

# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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

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## A CONTEMPTIBLE SPITE.

We know of nothing more contemptible than for the proprietors of a paper to descend to vent their spleen upon a contemporary, by going among newsmen and endeavoring to prevail upon them to discard it from their list of papers kept for sale, by misrepresentations. But to such shifts does a journal, professing to be an advocate of woman's suffrage, resort, to preserve its life against the encroachments of the WEEKLY. Vain endeavor! The WEEKLY has sustained shocks, compared to which the present exhibition of impotent rage is as a mole hill to a mountain.

Neighbor! you are a very good paper so far as you go, and we gladly recommend you to those readers whose mental stomachs cannot yet digest strong food, or which have become dyspeptic from injudicious aliment; but your limits are by far too contracted by bigotry, intolerance, prejudice and pharisaical godliness to suit minds which have burst the bonds of custom and practice, and boldly struck out for truth, and which accord to everybody what they claim for themselves. It may also do you a service to remind you that everybody do not believe your simple assertions, unsupported by any fact. Ponder this well, and do not die unrepentant.

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' DEMOCRACY.

This new type of "the Democrat" talks "large." "The North can never be carried for a new revolution. We must go forward and not backward. We must demand self-government for all and guarantee equal rights to every man."

Verily that would be an anomaly. Demanding self-government for all and only guarantee it to every man. Women may have self-government, but shall not be guaranteed equal rights: that is to say, women may govern themselves if they can force men to let them. Beautiful Democracy this is to be sure!

The *Tribune* says of this Democracy: "We apprehend that the Democrats will battle in '72, as they did in '68, for inequality, injustice, privilege, caste and the 'Constitution as it was' when a Democrat could sell at auction three of his own children of a morning, pocket \$2,500 for them and run for Congress on the strength of this proof of his devotion to 'Southern rights.'" It is very well for the "pot to call the kettle black." The *Tribune* calls the Democracy guilty of "inequality, injustice, privilege and caste." What better can be said of the party which the *Tribune* upholds? Do they not battle for all those things which the *Tribune* condemns in Democracy? They must not suppose that they can contemptuously ignore women citizens any longer and prate with so much volubility about equality for all and equal rights to citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment.

We do not see how these little inconsistencies are to be got over by these would-be exponents of public opinion. The truth of the matter is that they are nothing but codfish equality-mongers, without the first approach to a genuine equality.

## 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.]

EDWIN BOOTH AND EDWIN FORREST.

Mr. Booth has been before the public as an actor quite long enough, one would think, to enable us to judge of his quality, and give an unbiased opinion of his merits. As the son of a popular tragedian, whose "eccentricities," as well as his genius, made him, strange to say, a great favorite with all classes in his time—Edwin Booth began his career with the prestige of an idolized if not a great name to back him; and this fact, added to his own genuine talents and personal attractions, enabled him to win eventually all hearts to his standard. He appeared, too, at a time, when there was a great lack of tragedians upon the American stage, and Mr. Forrest was king. Indeed, from that period to this, one may say that there has been a ceaseless struggle between these two strong souls for supremacy, and the dramatic world has been divided into two great parties, who swear by their names, and are known to fame as the "Boothies" and the "Forresters."

### THE BOOTHIES AND THE FORRESTERS.

Mr. Forrest had secured all his laurels before Mr. Booth was stage-born; and it was natural that he should want to keep them, and that his friends should be jealous of his reputation. It was soon evident, however, that Mr. Booth, by his brilliant acting and popularity, threatened to dethrone him; and that he imperilled his position at the very outset. Hence arose the factions alluded to above, which, like the old Guelphs and Ghibbelines, in Italian history, have grown, year by year, in all sorts of animosity and bitterness, and are now ready to devour one another without dead-end.

This is, of course, to be regretted, although, sooth to say, as Sam Slick says, "It is just like human nature," which, whenever its selfishness and vanity are touched, piques itself upon the evil passions which dwell in its lowest depths, and turns them all up in a mob, to sustain what it calls its "honor."

