. We have seen more rushing and crowding on the steps of St. Stephen's, in New York, and in the aisles, than we ordinarily witness at the polls. The cry of "unsex" is a sham—a man of straw, set up by those men who dare not let us see how rotten the politics of the United States are to-day! If the polls really are not fit places for women, it is high time they were made so. But we contend that in most places they are perfectly proper places for women to visit—just as proper as a place for women to walk on Broadway, to attend the races of the American Jockey Club, to be seen on the mall of the Central Park, to visit an exposition or a country cattle show. And there is no more sex in a ballot cast than there is color! Whether thrown by men or women, white or black, they are all alike in the end.

A MAN'S IDEAL OF WOMAN.

When men tell us that their ideal of a woman is a good cook, a household angel, a gentle, soothing, innocent, pure creature, whose business it is to stay at home and mind the home, we reply that that is all very well as far as it goes, but it is not deep enough, or high enough, or broad enough. Besides, men differ as to their ideals. It is no uncommon thing to learn of men who beat their household angels to death, to hear of men who betray and cast out these beautiful creatures; to find men who are not at all shocked to see mothers with babes in their arms begging by the way-side for bread; to see men who sneer at or insult a poorly-dressed working girl; and read of men who make slaves of their wives. The angel and good-cook ideal sounds very well in books, and in sermons by clergymen who tyrannize over their wives, and in speeches from those who oppose the elevation of women, but it is as baseless as a dream, as thin as a shadow, and would not protect any woman in distress or against the anger of her husband, for a single moment. How happens it that the angels of the day have to toil early and late or enough bread to keep the wolf from the door? However man may profess to regard woman, he treats her as if she were an inferior animal.

THE BALLOT A STEPPING-STONE.

England has from time to time saved herself by throwing overboard some of her former restrictions on the liberties of the people, and eventually they will all be surrendered, and the Government will be a popular one. In this country politics are liberal, and they will continue to prove more and more so until both sexes stand upon the same social and political plane. We do not regard the dogma of female suffrage as the panacea for all the wrongs of woman, but we demand it as an act of justice, and as a stepping-stone to higher things. Back of it there must be a good foundation, and this will come in good time with the new order of things. Instead of discouraging women in this movement let us do all we can to help it on. Let us imbibe something of the spirit of Hon. Mrs. Harkness of this State, who voted to give Annie Ream \$5,000 additional for her Lincoln statue, "as an example to American women of what women can do when they want to work." He would have such an example well rewarded that it might serve as an encouragement. Suffrage came to the black men before they were fit to receive it, as a political necessity, and as a partial reward for the services they rendered in the war. We have had to educate them since. Suffrage will come for women as soon as they are fit for it, and possibly by the next time a national is held in Washington, the farce of inaugurating a woman as President will be omitted out of respect to the real President, who may be a woman, or at least co-equal with the man at the head of the Executive. In a work called the "Voice of Prayer," by one of our latest poets, we read:

"Free! Think, O man! in this glad hour,
Doth woman share thy freedom's dower?
Remember, God bestows his care
Of sex regarded everywhere;
All are the equal children—all
Of Him who notes the 'sparrows fall.'"

"Must she who is thy counterpart—
The sunny side of every heart—
The part essential to the whole—
Not have a voice in self control?"

"Must woman, in her high behest,
Owe alone what man thinks best,
And bow to his supreme control—
A thoughtless, hopeless, prayerless soul?
Be taxed like man, like him obey,
Moulded by him like potter's clay?"

"Must he who wins a loving heart
By his blisful, fondish art,
Be not disgraced, though undisciplined,
While she is ruined and despised?"

"Must she who rears her noble sons—
Her daughters fair, from little ones,
Have naught to say what laws shall bless
A mother's love and tenderness?"

"Shall legal murder scourge the land,
Where poison dews at every hand
Are poured to a drunkard's grave,
And woman have no power to save?
O man! invoke her loving aid,
That all these evils may be stayed."

PETER COOPER AS INVENTOR AND ENGINEER.

Builds the Croton Iron Works in Baltimore—Builds the First Locomotive in the Country that drove Passengers—Completes the Baltimore and Ohio Railway—Propels Boats by means of Elevated Water at the Rate of Two Miles in Eleven Minutes—Converts Condensed Air into Propelling Power—Invents the Moving Machines now in use—His Wonderful Patent Self-Rocking Cradle—Carries Ore to His Foundry over Impassable Mountain Gorges—Invents Cylindrical Iron-Puddling Machine—Converts Pig Metals to Wrought Iron, etc.

PETER COOPER AS INVENTOR AND ENGINEER—HIS PRACTICABILITY.

We are so apt to class Peter Cooper with the philanthropists, as founder of the first and greatest people's college and library in this country, that we forget wherein lies the real strength of this Sampson, and if we think of him at all in connection with the practical arts of life, it is as a glue-maker because this is the business which he now follows, and by which he has made so enormous an amount of money.

Very few people indeed know of him in any other capacity, and yet he is one of our earliest and most beneficent inventors, and a daring and successful engineer.

BUILDS CROTON IRON WORKS.

He built the Croton Iron Works at Baltimore when he was comparatively a young man, and his first attempt at engineering was the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, which, after some thirteen miles of it had been laid down, was about to be abandoned by the original projectors on account of engineering difficulties which they could not surmount. These consisted in a series of short curves which, as they thought, rendered the use of locomotive power impracticable.

BUILDS FIRST PASSENGER LOCOMOTIVE—FINISHES BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILWAY.

But there is nothing impracticable when the right man of genius appears; and to prove it Mr. Cooper at once built a locomotive which did the "impracticable" business thoroughly, and was the first engine in this country that ever drew passengers of the human sort. Through his inventive talents, energy and perseverance the road never stopped going ahead from the moment he took hold of it, and in 1829 it was an accomplished fact. To great numbers of his friends and to the public generally this will be a new piece of his personal history. But he really had talents for almost every kind of mechanical and scientific work, although he was an uneducated man, and ignorant of the theory of his greatest achievements. He thought out results and then embodied them in material form.

HIS WONDERFUL PROPELLING MACHINE.

For example, he had paid much attention to propelling power, and when the Erie Canal was finished, he proposed to propel boats on its surface at the rate of two miles in eleven minutes, by means of elevated water as the motive power.

He made various successful experiments on the North River before the canal was filled with water, and Governor Clinton was perfectly satisfied with them, his only objection being that the rapidity of the boats' movements on the canal would break down the banks. So the project was abandoned, although this fact does not by any means invalidate Mr. Cooper's claims to consideration for his prompt and inventive powers in this matter. He subsequently made a machine for utilizing condensed air by converting it into a propelling power, and experimented with it successfully on the East River, in the presence of the great Fulton, who expressed his warmest approbation of it, and commended the talents of the inventor.

He was always at it, and couldn't help it. It was in him, "and by G—," as Sheridan said, "it must out!" For, though satisfied so far with these grand results of his genius, he didn't think it beneath him to make even the humblest contribution to the arts of life and the saving of human labor. Thus he invented, now fifty-seven years ago, the model of a mowing machine, embracing the same principles as those which are now in use.

PATENT SELF-ROCKING CRADLE.

Like all good men who know where the real happiness of life is to be found, he, in due time, got married and had children; and being too poor to keep a nurse girl to rock the cradle, he had to engage in that delightful occupation himself, and found it anything but convenient, and a great robber of his time. So, in self-defence, he invented a cradle that would rock itself, to the astonishment of the friends and neighbors. But it was soon found that the flies were troublesome to "baby" when it was asleep, and there was no one at hand to drive them off, and to remedy this difficulty he attached a self-acting fan to his cradle, which proved to be as good at this work as the smartest "darkie" lass of them all. There was a greater trouble than this, however, to be overcome. "Baby" wanted to be sung to before it would go to sleep, and wouldn't "be off" without it was thus humored. Poverty being still the lion in this good man's household, he tried his invention once more, and produced at last a self-playing musical instrument—a small calliopean—which was of wondrous efficacy, and acted like magic upon pretty "baby's" peepers, much to everybody's satisfaction. True, these were small matters, but it was with Mr. Cooper, at that time, "the day of small things," and he made the best of them like a brave man. Moreover, he patented

his cradle and its accompaniments, and sold the same to a Yankee, who made, no doubt, a large fortune out of it.

CONVERTS IRON ORE THREE MILES OVER MOUNTAIN GORGES.

Mr. Cooper's mind was always on the alert, and he was equally successful in doing large as well as small things. Ten years ago he conceived the idea of conveying iron ore to one of his large furnaces over impassable mountain gorges. This he presently accomplished by means of a strong chain, three miles in length, which has since been very widely adopted, both in England and France.

AMATEUR SHOE-MAKER.

The first inkling he gave of his inventive and practical faculty was while he was a boy at home, and it proved a great boon and blessing to his parents and all the household. He chanced to split up an old shoe, and seeing how it was made, set to work directly to make lasts and shoes for all the family.

GRINDS PLATE-GLASS TO A PERFECT PLANE.

He constructed, also, a machine for grinding plate-glass of any size to a perfect plane; and during his apprenticeship, he made a machine for turning out the hubs of carriages, similar to those now in use.

INVENTS IRON PUDDLING MACHINE.

Later on in life, when fortune smiled upon him, he made a cylindrical machine for puddling iron and for reducing ore and pig metals to wrought iron, which some unprincipled fellow has patented in England, and out of which he is making a fortune. It is now twenty-two years since he filed a caveat and specification for the invention.

These are some of Mr. Cooper's inventions and doings in mechanics and engineering. For fifteen years he has been President of the New York and Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company, and the world is vastly indebted to him for the perfection of the Atlantic Cable.

We have put these various items into their present form as a matter of public justice to a public benefactor, and although he will always be popularly known and loved as "Peter Cooper, of the Institute—Peter Cooper, who founded a free college for the people in New York City!" it is but fair that he should be known with all his varied qualifications upon his head—as a man all out and right through to the backbone.

On his eightieth birth-day he gave \$150,000 to the Institute for the purchase of a library. G. S. P.

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

SCRIPTURALISMS.

"And Cain went down into the land of Nod; and took to himself a wife."

It is bad for the claimed authenticity of the Bible that the Rabbinical plagiarists and interpolators have done their work so lamely and bunglingly. Yet, thanks to their lack of skill, they enable us to prove by their own history that Adam was not the first man.

Cain, the first-born of Adam is supposed to be the first fratricide, and for the murder of his brother was driven from Eden, to be a fugitive and a vagabond over the earth. And Cain said:

"My punishment is greater than I can bear; and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me."

Question. If Adam was the first man, and his family at this period simply embraced Eve, his wife, and their two sons—even allowing that his parents could feel so incensed against him as to inflict bodily injury, which is hardly admissible—to whom could Cain allude when amid his greatly avowed fears he exclaims "Every one I meet shall slay me," on his weary way to Nod.

And allowing that he had sisters—which is necessary to make true the Christian notion that it was from these he chose his wife—surely a man strong and vicious enough to slay his brother could have but little fear of the weaker vessels, his sisters, and one of them his wife.

But we dare not intimate that the Great God is capable of sanctioning incest. Perish the libidinous thought.

Whom, then, did the marked fratricide fear? Men not Adamites surely. Were there such? If not, what means the Scripture of Deuteronomy, chapter xxxiii: "Give ear all ye inhabitants of the world, both the sons of Adam and sons of Ish." And also Isaiah xxxi: "Then shall the Assyrian fall, and the sword, not of an Adamite, shall devour him."