## ROOM FOR BOTH.

There was plenty of room for both these actors, and many more to "boot," if they only could have thought so. Neither need there have been any clashing of arms at all between them. They were both strongly marked individuals, and had far more points of difference than of resemblance both in their physical and mental, as well as in their histrionic characteristics.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF FORREST.

Mr. Forrest is a Hercules in build and strength, although not in intellect, and his acting partakes of his physique, and is decidedly muscular. When he speaks it is sometimes as if a lion opened his mouth and roared. He is qualified, indeed, and admirably so, for all the roles of Boanerges, as set forth in the great dramas. He is unrivaled in the mad scenes of King Lear; and in the ranting play of Richard he "comes off more than conqueror." But whenever he tries his hand at the tender and pathetic, he fails palpably, and herein lies a great mystery. For while it would be unjust to say that he did not possess the faculty of pathos and the power of tears, it always seems, in his use of it, to be out of place, out of the order of nature, as if Boanerges were suddenly to squat down on his hams, and cry like a woman, and no handkerchief at hand to wipe his eyes with—a piece of furniture that Mr. Forrest never forgets to have with him on the stage, and to use upon "fitting occasions"—which in his case are not at all "fit." A tear does not harmonize with his vast proportions, and it always appears to us as absurd and maudlin for him to drop it as it is for Byron's "vast and deep blue ocean," "out of whose slime the monsters of the deep are made"—to bring forth a tender little sprat.

### THE LIMITATIONS OF FORREST.

There is a certain range of dramatic characters for whose representation Mr. Forrest is eminently qualified by his muscle, both of body and mind, and in these he has no superior. But he soon gets out of his depth; and wherever it is necessary to interpret the great underdepths of man's spiritual nature, or the subtleties of intellectual problems, he flounders lamentably, and "very like a whale." His failure in Hamlet lets us into all the secrets of his intellectual measurement and spiritual depth. He is like one suddenly transferred into another world and into a new nature, of whose very constitution and mainsprings he is utterly ignorant. In his



hand we do not see Shakespeare's Hamlet, for of such a character, as representative of the soul's twilight, and of thought speculating therein upon the problems of life and death; penetrated with the wonder and mystery of all existence, and the grandeur of man, but weak, irresolute and incapable of action, through lack of faith, through downright unbelief, and the endless questionings of doubt, almost of despair, respecting the here and the hereafter; and as still further representative of a historic phase of the human mind in its struggles to loose the old foundations of faith through universal skepticism, with the inevitable Nemesis for a moral—of such a representative character we say Mr. Forrest has no conception, and is debarred from it indeed, by the limitations of his intellect. He gives us a very solemn, sedate and gloomy picture all through the play, "with strut and stare, and stut, right-angled, sharp-pointed gestures," as Hazlitt says, which may be acting according to Forrest, but it is not nature according to God. And, moreover, 'tis a very commonplace Hamlet, when all is done, that he presents to us. We mean intellectually commonplace; for of buckram, pasteboard crowns, sceptres and royal robes, so to speak, there are more than enough.

#### BOOTH'S STAGE PRESENCE.

Mr. Booth is, as we said, and as all the world knows, the very opposite of Mr. Forrest in size, form and voice; in his general appearance and in the range of his mental faculties. He is rather under than over the ordinary height of man, and possesses a thin and wiry, but elegant and graceful, figure, which he knows very well how to make the most of upon the stage. His eyes are uncommonly fine—being large, black and full of intense expression. His "organ"—that is to say his voice—is capable of a wondrous sweet utterance, and has far wider scope than he usually puts it to in his elocution. His features are regular, and what his lady admirers call handsome, and the whole face is tragic and set off by voluminous black hair. The nose of itself is a masterpiece, and worth all the money; for its like is not.

#### BOOTH THE LADY'S ACTOR.

Take him for all in all he is not only a presentable person upon the stage, but a presence and a power, and full, moreover, of magnetism for the ladies. We well remember him twelve years ago, and what a furor he created in Boston during his Shakespearean representations in that famous city and capital of the universe. His chief triumph was in Hamlet; but his interpretation of the character naturally suggested a comparison between him and Forrest; and the best of the local critics gave the laurel to Booth. The theatre was crowded every night that he played by all the wit and fashion of the great "hub;" and if Mr. Booth had announced himself as a professional lady-killer he could not have done the business more handsomely as an "individual" conscious of his power than he did as a "person" and an actor who was unconscious of it. He slew them all, and put every male man in Boston into mourning. There never was such a female hubbub before in any theatrical teapot.

Booth was then a young man, good-looking enough—like Junius and Wilkes and all the rest of the Booths—and report says not a little vain also, which is likely and excusable.

#### HOW THE LADIES MADE LOVE TO BOOTH AS HAMLET.

It was mostly the women's fault and not his—for they made love to him whether he would or not, wrote sonnets to his eyes and eyebrows—even called the attention of the more easily inclined Bostonians to the young Roscius—"the most astonishing phenomenon" of the "wronged and oppressed age" which the folks were then living in—and begged them, like the Italian beggars, to "do good to themselves" by dropping their hapenny into the entreating hat and going to see "how divinely" he did it? He played many a great role at that time, but he did the most mischief with his Hamlet. The graceful young figure of the actor was just the thing to impersonate that "interesting young milkop the Prince of Denmark," as Teufelsdröckh calls him, to the horror of the cows and the disgust of the right-minded. At that period, too, Mr. Booth had not communicated the traditional cloak and the open shirt-collar, and, if we remember rightly, he wore also the old black hat and plumes. He was the very man himself therefore, the ladies said; and, being good judges, they ought to know.

#### FORREST'S HAMLET.

It was the acting, however, which more particularly concerned us. We had witnessed the great muscular actor in this part and were anxious to see wherein Booth and he agreed to differ. It is certain that in appearance Booth had the advantage over his big brother—and that any big man playing Hamlet, played also the deuce with the "unities," and so spoiled the poetry of the Prince's externals. Neither could Mr. Forrest's voice—although it was a mighty scare-babe "organ"—gruff and, at times, like the "grating of hell's gates"—full of "harsh thunder," as Milton describes them in "Paradise Lost"—deep, too, and going down to double "G" below the line in its own natural capacity, without the aid of a cold purposely caught by standing half an hour in the horse pond to enable him to pitch it—Mr. Forrest's voice, we say, could not "put up" its music in Booth's "head"-quarters, or in any way match his fine pliancy and sweetness.

Besides which, Booth aimed at, and, to a certain extent, achieved, originality in his interpretation of the character. He looked it to begin with, and that was a great point gained, for thereby he won the sympathies of his auditors

and prepared them for what good things might follow. He had clearly made a study of Hamlet, and had, doubtless, read what Goethe, in his "Wilhelm Meisters' Travels," and what the Schlegels and others had to say about it, and putting this and that together he got into the esoteric idea, and through it, aided by his own imagination, he gave us, it not a new, then, at least, a newly bourgeois Hamlet with new additions and emendations.

#### WHY EVERY TYRO USES UP HAMLET.

It is not a little curious that this profound riddle of mind and character—the most difficult of all the dramatic impersonations—which has provoked more controversy as to the true idea of its interpretation than any other part in this region of literature, which Goethe found of infinite meaning, significance and suggestion, deeps calling unto deeps, and deeps below deeps in it, should be the very part which every tyro, in his adventurous stage career, thinks himself most qualified to represent before merciless critics as well as the commonalty, whose mental galleries are already full of Hamlet portraits, drawn by the most gifted masters, and are regarded as a sacred possession in a sanctum, which no profanity must invade with its abortive effigies. The young actor is doubtless attracted to it by the mystery which pervades it, and by its unrest, indecision and skepticism as being a reflex of his own moral condition, and that of every man indeed who first awakes to the reality of life and the necessity of action; but has no fixed principle, and dreads, therefore, to incur responsibilities whose issues he cannot foresee.