These two races of Adam and "Ish" are mentioned not less than seventy times in the book, imparting strong bias—to put it gently—in the idea of the positive existence of pre-Adamite men. Cain then possessed ample grounds for his guilty fears.

Beside, there were giants in those days—"men of old, and men of renown." Nor were these beings whom Cain feared simply savages of the wilderness. These could have but little motive to prompt the avenging of the death of one in no wise related to them. But the language of Cain's fears seem to imply the existence of society outside of Eden, civilized, among whom social law preservative of human order and life prevailed; and it was the penalties enacted against murder which the fugitive feared.

Who, then, was Cain's wife? A daughter, of course, of the people among whom he then lived. She was not an Adamite, therefore, not his sister.

We thus clear the murderer of the additional crime of incest, as also God of its justification.

But Cain also built a city, and called it Enoch, after his son. Now, it is not easy for a man single handed, even in these days of steam power and labor-saving machinery, to build a house; less so would it be for him to rear a city. Who then were Cain's helpers in this work of building? It has been sensibly asked, and why build a city for a single family—his own—allowing his ability to do it alone?

Moderns add house to house for the accumulation of wealth. Was Cain a speculator in real estate among the pre-Adamites, in times long ago? If so, we wonder if the ancients were as proficient in the art of disproportionate unequal taxation as are modern political economists? REICHER.

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VICTORIA C. WOODHULL
WILL DELIVER HER ARGUMENT FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY,
"THE GREAT POLITICAL ISSUE."
AT THE
MUSIC HALL, BOSTON,
MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 27.

SEND IN THE NAMES.

Congress has been memorialized to pass a "Declaratory Act" forever settling the Constitutional equality of all persons who are made citizens by the Constitution. Two reports from the Judiciary Committee have been made upon the memorial.

The majority report admits that women are citizens, but declines to recommend that they be protected in the full exercise of the rights of citizenship. The minority report refutes the fallacious positions of the majority, and recommends that Congress pass the required Act.

There is but one thing wanting to secure such action as every lover of equality must desire, and that is to pour in upon Congress such a mass of names as will convince them that the people really desire and will sustain them in securing equal rights to all citizens of the United States. Every one who reads this should constitute him or herself a committee of one to obtain all the names possible as signers to the petition below, and mail the same to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Washington, D. C., Secretary to The National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee:

To the Congress of the United States:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, being fully convinced that under the original Constitution of the United States, and by the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, women citizens are entitled to vote, do most earnestly request your Honorable Body to pass a Declaratory Bill that shall guarantee to them the full exercise of their right to the elective franchise in all the States and Territories of the Union.

GREAT BRITAIN AHEAD.

A letter recently published by the State Department gave accounts of the building in England of river steamers on the American plan, and of their being sent out to China through the Suez Canal. This is a branch of manufacture hitherto believed to be exclusively in our control, but the Government is determined that not a vestige of shipbuilding, except for our own rivers and lakes, shall belong to us, and as the race of shipwrights and seamen here have pretty much died out, there will be little difficulty in carrying out the determination in future. We can fold our hands and look at our rivals, and truly their progress is superb. The "Egypt," a new steamship for the National Steamship Company, was launched by the Liverpool Shipbuilding Company on the 9th of February. Her dimensions are 435 feet on the load line; 455 feet over all; beam, 44 feet; depth from main deck, 28½ feet; from spar deck, 36 feet. The weight of the stern-post is 23 tons; of the rudder, 10 tons. She has seven water-tight compartments, all tested before launching. The two lower decks are of steel and iron, covered amidships with pitch-pine. The spar deck, 450 feet long, is steel, covered with yellow pine. The engines are 500 nominal and 3,000 actual horse power. She has 6 boilers, 24 furnaces, 10 funnels, 4 masts, the lower masts being iron and the lower and double topsail yards steel.

The Inman line have just completed one new steamship, and have contracted for another of 4,600 tons.

The Cunard line have contracted for two new steamers of 2,000 tons each, to be called the "Trinidad" and "Demerara," and are intended for a new route which they will establish between the Clyde, West Indies and South America.

TO ALL WOMEN WHO WOULD BE VOTERS

AND TO

ALL MEN WHO RESPECT THEIR RIGHTS AS CITIZENS.

THE CONSTITUTION, THE LAW AND WOMAN'S
RIGHTS, AND REDRESS UNDER
THEM.

THE TIME FOR ACTION COME.

OFFICERS OF ELECTIONS, BEWARE!

From time to time we have expounded in these columns nearly if not all the points proposed in the above heads; but, as we are in constant receipt of letters of inquiry from various parts of the country upon some one or other of them, we deem it a duty to again revert in a concise manner to what will be a matter of great moment not only to women but to officers of elections.

To such persons as have not given much consideration to the right of woman to the exercise of the ballot it still seems doubtful if she possess it. There are many who realize that women are Constitutionally citizens of the United States, but do not know how that can be made of avail to them as citizens of the State under whose laws they must become qualified to vote. There is another class still, who believe that women have the right to vote, the State laws to the contrary notwithstanding, who do not know that there is proper redress for being denied the exercise of that right.

We propose to make all these subjects plain upon and under the Constitution and laws as they now stand, and to show that if women are not now voting citizens that they can never be made so, either by amendments to the Constitution or by law.

Previous to the Fourteenth Amendment the Constitution did not define the term citizen, although it had been defined by the courts of the United States. Mr. Justice Daniel, as recorded in Howard Reports, p. 476, speaks thus:

There is not, it is believed, to be found in the theories of writers on governments, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, any exposition of the term citizens 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.

Such authority as this, couched in such strong words, leaves no doubt about the Constitutional meaning of these terms. But persons living in the United States, who had not exercised the "political privileges" referred to above, began asking to be so allowed, and, being refused, the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress and for mally adopted by the States in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, which forever settles the question, Who are citizens? in the following language: "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."

And fearing that there might still be some question about the rights of citizens, the following was added to remove all room for doubt or question:

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.

Thus were all persons—all men and all women—declared to be citizens, and thus were the States prohibited from making any new law and from enforcing any one already made which should abridge the privileges and immunities of the said men and women. If any question whether the right to vote were included in the privileges and immunities mentioned, he has but to ask him or herself what this amendment was formed to accomplish—whether there were any other privileges and immunities of citizens except that of voting denied to citizens which made this amendment necessary? Everybody knows that this amendment was required expressly for the question of voting and for nothing else, and it is the lowest subterfuge to attempt to escape its force by presuming to the contrary. No one pretends that the amendment created any new rights, but it positively prohibits that any right possessed shall be denied or abridged. What kind of consistency is this which tells us that women are citizens and in the same breath that they may be denied the rights of citizens? What kind of consistency is that which pretends that a Government emanating from the people has any but a usurped power to prohibit any fundamental right upon the exercise of which itself depends for existence? If this Government owes its existence to the exercise of the right to vote, or the exercise of the right of self-government, what but an arbitrary power is that which it assumes when it presumes to discriminate among its declared citizens in the matter of voting? Will some of the wise and consistent answer these things? The question resolves itself into simply a matter of habit, of thought and custom. Those who have never thought much of the subject are horrified at the idea of woman suffrage, while those who have conned the matter well cannot for the life of them see when, where or how such ridiculous inconsistencies could find acceptance among candid, honest minds.

After the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment some of the States attempted to resist the construction of it, which included the right to vote, and the Fifteenth was made a part

of the Constitution as a remedy. This 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."

If there was any question previously about the right to vote being a citizen's right—not a male citizen's—this must have unmistakably answered it, for it says that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote." The right to vote, then, is recognized by the Constitution of the United States as a citizen's right. It also declares that all men and women are citizens. It can but follow as a logical deduction, against which no construction of law can operate, that women citizens as well as men citizens are possessed of the right vote.

To make the matter still more clear permit it to be rendered in the form of a syllogism:

1st. Men and women are citizens.

2d. Citizens have the right to vote.

3d. Men and women have the right to vote.

Can anything be more clear? No school-boy or girl of twelve years of age could mistake its significance.

But men do mistake the signification. We must therefore point out the remedy. Under the provisions of the second section of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed a law which was approved May 31, 1870, containing the following provisions:

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That if, by or under the authority of the constitution or laws of any State, or the laws of any Territory, any act is or shall be required to be done as a prerequisite or qualification for voting, and by such constitution or laws persons or officers are or shall be charged with the performance of duties in furnishing to citizens an opportunity to perform such prerequisite, or to become qualified to vote, IT SHALL BE THE DUTY OF EVERY SUCH PERSON OR OFFICER TO GIVE TO ALL CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES THE SAME AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO PERFORM SUCH PREREQUISITE, AND TO BECOME QUALIFIED TO VOTE without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude; and if any such person or officer shall refuse or knowingly omit to give full effect to this section, he shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action on the case, with full costs and such allowance for counsel fees as the court shall deem just, and shall also, for every such offence, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned not less than one month and not more than one year, or both, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That whenever, by or under the authority of the constitution or laws of any State, or the laws of any Territory, any act is or shall be required to [be] done by any citizen as a prerequisite to qualify or entitle him to vote, the offer of any such citizen to perform the act required to be done as aforesaid shall, if it fail to be carried into execution by reason of the wrongful act or omission aforesaid of the person or officer charged with the duty of receiving or permitting such performance or offer to perform or acting thereon, be deemed and held as a performance in law of such act; and the person so offering and failing as aforesaid, and being otherwise qualified, shall be entitled to vote in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had, in fact, performed such act; and any judge, inspector or other officer of election whose duty it is or shall be to receive, count, certify, register, report or give effect to the vote of such citizen upon presentation by him of his affidavit stating such offer and the time and place thereof, and the name of the officer or person whose duty it was to act thereon, and that he was wrongfully prevented by such person or officer from performing such act, shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action on the case, with full costs and such allowance for counsel fees as the court shall deem just, and shall also for every such offence be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned not less than one month and not more than one year, or both, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 16. And be it further enacted, That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory in the United States to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizen, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and exactions of every kind, and none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. No tax or charge shall be imposed or enforced by any State upon any person immigrating thereto from a foreign country which is not equally imposed and enforced upon every person immigrating to such State from any other foreign country; and any law of any State in conflict with this provision is hereby declared null and void.

If any person, after giving the above due consideration, can assert that all citizens are not equal in all rights civil and political, for our part we must confess that such person must be governed by prejudice and not by reason. Hon. Geo. W. Woodward, Democratic representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, who is recognized as the best legal ability on the Democratic side of the House, says: "There can be no mistake about the right of women to vote under this bill, and though I do not believe in Woman Suffrage, still I must admit it to be a legal right." The right to vote being possessed, it now becomes the solemn duty of every woman who desires to vote to take all the steps to qualify under the above law of Congress, and if prevented either from qualifying or voting after qualifying, or attempting so to do, to prosecute all those who are concerned in such prevention. For once let the pride and honor of women rouse them to action, and so thoroughly as not to be prevented from enforcing the law which it seems Congress must have passed specially to meet their case. Let every officer of election who refuses to permit women to register or vote be held responsible to the provisions of this law.

But there is another issue which only proves how igne-

not are they who bring it forward at this late day. They say that though Congress has recognized women as citizens and passed laws to enforce their rights, still the State laws contain the word "male" to an exclusion. The fallaciousness of the argument is as palpable as that which denies that women are citizens.