The subjectiveness of Hamlet and the external as well as internal romance in which he is immersed, and the popular sympathy with all that, are doubtless still further attractions. But it is a fatal error for the young actor to fall into. The old excerpt has it, that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and this is the case here precisely. Hamlet is the last role that even the most cultivated actor should attempt to play, for, to understand it, one must have a long background of thought to start from. In fact Hamlet is one of those unique characters who are invested with a sort of infinity, and may be made infinitely rich and indeed exhaustless of significance, as Goethe shows us, according to the intellectual discernment and spiritual wealth of the interpreter. Just as the "primrose on the river's brim," which is a "simple primrose" and no more, to "Peter Bell, the Potter," because there is nothing in him to enhance its commonplace existence, becomes the symbol of truth and rare beauty to the poet Wordsworth, because he brings to its sweet sanctuary an immeasurable wealth of sympathy, wherewith to interpret the meaning of its divine oracles and clothe it with music and poetry.

Hamlet will bear all the burdens of human interpretation, and if anybody has wit enough to ask any new questions, there is no doubt that he will answer them. Booth's Boston playing of it was, as we thought at the time, rather crude, and in parts somewhat affected. He made some new readings, which were regarded as improvements, elucidating the text better than the old readings. But we do not remember what they were, and cannot speak for them. We do know, however, that no young Apollo in cleric costume could have looked more bewitching than young Booth upon this occasion, as he enacted the part of the interesting Prince. And as we said, it took with his audience. He won immense fame by it, and was the talk of the hub day and night continually. He was followed by crowds of fashionable people, and hundreds of pious old gentlemen and Calvinistic old ladies, who plumed themselves upon being the "elect"—and were wont to sit in church, purring with great complacency, while the parsons damned sinners. Even these pious ones, who had never been inside a theatre before, except, perhaps, to attend a missionary meeting, went to see Booth, because he was such a "moral performer" and "nice young man," they said, and in "every way worthy of Christian patronage." All which was no doubt true.

#### BOOTH'S HAMLET GREATER THAN FORREST'S.

It is, at all events, certain that Booth's Hamlet was the best on the American stage. There was no comparison between it and Mr. Forrest's presentation of the same character. This actor did his best to be refined and courtly, and tried hard to make the Prince look like a gentleman, and speak without affectation, and walk without strut. But he signally failed, so much so that his Hamlet would have passed anywhere for a big butcher, dressed up in his Sunday suit of black, going a picturesquing. He would not succumb to any decent measurement, but insisted upon his full inches, and was as thick round the body as one of Don Quixote's windmills, and about as tall as the sails thereof; whereas Booth was every inch the Prince, and "no mistake."

#### EVERY INCH THE PRINCE.

We were very agreeably disappointed at his entire conception of the part. It was subjective throughout, and a very fascinating performance. There was no attempt in it to please the gods by noisiness, and make the thunder of elocution challenge the thunder of applause; but the actor was lost in his character, and all that he said and did was natural and fitting, and seemed to proceed from within outward, as the upshot of the feeling of the moment, and of the situation and of the progress of events. It was a real Hamlet that we saw, and in some important particulars of art we think it was far superior to his present performance.

#### IMPERFECTIONS IN THE PLAYING.

Its chief fault lay in an occasional lack of dignity and em-

phasis. This was specially noticeable in his delivery of the soliloquy on Death, when he appeared in so careless a costume, his hair a cloud of disorder, and a generally distraught aspect, with his head bowed upon his breast, and proceeded forthwith to take possession of the only chair upon the stage by seizing hold of the back and placing his left foot upon the seat, and "then and there and how," as Snyder says, unburdening himself of his distracting thoughts upon life and death and "that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns." His enunciation of this fine passage disturbed us not a little. He read it well enough; but it was not with the subdued passion of a fiery soul tormented with the burden of its speculations upon things of great pith and moment." Nor did he once rise to the heights of passion and make us tremble with the terror of it. He aimed so much at naturalness that he descended into the commonplace, as Wordsworth the great English poet did before him.

#### ENDLESS GOOD POINTS.

But he redeemed himself by a thousand excellencies and some original good points. In the love scene with Ophelia he made it appear to all who had eyes, and that too with a wondrous subtlety of emphasis and manner, that what Ophelia took for madness was in reality a violent untamable love that he knew could not come to fruition, and that the unseemly outbursts of it which were manifested to her were quite compatible with such passion without further reference. He may, in his wily method, have designed that Ophelia should deem him mad, but it was all put on, and the fact appeared in the acting by the finest expression whereof language is capable. Almost, too, in this scene, he followed in his costume the picture of Hamlet's appearance, which Ophelia presents, when relating the particulars of it to old man Polonius.