Let us analyze the objection which presupposes that there is "something" in the Constitutions or laws of the States which is contrary to the language, spirit, intent and purpose of these amendments, and that this inconsistent something must be removed by the States. I contend that by the adoption of these amendments, the States did legislate upon the subject, and remove all inconsistencies and all obstructions to the right to vote, leaving them as parts and parcels of the "Supreme Law," before which all existing legislation contrary to and inconsistent therewith did fall, and was rendered null and void.

The Constitution can be amended as follows: "Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States," Article V. Again it says: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made under authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land," Article VI.

These amendments were thus proposed by two-thirds of both Houses—were thus ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, and were thus formally legislated upon by all the several State Legislatures and adopted by them in the due and solemn manner in which they pass all laws. From the moment the official declaration was made that they were so adopted by State legislation, they became a part of the "supreme law of the land," which they never could have become without such legislation.

Are not these amendments in question, as a part of the supreme law, the very creatures of State Legislation, and as such do they not supersede all legislative acts in all the States not in harmony therewith? Nor can the States recede from these acts without formal legislation in which three-fourths of all the States must concur. And what do they establish? The status of every native-born or naturalized person in the country as a citizen of the United States and of the State, and the right to vote as vested in every such person.

What did Congress ask the States to do? To ratify the amendments. They did ratify them, and thereby enfranchised women as citizens. Men who "lug in" this objection do not yet seem to comprehend what the States were asked to do, nor that they did what was requested of them.

And to go further: The State of New York has declared—Article I. of the Constitution of New York—and every other State holds that: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof—unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers." As the State cannot pass any law which deprives any citizen of his or her citizenship and the declared right to vote, it follows that the Legislatures have acted directly upon this question by the adoption of these amendments, and forever precluded themselves from receding, except by a similar proceeding, viz.: by another amendment to the Constitution which would annul and repeal the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The amendments are therefore not only the law of the United States, but the Constitutional law of New York and every other State in the Union.

Because the State constitutions still retain the word male, it must not be forgotten that it was killed dead by the action of the States themselves in adopting the Fourteenth Amendment, which is the "supreme law of the land," "the Constitution or law of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." This word, then, though it has not been expunged from the text of the constitutions of the several States, is null and void, and of no more effect than if it had been expunged by legislative action or revision. The provisions of the State constitutions upon the question, reduced to the form of a syllogism, stand thus:

1st. No member of the State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of the rights and privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.

2d. Women were enfranchised as citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

3d. Women shall not be disfranchised or deprived by the State of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen of such State.

Thus it seems to us—and we have studied the whole matter with the keenest desire to detect any loop-hole or flaw—that the right to vote is secured to women past all chance for controversy. We cannot see that language, selected to apply to general conditions could be more definite. If any of our readers are not entirely satisfied that the real meaning of the Constitution is what we point out, we should be glad to have them present their point. We will endeavor to elucidate it.

[We are reluctantly compelled to omit "Frank Clay; or, Human Nature in a Nutshell," this week, in consequence of an unusual press of matter.—Ed.]

UNDER WHICH KING?

DISINTEGRATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

POSSIBILITIES OF THE FUTURE, IF IN DEMOCRATIC RULE.

FAILURE OF THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL FIELD.

The disintegration of the Republican party commenced really by its own subservience to the moneyed influence which has grown up in this country so rapidly during the past ten years, but ostensibly by the ruinous course pursued by General Grant against Sumner, and accelerated by the unseemly two-hours' row in the House of Representatives, brought about by Butler, and which he truly characterized as scandalous to the House, the Republicans, and the country has reached the point where a once great party, with its brow covered with laurels nobly earned in its early battles for rights and principles, but now "rotten to the core with servility to wealth and shoddy capital at Washington," leans tottering to its fall.

The Republican leaders, committing the most outrageous acts, working independently of the people, never listening to the appeals for relief of an over-taxed constituency, but bowing abjectly to the landed monopolies and national bankers they themselves have created and blinded with jealousy of each other, present a strange and pitiful spectacle to the nation. The Senator from South Carolina has made his voice heard in the Senate Chamber, in utterances which bring to vivid remembrance the strange rant in 1860 of that true specimen of a Southern demagogue, Wigfall, of Texas. Does the gentleman from the Palmetto State expect the North not only to assume its own debts, but those of the South too, during the rebellion? Hear him: "How could they (the Senate), expect to build up a loyal (Republican?) sentiment in the South, if they repudiated every loyal man who lived in the South during the war?" Which beautiful and logical argument led at once to the circumlocution tub, thrown out to gratify these "truly loil" voters, of the appointment of a committee to examine all Southern claims! Listen now to the colloquy between General Butler and Mr. Blaine, the Speaker of the House, who had taken the floor to punish Butler for his famous circular:

GENERAL BUTLER.—"If the Speaker had been half as anxious for the passage of the bill to protect the people of South, as he was for some land grant measures passed from the Speaker's table at the last session." * *

MR. BLAINE.—"Will the gentleman specify what?"

GENERAL BUTLER.—"Oh, pretty much all of them."

The country with her commerce prostrate, her coal mines, her furnaces idle, her working population moody and discontented, has sent these legislators to Washington, paid them, and given them power to be used for the benefit of the country. This is the exhibition returned therefor by one great party, while the other, under a strict discipline, is quietly watching the waning fortunes of its rival, until the propitious moment arrives to stifle them forever. And thus between the upper and lower millstone are ground the hopes and the rights of those who have elected these men!

On the Republican side we see the scandal of the Sumner affair. A President of the United States who stoops from his high office to visit personal resentment on a Senator, through his official influence with that Senator's associates, and more, the occasion for it, all men say, is a "job," which, basking in the sunshine of Presidential favor, has yet been boldly opposed by that Senator! We see the same President accepting dinner invitations in Washington, from Henry D. Cooke, and we look sadly back to the impossibility of such things in the dignified time of George Washington, or even in the days of Buchanan.

Four Republican Governors are now on trial for impeachment, viz.: Holden, of North Carolina; Butler, of Nebraska; Reed, of Florida, and Clayton, of Arkansas (settled by being made Senator).

We see a moneyed oligarchy, built up by this Republican party, overshadowing every interest in the land, and now just about to stretch its hands over the ocean. For the organ of the Pennsylvania railroad "ring," seeing that sooner or later, if not by a Republican, then by a Democratic vote, American commerce will be again placed on the seas, now advocates the establishment of steamship lines in joint ownership with the railroads, and the pliable legislature of Pennsylvania have authorized the Savings Banks of that State to subscribe the funds of their depositors to the stock of a steamship company projected by the Pennsylvania railroad! The "moneyed influence," in fact, is irresistible in every camp, great or small, of the

[CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.]

THE PEOPLES AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

No. I.

We are entering upon a new phase of the history of the world, a new condition of things has arisen, causes are at work that are destined to create an upheaval in the relation of governments and their peoples, that will revolutionize the present standing of the people throughout all Christianity. The past year has witnessed the destruction of a statue quo that has lasted for hundreds of years. The voice of liberty, enfranchisement and equality is being lifted and rings in the very heavens, and though the despotism of a king may make him a kaiser; though the tyrant's power may for the time being grasp his own people in a military despotism, yet are the people steadily marching to a mastery that the tyrant's oppression will only make the more sweeping, the more complete.

If we glance back to the year 1860, when the key-note to the subsequent upheavals of peoples took place, and note the march of political events in Christendom, we shall realize the magnitude of the crisis we have passed through and the portentousness of the immediate future. A struggle for the power to oppress ever ends in the discomfiture of the oppressor.

When the cry of freedom for the slave was raised on this Continent, the oppressed of all nations were awakened from the lethargy of a hundred years. The very sympathy granted by the privileged classes of the feudal monarchies of Europe to the enemies of freedom in those States only increased the interest of their downtrodden populations in the struggle. Hundreds of thousands of the toiling masses of the Eastern Hemisphere who knew the United States only in name, became interested in her welfare; looking upon her liberties as their liberties, her cause as their cause. The principles of her government were canvassed and agitated, diffusing knowledge and inspiring freedom into the hearts of peasants and artisans of less favored countries. The voices of men known throughout the world for their love of liberty and the emancipation of the people were raised in defence of the principles of our Government, and the comparatively dormant masses gathered up the cry of freedom. Abuses of power were assailed upon principle; the workings of our institutions being advanced in support of the justice and practicability of their demands.

A nation which had risen in the short space of eighty years from a population of three millions to one of thirty-six millions, from comparative poverty to almost unparalleled wealth, which waged a conflict the magnitude of which is unknown in the annals of modern history, in defence of the principles of human justice, commanded the respect as it riveted the attention of the world; and when the champions of freedom in other climes raised their voices in the councils of their nations to demand of their Governments the freedom enjoyed by our people, they pointed in pride to the progress of this nation under the practical workings of the theories they maintained as the just and proper ones to guide their own.

If we glance across the expanse of the dividing waters, and take a retrospect of the progress of freedom for the last six years, since the triumph of the principles of equality on this Continent, we shall realize the full extent of the stupendous advance that the echoes of our triumph have inspired.

In England, the mother of nations, the progress of liberty was checked, religious freedom, the right of the people to have a voice in the making of the laws they were to obey, and in the expenditure of the money they were called upon to contribute to the purse of the nation, though claimed, were claimed in a feeble voice, in fact, for the twenty years previous to our conflict, they had retrograded. A minister of the Crown, when asked if it was his intention to bring forward a bill to enfranchise the people, had answered that he was "not such a fool," and loud peals of laughter had greeted this shameful reply, but so patient, so docile were the laboring classes under their political servitude, that the personal popularity of Lord Palmerston, who made that reply, stifled the weak voice of liberty, and he remained unrebuked. In vain the voices of Cobden, Bright and Mill were raised, their tones fell upon dull ears. In vain were the promises of Palmerston (that wolf in sheep's clothing) called to his attention, he could afford to slight all, for the people slumbered.

The conflict between power and justice was inert, and Earl Russell said at Blairgowrie that, so far as domestic politics were concerned, the Conservatives and Liberals were in accord, standing in the position of a traveler who had climbed the mountain, and could "rest and be thankful," turning to look back upon what had been accomplished. While John Bright had said in a public speech that Earl Derby, at a private dinner party, had stated that the Liberal party were doing the work of the Conservatives more thoroughly than they themselves could do it; that the taxes were greater; the number of office-holders and sinecures greater, and the principles of liberty claimed by the people more in abeyance than they could ever hope them to be under a Conservative Ministry.

Such was the feeling of Conservative security when the triumph of liberty on this Continent sounded the tocsin that stirred the lovers of liberty and the inert populations of transatlantic monarchies to renewed action.

Since then we have seen multitudes of people assembled in the public squares of England's capital and the conflict of might against right illustrated by the presence of royal

troops, while thousands of clamorous people demanded their rights in the public parks, ending, as all such conflicts ever must end, in the triumph of national justice. Political exclusion has been swept away; religious liberty has been relaxed, and will soon be finally and totally accomplished; while the voice of the people demands that the officership of their army no longer remains a gilded parade ground for the poppet scions of wealthy families. The barriers of exclusion and seclusion are broken down, and no man knows when and where the tide will be stemmed. The laws of entail and primogeniture, even the inherited right to sit in the House of Lords, quivers in the balance. In vain the prejudices disseminated by the Government have been appealed to. The once dreaded cry of Americanizing English institutions is now the synonym of an appeal to liberty rather than, as formerly, an appeal to opposing prejudice.

The toiling masses have ceased to be styled "dirty mechanics," and it is no longer no crime to defraud their trade associations of their funds. The philippics of the press against our country fall stillborn upon the public ear before the spectacle presented by a nation that, having governed itself by force of reason, intelligence and forbearance, has shown itself patient under national trials and magnanimous in the hour of its triumph.

The year of 1860 found Germany at peace, but the complete unification of these States gave a new impetus to the Germanic demand for one united Germany. This had been the dream of her *savans* and populace for generations, and though there was no apparent means of accomplishing it, yet still the desire was strengthened. The economy with which our Government, covering such a vast area of territory, stretching its hands from ocean to ocean, had been carried on in times of peace, had made the German people tenacious of their substance and unwilling to lavish upon their Government the exorbitant budgets it demanded; and more than once the unprincipled Bismarck threatened to resign in consequence of what he was pleased to term the people's parsimony. To escape the dilemma he seized upon the old European idea of going to war to distract the people's attention from domestic affairs. He carried out successfully his project. Then he discovered what an immense power the enthralment of the entire nation under a military system that makes the people merely aggressive appanages of the Government had placed in his hands, and the result was the late war with France. Has the welfare of peoples been the result of this conflict? We say emphatically, No; the immediate results are such only as tyrants can applaud.

There has been some three hundred thousand human beings, principally of the laboring class, slaughtered. Is this any gain to them or to humanity at large?

There has been whole provinces of one nation transferred to the dominion of another contrary to the wishes and desires of the population. Is this in accordance with the welfare of humanity or the true principles of government? Is it in accordance with the principles of our Government, or human rights?

There has been a debt—hundreds of millions—entailed, each, upon two peoples. Is this result to be applauded and upheld?

There has been a fierce hatred germinated between two vast portions of the human family that will yet lead to future wars and destruction of human life. Is this desirable?

There has been forced upon all European nations the necessity to take their male citizens from the pursuits of peace and train them to the debasing arts of war; making each nation in itself a vast garrison. Is not this most deplorable?

There has been enforced upon all transatlantic nations the necessity to pay vastly augmented taxes to their Governments to support military instruments wherewith to destroy their fellow-man at the caprice or dictation of avaricious or aggressive sovereigns. The cost of living, both in Germany and France, has been increased; private and public property has been remorselessly destroyed; land lying untilled; labor thrown out of employment; and all this for what? To satiate the ambition of despots who will parade in tinsel attire objects; of detestation to all humanitarian and thinking minds, and of wonder to gaping and misled multitudes.

THE WOMEN'S JOURNAL.

It would be amusing, if it were compatible with dignity, to notice the "shifts" resorted to by a class of journals of which this one is the type, to make the movement appear of no value, as absolutely hurtful, which has infused an energy into the cause of woman it never before possessed.

In an article which "scores" Almira Lincoln Phelps in vigorous style appears the following language: First, she (Phelps) complains that the Women Suffrage advocates are at this very time installed in the committee-room of Education and Labor at our National Capitol, where they hold meetings and send out their publications and affect to represent the women of the country. "And the poor woman (Phelps) proceeds to prove that they really do represent the live women of the country at the present time." "If she had known all that she might have learned by a visit to this same committee-room she would have made her statement still more appalling to the women of the Mrs. Sherman and Mrs. Phelps type. For she would have seen that names of women favoring Woman Suffrage are pouring into that

committee-room in such numbers as to furnish steady employment to a secretary who records them and acknowledges their receipt."

"And in consideration of her recognizing us as a formidable power we will not be hard on her for the ignorance displayed in her appeal, although it is evidently willful ignorance."

One thing this appeal and others like it should teach us, "And that is to consecrate ourselves still more entirely to our work." "Never were we manufacturing public sentiment faster than now: this is admitted by our opponents as well as our friends." Then following up the article containing the above quotations, this journal goes on to deprecate Mrs. Hooker's connection with the very movement which they admit, and which it is admitted by all the prominent women now in the field, is causing the "manufacture of public sentiment" with which "we" is so adroitly connected. The *Journal* esteems Mrs. Hooker, "but we cannot withhold our regret that she has cumbered and weakened her 'Declaration' by incorporating into it an indorsement of the opinion that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guarantee to women the elective franchise." We most heartily sympathize with such a sacrifice of principle as admits to its columns such an indorsement, especially when we remember the subject is also indorsed by a large number of the greatest legal minds in Congress—even by Geo. W. Woodward, one of the most prominent Democrats in the House—who, though not in favor of the movement, is forced to admit that it is constitutional and legal—and by three of the greatest Congressmen of the *Journal's* own State.

But as the *Journal* suggests that Mrs. Phelps is evidently willfully ignorant, may it not be possible that it may be something too much tinged with the same qualifications it so readily detects in others, to be consistent. For what consistency can their editors claim when they attempt to arrogate to themselves the credit of the impetus given to the woman movement by the Woodhull Memorial and the able report of the minority of the Judiciary Committee which it called forth, and which, with the Memorial, has been spread all over the country. Now, the *Women's Journal*, if it know anything, knows that the "manufacture of public sentiment," which it speaks of in so laudatory a manner, is solely attributable to what occurred in Washington during the last Session of Congress, and it is simply contemptible to make the use of the results which they do, while they at the same time use every possible effort to ignore the cause, even resorting to the impudence to denominate a "Declaration" as being "cumbered" and "weakened" by it. Strange argument this for the *Journal* to resort to, and stranger still that they seem to be particularly desirous that they should not be suspected of comprehending the situation.

What does the Fourteenth Amendment, which the *Journal* is in such agonizing doubt about, settle? The status of every person born or naturalized in the United States. The *Journal* considers this as insignificant. Not so do we. Is it an unimportant matter that the Constitution should be so amended as for the first time to settle the question which, of all others, has caused the country the most disaster? The *Journal* may label it unimportant, and endeavor to convince its readers, but the "live women" of the country, whom the *Journal* admits these ladies in Washington represent, will not be able to see it in its light.

Without presuming to lecture anybody we may be allowed to say, as so much has been said about our "unfortunate" advocacy, that the *Journal* and other papers of its class should have a little more regard for common honesty and not forget in their personal malice to be consistent, for there are some people who even read the *Journal* that are not so stupid as to be blind to it. For the information of the *Journal* we will state that we have received nearly a thousand papers from all parts of the country, which do not agree with it about the present condition, and which are not in doubt whether women are citizens or whether the States have the right to adjudge the privileges and immunities of citizens of this United States.

We should like the *Journal* to define its position. What does it want and how does it propose to set about getting it? Or is it advocating the possession of a right which it does not deem women yet capable of properly exercising. Perhaps these questions may be deemed invidious, because it informed us not long since that the determining of this case should be with pure hands. Verily a Daniel would come to judgment! Let it be from this time forth understood throughout the length and breadth of this land, that the editors of the *Journal* are those perfect ones whom the Lord hath appointed and sent to Boston to judge the earth; and let no rash woman lift her voice for any right she may think herself possessed of until she shall have journeyed to Boston, been tried, found pure, and thus labelled by these holy and wise (?) judges, who are sorely troubled about what they surmise women may have been than about what they are.

But, seriously, we do not wonder that so many men laugh at everything women attempt to perform; for they fly from the point too frequently, and remain from it too long to rapidly accomplish anything. It seems to us that the important question for women, and that which should cause them, in the language of the *Journal*, "to consecrate ourselves more entirely to our work," is to secure to women the exercise of suffrage.

If, as we should judge, the *Journal* would have its readers believe that women are not yet competent to vote, let it say

so, and tell us what it is to which they are going to consecrate themselves more sacredly. If, however, after determining that suffrage is what they are aiming at random at, let the *Journal* and every other paper bend every effort to the speedy acquirement of their desires; and let the secondary questions of purity and antecedents rest until a more fitting time, which, when it comes, we will stand ready to be judged pure or impure by those who can stand before their God and solemnly swear that they are without spot or blemish. Until such appear we shall submit to the judgments of none but our God.

We are glad to learn that the inconsistencies which are constantly creeping into the columns of the *Journal* are not attributable to the talented lady editor-in-chief, but to an underling who endeavors to damage the cause by his professed advocacy, whose presumptions and desires may be pretty well determined by considering a speech he once made regarding one of our sex, whose right to appear upon the platform of a woman's suffrage meeting he thus questioned: "She ought not to go upon the platform, for she is a woman of damaged character."

We have a long-standing admiration for some connected with the *Journal* and heartily wish it success; but it will not attain it by following the lead of the *Independent* and other papers of like character.

BOUFFE JOURNALISM.

SUMNER INDORSED BY HIS FORMER ANTAGONISTS.

The English papers, prominently the *London Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, have been much exercised of late as to who are the persons entitled to receive compensation for losses at the hands of the Alabama and other English pirates.

Their arguments, stripped of the usual English twaddle, amount to this:

- 1st. The vessels destroyed may not have been entirely owned by Americans.
- 2d. The cargoes destroyed were in many cases partly owned by other than American citizens.
- 3d. That the losers were insured, and therefore lost nothing.
- 4th. That the insurance companies charged a sufficiently high rate of premium to cover all losses, and therefore lost nothing.
- 5th. That if some of the losers did not insure they saved the insurance money and thus became their own insurers.

The *Times* was the first to advance this theory, whereon we exposed the fallacy that the ships and cargoes could be destroyed without loss to any one. The *Pall Mall Gazette* seeing the stupidity of such theory, now says: "Inasmuch, however, as it is impossible that valuable ships should be destroyed with their cargoes and yet nobody should suffer loss, what is the class that was really the victim of the Confederate depredations?"

Doubtless it was the American producer in the first place, and, secondarily, everybody throughout the world who wished to purchase from him.

ANSWER OF WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN TO THE ABOVE.

The practice of international diplomacy does not permit of a government negotiation upon matters of international law with the private citizens of other nations. It is, therefore, a matter not within the sphere of the consideration of the English Government as to whom our Government will adjudge to be entitled to a portion of the damages the English Government are to pay, when our Government has made its awards if any English citizens have suffered injustice at our hands, let their statesmen present their case in the usual form.

That every vessel and cargo destroyed was a loss of substance to our people which must be paid for with interest.

When Mr. Sumner brought forward his claim for incidental damages, the English papers raised a hue and cry as to the monstrosity of such a theory, but as the time approaches for the settlement to be agreed upon, they are exceedingly anxious to handle some of the money by bringing in every one who has suffered any loss as claimants in the distribution, presuming many of them to be Englishmen.

Now, mark the position they have placed themselves in: the admission that the American producer was the primary loser is a full and entire vindication of Mr. Sumner's theory that there is a national loss to be paid for, as well as the loss of the ships and cargoes.

This loss the *Pall Mall Gazette* admits in the injury done to the American producer, and if, as the that paper asserts, everybody who wished to purchase of us also lost by England's blinkings at piracy, we have no objection to the English Government paying them also.

Mr. Sumner must be exceedingly gratified to find his very opponents on this question now indorsing his position, and themselves advancing the national loss for which he claimed indemnity as the primary one, the secondary claims, that is loss of ships and cargoes with interest, amount to about \$18,000,000. The national or primary loss cannot amount to less than \$100,000,000.

We sympathize with the English press in their endeavor to insure a place for their countrymen in the scramble for the spoils, and sincerely hope they may get it.