Mr. Booth also catches at this description to make on its warrant a far more lively Hamlet than it is usual to see upon the stage. And indeed there is nothing in the character itself to justify the traditional Hamlet on stilts with which we are all so familiar, and it was doubtless in trying to relax these stage proprieties in order to secure a more natural Prince that Mr. Booth fell into charyldis and for a long while floundered there, helpless though much abased in his misfortune—and sooth to say it.

#### THE GHOST SCENE—"THY FATHER'S SPIRIT."

A good deal of technical fault has been found with his ghost scene on the ramparts; but nothing can be finer or more thrilling than his play here, from first to last; nor does the criticism on the soliloquy delivery apply here at all. This is perfect acting; and, indeed, touching the soliloquy, we may say that, after the royal triumph of his Boston engagement, we saw him play Hamlet with a great improvement in this particular piece of declamation. It was now pitched in a loftier key, not only without losing its effect of reality, but immensely enhancing it. It was the sorrowful wail of a soul agonizing with its own thoughts, which long to pierce the infinite and grasp the secrets of the eternal world, painfully questioning the here and the hereafter; wandering forever upon the margin of the eternal shore; longing for death, but dreading still to die; not sure of itself and its own purposes; the slave of unbelief; and faith and trust blotted out of its barren life. The effect was now electrical and shot, thrilling with fire, through all the pulses of the blood. So much difference is there between commonplace and a genuine reality solemnized by the consideration of high themes and vivified by intense feelings.

It is doubtless true of Mr. Booth what the critics mean to say of him when they assert that he is a "purely intellectual actor." According to the highest meaning of these words they could not accord to him higher praise. For to be an intellectual actor one must be able to grasp his part in all its meanings, significances and bearings; to take it all to pieces, as it were, and resolve it into its attributes—that they may be recast in his individual mould and stamped with his genius in his own embodiment of them. It is to inform his characters with the highest life they are capable of sustaining by the aid of the highest light which he possesses, and thus to restore acting to its true position as the highest of the reproductive arts, if so we may call it. We have not such a glut of intellect on the stage that we can afford to abuse a man for being "purely intellectual," and a little more of the same civit, good apothecary, would vastly improve the dramatic constitution and general health.

#### BOOTH "A PURELY INTELLECTUAL ACTOR."

What is intended, however, by this designation is, we suppose, that Mr. Booth reverences the intellect so much that, as Emerson says, he is well nigh dead to the social relations, or to the feelings and passions. If so, there is some truth in the allegation which Mr. Booth will do well to look to. His art is his life, and we hope it will be a long one. At all events, he clearly desires, above all things, to be, what indeed he really is, the tragedian of America.

#### BOOTH'S AMBITION TO EXALT HIS PROFESSION.

He has given all he is, and has, and may have in perspective, to the accomplishment of this high ambition. And although in certain parts he is the very impersonation of fiery, impetuous, passionate feeling, which, for the time being, rides roughshod over all the considerations of restraint and prudence, yet he never lets go the reins of his intellectual guidance, but his wildest energizings are controlled by his will and the laws of art. Nevertheless, highly as we esteem his Hamlet, which is the



most plastic of all his performances, and perfect as it is in respect to every intellectual charm that can be made for it, we are very decidedly of opinion that a strong admixture of red blood into those pallid, blue veins, would tell vastly upon its activities and general life.

There is no living actor who understands his profession better than Mr. Booth, or whose by-play is so significant and inimitable. It is half the battle. If silence be a great God, as the great Scotch cynic says it is, then the actor's by-play is the most eloquent of all its dumb children, and Mr. Booth is the supreme master of it.