Every reader's attention is called to article, head of eighth page and requested to take action accordingly. Let 500,000 names be enrolled ere this year closes, and thus compel Congress to act.

THE CONSISTENT (5) "TRIBUNE."

The following editorial appeared in the New York Tribune last Tuesday:

What we are seeking to have defended is the right of the whole people of the United States to choose their own President and Vice President. This right may be subverted by frauds perpetrated in a single State (as in New York in 1868, or by organized terrorism in others (as in Georgia and Louisiana in that year). The rights of all may thus be destroyed in a narrow corner. We propose not to be swindled nor butchered out of the next President. The Post is helping those who mean to elect a Democrat by violence and fraud.

The reader will please to take notice that the Tribune is seeking to have the right of the WHOLE PEOPLE of the United States to choose their own President defended.

Good for the Tribune. That's just what we are seeking. But what does its editor mean by getting on the other side of the fence, in another editorial separated from the first only by a rule, or does that warrant opposite positions? But what is this position taken up across the rule:

The Women Suffragists in Chicago, at their Convention the other day, declared that women already had the right to vote without any Constitutional Amendment. They intend to register (if they can get registered) to offer their votes at the next Presidential election, and, if their ballots are refused, to take their case into the law courts. If they will but listen to us, we beg permission civilly to tell them what they should have known before they came to such a resolution—that they could not take their case into a worse place. They may rest assured that all the judges will be against them; that the courts, from the Supreme at Washington to the Police at Chicago, will bow them out with all the civility which a non-suit will permit.

The case, then, is predetermined, is it, Mr. Editor? But how do you know that? Will you please give us the information? Or have the confederates against women determined to do the same thing which is charged upon the Democratic party. Mr. Editor, we desire information. Will you please define which position is the position of the Tribune? Also, who the "we" are who do not propose to be swindled out of "our" President? Good Tribune, please define. Great Tribune, relieve our anxiety. You would be a powerful ally in the cause of "all the people," if the former is really that which you intend to maintain. And then courts must be "reconstructed" if they have "sold out" to "our" enemies, so that none of us can get before them for a hearing. Good sirs, we wait with the patience of Job—yes, with the patience of two Jobs if it need be—only let us have the consummation for our waiting.

Seriously, however, this superciliousness of these codfish equality men is a disgrace to humanity. They bellow about equality one minute, and the next laugh to scorn others who demand it, but who have it not.

BOUFFE JOURNALISM.

The Independent contains an article headed "Philanthropy as an Investment," commencing thus: "It is not everybody who can do an alms-deed and make money by it."

We would modestly suggest to our contemporary that the fact of making money out of an alms-deed is to us somewhat anomalous; and truth to say, we have always looked upon such charity as beginning and ending at home, and certainly in the matter of the Allen Building in London, which is the subject of the above-named article, this is the case.

The Allen Building is a five-story brick house, a hundred feet long by forty deep, with rooms of a clear height of eight and a half feet, and let out to tenants at the following rates: four rooms, 9s. a week; for two rooms, 5s. 6d.; for one room, 4s. The investment gives a return to the proprietor of "twelve per cent."

The wages of laborers in London average certainly not more than fifteen shillings a week. The occupancy of four rooms in the Allen Building would, therefore, leave him six shillings (\$1.50) to subsist on. The occupancy of two rooms would leave him nine shillings and sixpence to subsist on. Just think of it, \$2.28 to support a family!

Now, glance at the consideration of this model philanthropist for the humblest class—that is, those families whose poverty compels them to crowd into one room—he only charges them four shillings a room, as compared with two shillings and threepence a room to those more favored ones who can afford to hire four rooms; that is to say, he only charges the poorest class forty per cent. more rent than he does other classes. And this is the kind of philanthropy the Independent wants to see introduced into New York and Boston! Heaven save us from such a catastrophe! Let us have either a little more beneficence in our pseudo philanthropists or a little more perception and common sense in our journalists.

An analysis of this Allen Building speculation, which is all "investment" and no "philanthropy," will probably teach the editor of the Independent to not sow his eulogy broadcast, or fill his columns with matter upon subjects of which he is profoundly ignorant.

Government bonds in England pay 3½ per cent. interest, railroad and mining shares 5 per cent. interest, mortgages pay 5 per cent. interest. The rent of farms is about 5 per cent. interest on their value.

Now, just think of it, the philanthropic proprietor of the Allen Building, in the fulness of his heart, only exacts from the poor of London 12 per cent. interest.

Now, as to the rent: a five-roomed house anywhere, eight miles from London (except in fashionable places) can be hired for 7s., in most towns such a house can be hired for 5s.; in rural districts, including a large garden, for 4s. In London, however, four rooms cost from 10s. to 12s. per week, according to location, but they are not easily to be obtained. The carrying of the various railways to Cannon street, Charing Cross and Faringdon street, threw out of their homes thousands of families, and gave an impetus to the workmen's trains of the Southeastern and Brighton Railway Companies. These trains run from the rural districts to London at hours and at rates that enable artisans to live out of London while working in it; and we believe that statistics will show that by such means thousands of London artisans are now living in four and five-roomed cottages at a rent of 5s. a week, add to this 1s. a week for railway fares to and fro, and compare it with the advantages offered by the Allen Building so ably discovered by the Independent.

CONSISTENT JOURNALISM.

There is a class of journals which, until recently, pretended to favor the Woman Suffrage movement, but believed that it required a Sixteenth Amendment; that they ought to have the right to vote, but had no legal right so to do. Since it has been proved that women have the legal right to vote, they now complacently tell us that, though women may have such a legal right, still it is not safe or expedient for them to be allowed to exercise it.

Verily, consistency is a jewel!

A COMBINED EFFORT AND VICTORY IS YOURS.

There are five millions of women in the United States who desire suffrage. Let every one of them sign the necessary petition, to be found on page 8, and mail to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Secretary National Woman's Suffrage Association, Washington, D. C.

STRICTURES ON RUSKIN'S RECENT ART LECTURES.

BY GEORGE B. PHILLIPS.

No. II.

But, after all, these qualities may be factitious and of a false splendor, while the imperfections may be invisible to all but the skilled and practiced eye, and it may lack goodness as the motive power of its production and the atmosphere of its life, and in that case Mr. Ruskin, for one, insists upon its falsehood and viciousness as a moral teacher, and puts it under the ban of his condemnation. Art must be the interpreter of man as well as of nature—nay, it is always that; and in order that we may win the acceptance of heaven and the promise of its own High Priest, man himself must once more be the image of his maker, and especially must this be the case with the artist who makes the art. If he be good so will his work be. It will reflect his goodness; for the way to radiate forth goodness in this world is very infallible. Remember what the wise old Persian said: "How can a man be hid? How can a man be hid?" He can neither hide nor be hidden, for he is, so to speak, at the mercy of his spirit. What that is, how it associates with kindred spirits, divine or infernal, and whatever it may be in its most interior nature, whether righteous or sinful, will assuredly make itself manifest in the deportment, manners, actions and general dealing with mankind. We talk about materialism and push its claims as the Supreme God of the universe, with its infinite quiver of forces to do the behests of its own divine will; but outside of Bedlam or the New York Insane Asylum, there never was such mad talk uttered by creatures bearing the form and fashion of humanity. Dost thou not see, my poor stone-eyed brother, that matter in itself is dead, and could not hold together its bulks and atoms for a single minute unless it were permeated and perpetually sustained by immaterial divine emanations, whose form it assumes, whose physical portrait it is? Matter is the medium of life, the substance of life's attributes; but of itself, and in itself, it is nothing at all. The very scientists who most loudly proclaim that all life and intelligence is infolded in dumb rocks and stones, in tossing waters and in the all-containing air, are the first, also, to tell us that there is no such thing as matter—as a substance, solid and indestructible; but that even its suns and stars and the vast domain of its terrene and celestial pageantry are but the crystallizations of more ethereal forms of physical existences, and that these await until the due time strikes on the clock of the universe, to dissolve them into water, air, gas and a final intangible ethereality which they call forces, or a force. It is true that at present they do not inform us as to what this force is, in its nature and essence; but they affirm that it is a force, and that in it lies the secret of creative power, as Huxley's protoplasm lies in the ichor of the inner membrane of the stinging nettle.

Doubtless it is a great thing thus to resolve the "great globe itself" into something as fine in its way as a mathematical point; but to our mind, instead of proving thereby that the energizings of an impalpable, invisible force are the creative activities which a long while ago made a mouse and a mountain, a little island and a vast continent, a beautiful and majestic planet like the earth and all the infinity of the worlds, that gave hints of a mighty stellar architecture in the sublime harmonies of their motion as they disport themselves in the wilds of immensity; activities which made a bug and a man, by one and the same expenditure of volition and power—instead, we say, of these being creative activities, and the makers of all the worlds, they seem to us to be the ultimate masks which nature wears, and that these thrown off the spiritual world would stand revealed. There must be a *nexus* somewhere between the visible and the invisible, between matter and spirit, and why may not this be it? The great Swedenborg, the great German philosopher Hegel, and the great philosophical critic J. H. Stirling, have each and all demonstrated that this *nexus* does exist, and that

matter proceeds from spirit. And even if ignorant, or, perhaps, we might say uneducated persons, who know nothing of Swedenborg as a philosopher, nor of his most profound and subtle discourses, nor his since verified astronomical prophecies; who are ignorant of his mighty scholarly performances in science, in chemistry, magnetism, mechanics, astronomy, anatomy, physiology and natural philosophy—even, we say, if any such uninformed persons were to throw grave doubts upon the respectability of this grand old seer as a philosophical thinker, discoverer and practical worker, because of the cramp of his theological revelations, still no one, however great a philosopher and believer in molecular forces he may be, will hardly venture to dispute the immense capability of Hegel as a metaphysical thinker and logical reasoner. And we claim for both these gigantic intellects that they have, without the possibility of collusion, proved that matter proceeds from spirit; and, moreover, they have also revealed the process by which this well-nigh inconceivable result was attained, and shown how alone it could have been attained.

To us poor pensioners upon God's bounty and love, who have nothing but what he gave to us, and are not ashamed to acknowledge the immense and ever increasing debt there is nothing so brave and beautiful in modern books as the religious attitude which Mr. Ruskin assumes all through these lectures. We do not mean what is understood in ordinary circles by the words, "religious attitude;" for, indeed, with respect to this meaning there is nothing which he so little affects, and it is easy to see that he is not exactly an orthodox man in any sense. He has been trained in too large and liberal a school for that, and has been instructed by too wise, generous and catholic a teacher. He knows and loves the golden wheat but not the chaff. The landscape is certainly dearer to his eyes when there is a church in it. Nor can he sufficiently admire the great shady trees of elm and yew which stand out in strong black relief of portraiture against the blue sky with its fleecy clouds sailing in the sunlight as in seas of hyaline. Very precious, also, to him, as an artist, is the holy Sabbath calm in which the ancient and venerable building and the peaceful graves of the forefathers of the neighboring hamlet so sweetly repose. It is a calm that has no counterpart in nature, or in any other of the antique memorial places that are so dear to the human heart. A church is one of the wayside inns of God which he has planted for all the weary wayfarers on their pilgrimage from earth to heaven. The very air is redolent with thanksgiving and praise, and drops with the odors of a sweet sanctity and a heavenly love. This man of art stands reverently, with uncovered head, before the lowly doorway with its clusters of round, massive arches, springing from the outermost arch of all, and adorned with the Norman chevron.

He thinks of the unknown generations who have passed, Sabbath after Sabbath, up those well-worn steps and through those sacred portals into the blessed sanctuary to hear what, to them, were precious words of life, of hope, of consolation and of love. He conjures up the past in the present with all a master painter's skill and genius—and what life was there, with its holiday pictures and the scenic presentment of life's changes and epochs in that humble village—he sees them all! And so sympathetic is his nature that he enters into the ghostly drama quick with the instincts of reality and becomes an actor in the variegated spectacle and a genuine participator in all the joys and sorrows of the time. There is the gay and happy wedding party—a goodly procession—arrayed in couples of young men and women, the latter in white raiment, all in their best, and all lovers for the nonce; the young men in knee breeches and blue coats, with bunches of moss roses and slips of lavender in their button-holes, and the young women with bouquets of bright flowers in their hands—all following gayly and gladly the beautiful bride, with her loyal groom and attendant bridesmaids, who, entering the outer church gate, advance under the immemorial avenue of elms with beating hearts trembling in their bosoms like a nest of nightingales, and go to the altar where the most serious of all life's transactions is consummated for time, and maybe for eternity—which is a long while, and sad to think on.

Nor does he forego the sorrowful funeral pageant nor turn a deaf ear to the mother's lamentations, or a stony eye upon her tears, and the poor old father's groanings of utter despair and desolation. For is not death also a great reality, and to many a real heart tragedy? Why, if he feast with them, and go to their weddings, and drink to the happiness of bride and groom, and stand sponsor for their rosy bawlers at the christening font—why should he shrink the day of darkness and death, and refuse to be the guest of a sorrowful household?

Such, may be, are his thoughts, as he beholds what he loves so much to behold—that is, a church in the landscape. He sees the golden weather-vane flaming in the sunlight, at the top of the unpretending spire, and he knows, although he cannot now see the picture, that the low-arched windows are clothed with the glossy green leaves of the ivy, and that the painted glass in the east window above the altar is reflecting upon the gray slabs of the underlying vaults of the dead, Gethsemane of passionate colors—crimson and gold and purple, like the burst blood of the sunlight.

Now an Episcopalian, or a common Christian believer educated in the creeds of Christendom, would be very apt to mistake this enthusiastic sympathy, and set Mr. Ruskin down as an Episcopalian. We believe he is an Episcopalian traditionally, and from habit and the long practice of his forefathers, but you may be sure he is not that, because he loves the church in the landscape. He loves it as a picture and it may be, also, as a living influence, blessing the people with its benefactions of morality and religion. In this sense, the church is dearer than the landscape, whose physical beauties it enhances by its divine symbolism. But if he had been born a Mohammedan, and the church had been a mosque, he would have entertained it all the same in his hospitable sympathy, both as an artist and, to the extent above signified, as a religionist.

And this rather Episcopal illustration of the Catholicity of Mr. Ruskin's mind, in respect to the religious influence of art upon it, leads us to his own consideration in these lectures, how far religion has been helped by art. He is opposed to the old religion as superstition out of fashion; he is equally opposed to the new religion as superstition in fashion, but he is, of course, compelled to recognize it as the great leading fact and influence of history; and it is commonly supposed that it is immensely indebted to art as a formative medium whereby the essentially invisible has been made visible to the senses—as in the case of the Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, and the various local saints inscribed in the Catholic calendar. Nor can there be any doubt that art has been put to this service in behalf of the church; but, whether religion itself has been helped thereby, even in

the earliest times of superstitious belief, before science existed and the heavens had become astronomical, as Hazlett says, is a question to be considered.

Ruskin makes a grand distinction between the essential morality and healthiness of art, and art obedient to fraudulent design and pious falsehood. The instances above alluded to, wherein the invisible saints are presented to the eye as visible realities, to be accepted as such—as genuine portraits of these saints—by the conscience and the belief of mankind, he includes in the category of artistic frauds and falsehoods, and claims that instead of helping they have done violence to the first principles of religion by destroying their own influence as moral teachers with enlightened men and women. And more than this, he mentions that, being absolute falsehoods in themselves—and consciously such—they do somehow bear the marks thereof in their own emblazonment.

Be this as it may, we agree with him that their effect will be very different upon different minds. With the enlightened they will hardly have been permitted to influence their creed, except to negative it. They well know, since the Church began, that these pictures are fanciful and not legitimate presentations of the persons whose likenesses they profess to be—and so religion will have gained nothing thereby, although these old believers themselves may have been benefited in some æsthetic sense by their presence in the cathedral or church as art. But the direct influence of these pictures upon the poor serfs of the feudal times—and even upon their lords, who were only a little higher kind of serfs—must have been great, and have largely influenced their belief in the Virgin, in Joseph and in the saints, and in these images as their express resemblances. It is the case to-day. Thousands, both in their presence and out of their presence, are vividly affected by them and believe them to be realities. Whereupon Ruskin says that "without any question, the art which makes us believe what we would not have otherwise believed is misapplied, and, in most instances, very dangerously so. Our duty," he adds, "is to believe in the existence of divine, or any other persons, only upon rational proofs of their existence, and not because we have seen pictures of them. And since the real relations between us and higher spirits are, of all facts concerning our being, those which it is most important to know accurately, if we know at all, it is a folly so great as to amount to real, though most unintentional, sin, to allow our conceptions of these relations to be modified by our own undisciplined fancy."

We endorse this statement to the full, except the last clause of it, where he seems to us to exaggerate the conceptions alluded to by classing them with sin, however he may qualify it by calling it "most unintentional." Sin is the conscious violation of a divine law; the unconscious violation of it may be error or ignorance, but it can hardly be sin, or the number of actual sinners would be so great that damnation would lay hold of every mother's son of us all, here and now, anticipate hell itself, and make the proper work of hell a work of supererogation.

INTERIOR SKETCHES OF THE BRONTE FAMILY.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

No. I.

Early History of the Children—Their Wonderful Precocity—Intellectual Games—Their First Stories, Essays, Poems—Influence of the Moors upon their Mind and Character—The Quaint Stone Village—Old Parsonage House, Church, and Grave-yard—The Sisters' Love for Animals—Anecdotes—All of them Tory Politicians—Their Oracular Sayings delivered through the Mouth of a Mask.

I design in this, and perhaps in subsequent papers, to speak of the Bronte family. It is to me an unusually attractive subject; because I chanced to reside in the neighborhood where they lived when Charlotte Bronte "burst upon us forty thousand strong and nobody thought of such a thing," as Waller said of Denham's horse. Branwell Bronte, Charlotte's brilliant but most unhappy brother, whatever his faults may have been, and they were numerous enough, has been unjustly and even cruelly dealt with by Charlotte's biographer, and that too with a Phariseism which, in a woman otherwise so amiable and excellent as Mrs. Gaskell, is hard to account for. I shall have to speak of the secret of his misery by and by, however, and will not anticipate further than to say that he deserved a better fate; and that I shall try and present him as he really was, both his good and ill qualities, nothing extenuated, nor aught set down in malice. Hitherto he has been wronged and misrepresented, because the whole facts of his case have not been given; or, if given, the bias of the biographer has so stated them as utterly to distort and destroy his character.

We all remember when "Jane Eyre" was published and what a furor of excitement it produced wherever the English language was spoken. In this country the book was received as enthusiastically as it was in England, and Currer Bell, the author of it, was honored above all modern novel writers. Everybody wondered who Currer Bell was, and whether the name belonged to a man or a woman. The odor of sex, however, was very strong, even upon its manliest passages, and although it was soon clear that the author wanted to be a man, and to be spoken of as such in all critiques and disquisitions upon her book, yet there were those who were not to be thrown off the scent, and insisted upon it from the first that a woman wrote it. The little mystery was preserved intact until after the publication of "Shirley," when it became evident to all the Yorkshire folks that a Yorkshire man or woman had written it, in consequence of the descriptions of local scenery, and the sketches of local character near Haworth and Keighley, with which the book abounded. The first person to discover the secret was a native of Haworth, who was then living in Liverpool, and he lost no time in sending his discovery to the *Liverpool Mercury*, and so that bubble burst, scattering about it all sorts of rainbow colors to the astonishment of England.

It was chiefly the moorlands which betrayed the author of "Jane Eyre" and "Shirley." They sat for their portraits I know not how many times in these books, and it was clear, besides, that the author's experience in scenery was confined pretty exclusively to them. Charlotte subsequently confessed to me that they were the background to the entire picture of her life. The whole family loved them, indeed, with the enthusiasm of a Swiss hunter for his mountains. They were the sources of their inspiration in poetry, music, painting, literature and romance. All their minds were largely formed

and colored by their influence. Here they found solitude and silence, and a temple for God's worship. Here, also, was their garden of sweet flowers, and when the gorse and heather were in bloom, their mighty seas of gold and purple flashing as far as the eye could see toward the setting-sun. Literally, this wonderful group of sisters and their solitary brother, were developed in mind and character merely under this influence. I knew those moorlands well, and being a great walker, I used often to pay them a visit. For picturesque beauty and more than Titian splendor of coloring, and for those wondrous Rembrandt effects which the black cloudlands and sudden bursts of sunlight flash over their vast and barren solitudes, they stand unrivaled and alone in nature.

Branwell used at one time to fill his pocket with tobacco, and put a pipe in his mouth and a book under his arm, and start off in the summer sunshine for a sheltered bed of heather, where he would lie down and read and smoke all day long; or he would write poems and prose articles for the newspapers and magazines, wondering what career was in store for him, and whether he was destined or not to make a figure in the world of letters. At this time he was the idol not only of his sisters but of his dear old aunt, and his grand, high-minded father, the rector of Haworth parish these twenty-five or thirty years. They all looked up to him for his courage, his brilliant talents, his learning and his wit. He could do anything; and the loving sisters forgot their own great merits and abilities in their reverence and homage for his.

Sometimes they would ramble all together over the moors, and thought nothing of walking six or seven miles. Emily however, was not often so social as to join them. She used to have strange moods, and always would have her own way. Solitude was her delight and she was always brooding over her own fancies, dreams and images of romance and fairy. When the wind was high, keen and shrill, or rolled over the moors in tornado strength, she used to call her great bull-dog, "Keeper," and, opening the kitchen door at the back of the parsonage house, step directly upon the yielding heather, and run off at a gallop, no matter whether the wind was ahead or abaft. Her attachment to her dog was in keeping with her character and the loneliness of the life which they all led at that dreary parsonage. She had a will as inflexible as stub-twig; everything must bend to it. Even the stubborn temper of bull-dog "Keeper," that everybody was afraid of, she broke like a reed. One day the brute, who had often been threatened for persisting in a habit he had got of luxuriating on Emily's bed, was found there by the young mistress—then, indeed, quite a child and as slender as a fairy, although of wiry and tenacious muscles, what there was of them. She immediately ordered him off; but he would not budge, and, when she persisted, had the audacity and ill-manners to turn up his black muzzle and show his teeth. In a moment Emily seized the great brute by the scuff of his neck and pulled him off. Then she dragged him down the short stairway, his carcass bump, bump, bumping, as it descended, step by step, into the kitchen. Her sisters were alarmed and besought her to let the beast go. But they might as well have prayed to the hungry tiger to spare the victim under his claws. There she knelt over the prostrate dog; her face deadly pale; her lips firmly compressed; her resolute eyes full of condensed fire, and her tiny left hand thrust into the skin of his neck. She looked for a moment into the sullen and chopfallen face of the dog, who knew what she meant and what he was going to catch, and in another second she struck him about the head and eyes with that tiny clenched fist of hers until the dog struggled hard to free himself and growled his savagest; but she only beat him the more—striking him full butt on the black snout every now and then, and making him sneeze like a snuff-taker. When she had punished him sufficiently she sat down and made him lie at her feet, and when he wanted to lick her hand, she beat the poor brute again, and not only broke his spirit, so far as she was concerned, but made him quite a miserable dog. He never disobeyed her again; and when, not many years afterward, this brave, courageous and highly gifted girl died, poor old Keeper followed her to the grave, his heart as sad, I dare say, in its capability of sadness, as any human heart there; and when they all returned home but that one whom Keeper loved best of all, and he could not find her, he knew some thing dreadful had happened, and went snuffing all over the house, and fretting so; it was quite pitiful to see him. At last he bethought him of her own room, and up-stairs he galloped, snuffing again under the door, and snuffing in vain! Whereupon he set up a lamentable howling which terrified the whole house; and when he ceased he lay down against the door outside, and never left it night or day for three or four days. Poor little Emily! poor old Keeper, with thy rough ways and tender old dog's heart! it is all over now with you and your poor mistress. You will romp together on the morrow never again in this world. You are both gone—gone forever! and in a little time we shall all follow you.

Charlotte once said when speaking of Shirley that she designed this radiant and starry young girl to represent what Emily might have been had she been blessed with health and fortune. But it was hard to realize the picture. And yet many traits of Shirley's doings and character in the story were literal transcripts from Emily's actual life. She had a passion for dogs, and Charlotte represents Shirley with the same characteristic. It was no fiction where that bright and brave lady is represented as crying after a mad-dog to come to her for water, and as she held out the pan toward him the brute bit her. For the thing actually befel Emily, and what is more she went straight into the kitchen where old Tabby was ironing, and burned out the wound with a red-hot instrument, perhaps the kitchen poker. Charlotte was also very fond of dumb animals, and Branwell told me that going down the village one evening in the autumn, she saw two miserable kittens with their hind legs tied together, thrown thus across a clothes-rope against one of the houses, and the poor brutes with their heads downward and facing each other unable to get away, were tearing at their "mutual eyes" with merciless claws until Charlotte, at the risk of being torn herself, bravely went and lifted them off the line on to the ground, and then gave a boy sixpence to cut the string that bound them and set them at liberty.

There is not much wonder that these young girls should be fond of animals. They had no companions. It is true that they had all been to school, but their school experience was of the saddest, and through it they lost two sisters, besides suffering greatly themselves. Charlotte also had been a governess and knew all the misery which is signified and summed up in that terrible word. Neither was there anybody in the village of whom they could make a friend. And oh! what a queer village it was! One long street running from the

Keighley road up a very steep hill, on the top of which stood the dark gloomy parsonage house, the old church and the school-house, with a belfry to it! That was Haworth Village. The houses were all built of stone, and so were the walls and ditches. There was not a tree to be seen. Nothing but scrubby plants and shrubs. From Keighley to Haworth it is a distance of two miles, and the manufacture of the neighborhood is worsted. Many of the hands work at home in their cottages and earn not more than three dollars a week wherewith to keep their families. This village, so dull, and black, and lifeless, without verdure, and with a barren soil surrounding it, with no human soul in it to make a friend of, was Charlotte's Alma Mater and sole world for many years. It is of unusual importance to recite these things and picture these surroundings, for they will account for much of the peculiarity, the gloom, the pathos, the strength and self-reliance shown in her writings. Add to this the sepulchral parsonage-house facing the church, the parlor windows actually looking out upon a grave-yard slabbled all over with flat and upright tomb-stones and literally choked with the populations of the dead—no six feet of earth anywhere left for another sepulchre—and I think everybody will agree with me that a more ghastly place, out of Jehosaphat's valley of dry bones, in which to put a human soul and bid it get development and grow up into eternal life, could not be found upon the planet. And yet this Bronte family grew and became famous there! They were thrown always upon themselves. From little children of five and six years of age they composed stories and essays and plays, and as their father was a great old Tory, he managed to interest them in his politics, and long before they were in their teens they knew all the great leaders of the Tory party, as well as those of the Opposition, and entered heart and soul, not as mere partisans, but as principled little patriots, into the great questions of the times. The Iron Duke was Charlotte's idol—she literally worshipped him—he entered into all her thoughts, purposes and enterprises while she was yet a little child of only eight or nine years of age. She wrote stories about his greatness and goodness, his courage in the field, his wisdom in the cabinet, and even made essays full of sovereign politics, unto which she attached his name, meaning to honor him. "Sir Robert Peel was a trimmer," she said; "not a man of convictions but of policy; whereas, the great Duke stood for God's truth and meant to live by it and die by it." That was a true distinction, hit off with a statesman's wit and worthy of a statesman. All these children are educated upon high platforms. Life is a serious business; too serious to be trifled with, and politics as a sacred science—the science of human government. This dear England if it is to be governed at all, wisely and well, must be governed by Tory statesmen who love it, who will not sacrifice it to the mob, and let them tear it to pieces like wild beasts, in their ignorance, as the Radicals would. That is Charlotte's view of the political position, and, oh, how she hates the Radicals in her love for England and the Tories.

When the post comes in, the old clergyman, their father, seizes the newspapers with greedy hands, and reads aloud, while all the little children—those tiny politicians of the moorlands—crowd round him, devour every word of every speech on their own side, but especially those of the noble Duke, and pass judgment upon them all like able editors in their chairs of state.

It is a very curious education which they are getting at the Haworth Rectory. The children have no childhood—they are little old men and women any time before the age of ten. When I read of their quaint studies, and remember what Branwell said of their intellectual games, and how they contrived to get instruction out of play, and play out of instruction, I cannot help regarding them as perfectly unique examples of child nature. They are really thinking beings—think too much for their good—and ought to go, rather, upon the hills, and romp with the cattle, and grow strong and healthy in body, instead of sacrificing the body to the mind. None of them are very strong. In all, indeed, the bright blood of consumption burns more and more brightly until the final sacrament of death; when this comes, for a few moments a great light upon the altar, and after that darkness forever. "We were a precious lot of learned pigs," said Branwell; "very wonderful to see, when we were children. Believe me, we were up to all manner of dark sayings and mystic questions, and things arcane, as if sometimes all the seven sages were speaking through our jeweled snouts."

"I remember one day the great tall Governor, God bless him, came in among us suddenly at our play in the kitchen, carrying a very ugly mask in his clerical hand. 'I want to see which is the wisest of my children,' said the old man. 'You are to imagine yourselves at the banqueting table of some Tyrant of Corinth or the Islands, and that you are required to answer dark questions, by the man who wears the purple. See,' he added, 'I have brought a mask, behind which you are to reply to what questions soever are asked of you.' We all thought it a capital joke to have the uncircumcised mouth of a fool's mask out of which to utter the Pythian oracles, and to speak truth. I have often wondered since at the antique fashion of the utterances delivered by these my tiny little sisters. Anne's turn came first. [She was the base of the triangle of the 'Bells,' and was called 'Acton' in that famous first book of poems, in which Emily as 'Ellis,' and Charlotte as 'Currer' Bell made so notable a figure.] The Governor asked Anne what a wee little fledgeling like her most needed. To which she replied with the promptness of Delphos itself, 'Age and experience.' Then she gravely withdrew her pretty face from the pasteboard features of the buffoon mask, and held it out to papa, who took it and handed it without reply to Emily. You must know that Emily always was an original, and the look she gave to that wretched caricature of the human face divine, was the most serio-comical in expression that I ever beheld. Being a very bad boy, in a splendid humor for fun, I burst out laughing till the pots and pans on the chimney wall rang again, and came well nigh getting my ears boxed. For papa, I assure you, was in high tragedy humor, and that this was one of his Jean Jacques experiments on education. I felt pretty sure, although he said nothing about it, Rousseau's Emelius was almost as great a favorite with him as our own Emily was, to whom, having requested her to put on the mask, he now addressed himself, asking her what he ought to do with me forsooth when I was a naughty little beggar, as I often was. 'Reason with him,' cried this philosopher of six; 'and if he won't listen to reason whip him.' This looked serious, and very like business; but for all that I laughed again, although this time with moderation, stuffing my handkerchief in my mouth to keep in the haw-haws that wanted to roar outside, and make another rumpus. Then he asked me which was the best way of knowing the intellectual differences between men and women. At first I thought I would say, 'By examining their mouths, and taking the measure of their tongues;' but I thought better of it, and

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Towanda, Waverly, etc.

7:30 A. M.—For Easton.

12 M.—For Flemington, Easton, Allentown, Manahunk,
Chunks, Wilkesbarre, Reading, Columbia, Lancaster,
Ephrata, Litiz, Pottsville, Scranton, Harrisburg, etc.

2 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, etc.

3:30 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, Manahunk, Chunks,
and Belvidere.

4:30 P. M.—For Somerville and Flemington.

5:15 P. M.—For Somerville.

6 P. M.—For Easton.

7 P. M.—For Somerville.

7:45 P. M.—For Easton.

9 P. M.—For Plainfield.

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Trains leave for Elizabeth at 5:30, 6:00, 6:30, 7:30, 8:30,
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Every person who has the future welfare of this country at heart should make him or herself familiar with the questions treated in this book. No lengthy elucidations are entered into; its statements are fresh, terse and bold, and make direct appeal to the reasoning faculties.

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

The object of the author in presenting this book to the public was:

First, To show that woman has the same human rights which men have.

Second, To point out wherein a condition of servitude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were above instead of below equality.

Third, To prove that it is a duty which women owe to themselves to become fully individualized persons, responsible to themselves and capable of maintaining such responsibility.

Fourth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of humanity demands of women that they prepare themselves to be the mothers of children, who shall be pure in body and mind, and that all other considerations of life should be made subservient to this their high mission as the artists of humanity.

Fifth, That every child born has the natural right to live, and that society is responsible for the condition in which he or she is admitted to be a constituent and modifying part of itself.

This is not merely a "Woman's Rights" book. It is a book for humanity, in which the principles of life are fearlessly pronounced and uncovered of all the absurdities and imaginary limitations by which prejudice and custom have bounded woman's capabilities. Every family will be the purer and holier for having fairly considered this book.

It is an octavo volume of 150 pages, containing an excellent picture of the author; is beautifully printed and tastefully and substantially bound in muslin gilt. Price, \$2. By mail, postage paid, \$2 15.

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THE COUNT OF MONTE-CRISTO. BY ALEXANDER DUMAS. T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, publish this day a new edition of the celebrated novel of Alexander Dumas, entitled "The Count of Monte-Cristo." This work enjoys a popularity such as no other can boast of. In skillfulness of arrangement, vivacity, sustained interest of narrative and inventive faculty, no writer has ever rivalled it. The popularity of his novels, "The Count of Monte-Cristo," "The Three Guardsmen," "Twenty Years After," "Bracegirdle, the Son of Athos," "The Memoirs of a Physician," "The Iron Mask," "The Queen's Necklace," "Six Years Later," "André de Taverney," "Love and Liberty," and others, have never been equalled. "The Count of Monte-Cristo" is issued in a large octavo volume, with an illustrated cover, and other illustrations, price \$1.50, and is for sale by all Booksellers, or copies will be sent to any one, post-paid, by the Publisher, on receipt of price.

THE THEATRES.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE.

Les Georghiennes has certainly made its mark. We think that opera bouffe shows to great advantage in this drama. We regard Almee as an artist of very superior ability. There is a degree of "piquante" of exuberance and fascinating freedom in her natural character that peculiarly fits her for opera bouffe. Any person who has traveled in France will at once pronounce her as a perfect representative of French demonstrativeness of character, and those who have not so traveled may learn as much of the characteristics of a French girl's exuberance of spirits in an evening as by a year of absolute contact with French people themselves. Many persons are apt to imagine such sudden transitions from hilarity to seriousness, affection to harshness, as merely for theatrical effect. This is not so; it is a feature of French characteristics which Mdlle. Almee represents to the very life, and which seems so familiar that we imagine we have met Almee in La Belle France a dozen times over. She is a most dashing girl, of a luxurious figure; her face is of an exceedingly intellectual appearance, every emotion of her mind being, as it were, written upon it. Mlle. Persini is, as the French would say, "petite" in figure but perfect in model, delicately moulded, with a pervading sweetness that seems naturally to appertain to her. She is an accomplished artist, and strongly reminds us of years gone by in Paris, St. Omer, Havre de Grace and Bologna sur Mer.

Her representations of French character are so perfect that we cannot imagine them to be assumed; they seem natural, and it is only by remembering the variety of character she assumes that one is apt to do her full justice. Her face reminds you of the French statues in the Syndenham Palace in London; her manners recall memories of fashionable ladies at the Champs Elysee.

As for Mons. Hittmann, exaggerated as his impersonations may seem to some, we unhesitatingly pronounce him as the most perfect imitator of French hilarity and jollity we ever saw, every movement, every look, word and tone is as familiar as "household words." We have met the character he represents from Paris to Goudaloupe, from Liege to Marseilles—he is the Boith of opera bouffe. We wonder if he was not once cook at the Hotel de Ville in Boulogne, or proprietor

of l'Hotel du Lion d'Argent in Dieppe. If France had a Dickens how Hittmann would be immortalized. His sudden revelations from wrapt attention to caricatures, obstinacy to pliability, remonstrance to supplication, all of which are read in his face as plainly as by his language, are astonishing yet not strained.

Mons. Gausins is an actor of merit, but does not strike us as representing humanity as represented in the Latin race so forcibly as those mentioned.

The drama is put upon the stage in a superb manner. The scenery is excellent; the costumes gorgeously oriental. Almee sings "Allons ce ne sont pas des larmes" with an alternating sweet tenderness and determination that are very effective. The singing in the third scene of the second act is well executed, the time being perfect itself; the softness of Almee's voice being shown to great advantage in the "muet," so peculiar to French poetry and singing.

The military marching and countermarching of the girl-soldiers in the second act is a pattern, both for time, step and martial bearing, which the gallant Seventh Regiment would do well to imitate, and, with the drum corps, forms a military spectacle the equal of which is rarely seen on the stage.

We do not mean to say that the music is excruciatingly fine as it is in the opera of "Norma," which it is so fashionable to go into ecstasies over, but which never commands enough of public patronage to pay working expenses. This is opera bouffe, not opera.

The opening scene in the third act has a softness pervading it that reminds one of the descriptions in "Lalla Rookh."

NIBLO'S.

Want of space this week will compel us to defer our premeditated extended notice of the innovations that have made the Black Crook so enjoyable and so famous. Prof. Nelson and his children have replaced Mons. Segrist and his children, otherwise there is no specially new feature to announce. The "Crook" has but a short lease of life now, being succeeded by the Bennett troupe engaged in England, who, it is said, are to play Richard III. in a manner hitherto unsurpassed in this country. From the stir this company are making in dramatic circles we should say that there is something more than usually meritorious on the tapis. The entire company of the Black Crook, scenery and all, goes to the academy at Philadelphia, and it will take eight days to pack up.

The President of the National Labor Union.

OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION,
FISHER BLOCK, WOODWARD AVENUE,
DETROIT, MICH., Feb. 6, 1871.

JOHN M. BROWNING, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 2d is at hand, and I am glad indeed that you have at last seen the justice of granting unto others what you yourself want, the right to vote, which is ours with or without the consent of Congress, under our form of Government. Government springs from the people. It is by their consent that it exists. It is by their authority that Congress is formed and laws are made. It is not for the government of a sex but for the government of the whole people, and I have never thought it worth an argument. In my mind it has been settled for years. Woman is part of man and man part of woman, and this cannot be a Democratic Republic unless the government springs from, not man, not woman, but from the whole people, without distinction of sex.

As to Mrs. Woodhull, I regard her as one of the ablest persons I ever met, male or female. If she is elected as a delegate I cannot see by what authority the convention can possibly prevent her taking her seat. R. F. TREVELLICK.

ORGANIZATION OF A WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.—A meeting of ladies and gentlemen of this city was held on Wednesday, 22d, at the residence of J. Grimshaw, for the purpose of organizing a Woman Suffrage Association. The meeting having been called to order, J. Grimshaw was called to the chair, and Miss Alice Townsley was requested to act as Secretary. The following resolutions were read and adopted:

Whereas, We are members of a Government claiming to be founded upon equal rights, and to derive its just powers from the consent of the governed. Whereas one-half the governed are refused a voice in the formation of the laws for the commission of no acts that disqualify a citizen for participation in affairs of government, but from the accident of birth. Whereas, this disfranchised half of the members of our Government are subject to taxation and liable to punishment for violation of its laws; and whereas, we consider the true idea of republicanism to be defeated by such one-sided legislation, therefore

Resolved, That we use our utmost endeavors to effect a change in the Constitution of our State, giving to women the right of suffrage.

Resolved, That with this view we form ourselves into an association, to be called the Woman Suffrage Association of Jefferson City.

Permanent officers were then elected. President, Mrs. J. Grimshaw; Vice-President, Mrs. D. E. McGill; Secretary, Mrs. Emily Rowe; Treasurer, Mrs. Ella Matson.

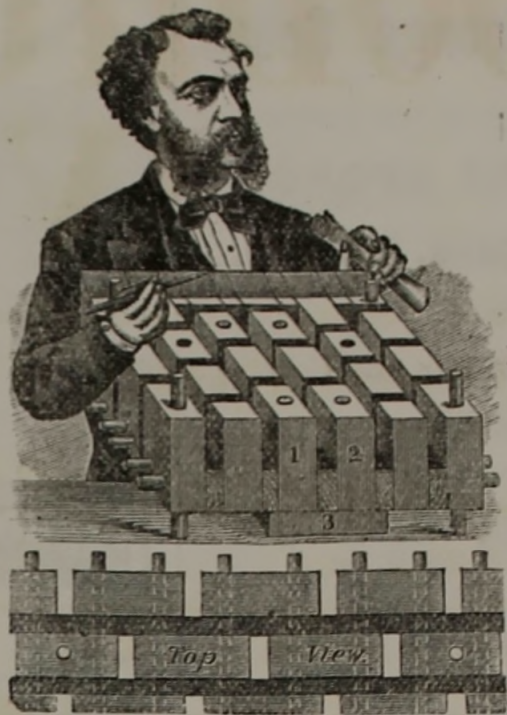
An executive committee was chosen, consisting of the following: Mrs. A. B. Thornton, Mrs. E. C. Wells, Mrs. Era Lee, Mrs. E. Cotsworth and Mrs. J. N. Doudna. On motion, the meeting adjourned to meet on Friday, March 3, at the residence of B. McGill. All parties interested in this movement are invited to be present.

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 98.

INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG LADIES, conducted by the Misses Capelle, at Coblenz on the Rhine, Pfaffendorf, 126. The Misses Capelle receive a limited number of young ladies as resident pupils, to whom they offer the comforts of a home with the advantages of a superior education. There are at Coblenz an English and a German Protestant church, where the pupils may attend divine service. The house is surrounded by a large garden and situated in the beautiful environs of Coblenz on the right bank of the Rhine. The course of study comprises German, French and English in every branch, including the higher literary studies. The best professors from town attend, and a French governess resides in the house. Terms: For pupils above twelve years, \$60; under twelve, \$35. Lessons in instrumental and vocal music, drawing, painting and dancing at professor's prices. Use of piano, 15¢ per quarter. Expense of laundry extra. Charge for servants—12¢ per year. Three months' notice required previous to the removal of a pupil. At the wish of the parents, pupils may be met in London or Bremen. References: John Betts, Esq., Pembury, near Tunbridge, Kent; S. R. Pattison, Esq., 50 Lombard street, London; Charles King, Esq., Inverleigh House, Ayr, Scotland; William Eadie, M. D., 25 Newton place, Glasgow; N. Trubner, Esq., 60 Paternoster row, London; Dr. Carl Mittermaier, Heidelberg; Charles Krieger, Sr., Esq., Coblenz.

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H. M. BEIDLER'S "SECTIONAL PIN" WOOD PAVEMENT

consists of Wood Blocks firmly united or bound together by heavy oak dowel pins, as follows:

Blocks are cut six inches deep and three wide, and placed vertically against a board an inch thick and three wide, running through the section and separating the blocks. Each block is placed one inch apart, thus allowing a space of one inch around the entire block, which secures a GOOD AND CERTAIN FOOTHOLD for the horse, and, what is equally important, allows the water to pass off through the gravel, and thus PREVENT THE WOOD FROM ROTTING. A pavement so constructed will last from FIVE to TEN YEARS LONGER than any of the WOOD PAVEMENTS now in use, and CANNOT POSSIBLY GET OUT OF REPAIR: a fact that any one will readily perceive from the nature of its construction. It will be IMPOSSIBLE to SINK or DISH (as in the ordinary pavements) any ONE or MORE of the blocks JOINED TOGETHER, even with a solid weight of SEVEN AND ONE-HALF TONS. Among the many thousands who have seen it, all, with the exception of FOUR MEN, have acknowledged its superiority over all other pavements, and their most SERIOUS OBJECTION appeared to be, that it was too EXPENSIVE for general use. With reference to the expense, I will state, for the gratification of THOSE GENTLEMEN and the public, that I will contract to lay the "H. M. BEIDLER PIN PAVEMENT" for from TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS TO FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS PER MILE LESS than any other Wood Pavement now in use. To be brief, the advantages of this "SIMPLE, COMMON-SENSE PAVEMENT," as I have heard it called, consists:

1. In its firmness, solidity, durability and cheapness.
2. It is a SECTIONAL PAVEMENT, and one section can be taken up or laid down by two men in ten minutes.
3. It is the ONLY Pavement that allows the WATER TO PASS OFF between the blocks, and thus PREVENT its rotting.
4. It is the ONLY Pavement that has space around the entire block to give horses the necessary foothold in ANY DIRECTION.
5. The pinning and binding together of the blocks PREVENT VERTICAL DISPLACEMENT or the SINKING or DISHING of the blocks.
6. It is made SIMPLY OF STRAIGHT BLOCKS, and does not lose one inch of lumber in making, or OBSTRUCT THE STREETS IN LAYING.
7. It is very easily repaired, and will not require FIVE MINUTES to substitute a NEW BLOCK for an old one WHEN NECESSARY.
8. It requires no TAR, ASPHALTE or other equally useless material SAID to prevent rot.
9. It is cheaper than ANY WOOD PAVEMENT EVER INVENTED, and even cheaper than our "PRECIOUS COBBLE STONES," if we count the cost of keeping them in REPAIR.

Address

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