We are indebted to him, also, for a very noble ambition, one of the grandest yet born of modern civilization, the ambition of restoring the legitimate, and especially the Shakespearean drama, and of rooting out the demoralizing spectacular representations which are fast destroying the intellect and the conscience of the American people. If our philanthropists and our statesmen, and the Christian ministers of our time, could but wake up to a sense of the mighty influence of the stage for good or for evil, they would be the first to welcome Mr. Booth's enterprise as the friend of humanity and virtue. Where shall we find such powerful incentives to action of all sorts? Where shall we learn profounder lessons of truth and charity, justice and wisdom, than are set down in the page of the drama that Booth is doing his best to make us reverence by all the aids of pictorial art and scenery that he can devise and command? Where?

#### THE PULPIT AND THE STAGE.

People talk about the pulpit as the best mender of manners and bad ways extant, and hold up the parson as the best whipper-in of sinners to the folds of heaven; but we demur to the proposition, and give the palm, in this respect, to the stage. Poets are the best lawgivers and reformers, and have immense advantages over the pulpit orator, who is mostly a paid advocate, and does not always plead because he is convinced of the truth of his remedies for any soul sickness; whereas the poet is always in earnest, and cannot talk as the pulpit man so often does, on the "outside of his lips," but his heart must speak for him. The dramatic poet is especially privileged over all other moral teachers, in that he appeals, as Lord Bacon says, to the eye "in living diagrams," as well as to the ear, and we see the progress of the story from first to last, and learn to hate the Iagos and love the Desdemonas. For the moment a truth is invested with flesh and blood and sent out into the world of the drama to play its part, it is, for the time being, as genuine a fact as a man or a woman in actual existence. The illusion charms us, and the lesson taught by it in its contact with falsehood, treachery and malice, comes directly home to us with the vividness of reality.

#### THE STAGE AS A PUBLIC INSTRUCTOR.

There is indeed no height of moral and intellectual use and service which the stage may not aspire to. When mankind are wiser and better, and the stage is purged of its immoralities and vilenesses and puts on the white robes of righteousness, aiming alone at the exaltation of man and the ennobling of society—a consummation devoutly to be wished, and may not be so far off as it seems—the pulpit, which even now exists upon sufferance, and has outlived its office and mission, will be superseded by the stage, unless a new church should arise based upon intellectual convictions and universal sympathies of mankind before whose blessed altars men may worship once more in peace, unity and love.

#### ADVANTAGE OF STAGE OVER PULPIT.

The stage has great advantages over the pulpit, which only ask to be nobly employed that they may bring about unheard-of revolutions in the thinking, manners and faith of the people. Life is certainly a very serious business and should be dealt with grandly, and as becomes a man with an eternity of duration before him. But it will not do any more for any teacher to make a perpetual tragedy of it as the pulpit does, if the teacher hope to maintain his position and extend his influence over the uprisen thinkers of the age we live in. Fancy the dreary sameness of the existing Church service; how Sabbath after Sabbath, the old mechanism grinds its husks and calls it grain good for nourishment; how the parson flails away at the poor sinner as his apostolical predecessors had done before him for well nigh two thousand years; how, having broken his head and enraged his heart, he offers him salve of doctrine and sacrament of water and of wine to cure him, following slavishly the old dead formula of the Church as if it were alive, and making religion as gloomy and acrid as some billious dream of hell and Erebus. The very temple a place sacred to caste, and made luxurious for the rich who loil grandly on their velvet cushions and patronize God Almighty by their presence there, sure of heaven of course; for how dare the Lord send them to the nether regions when they drive to His house in a carriage and pay extravagant pew-rents, just to let Him see that they have not forgotten Him and are not too proud to be called Christians after His own style, even if He were a poor carpenter; taking good care, however, to keep their worshiping shop select and fashionable, providing no seats for the poor man, and thus excluding him from the place! Think of this doleful exhibition "week in, week out," and compare its suicidal course with the infinite variety and delightful playfulness of a dramatic representation, and ask yourself the question what is to hinder the stage from taking precedence of the pulpit as a moral teacher as soon as mere dogma shall have ceased to control religion, which is very rapidly taking place. For, dogma gone, there is nothing left of Christianity

but what Christ himself put in it, and that is love. His religion was love. "One other commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you, for this is the law and the prophets." And this being the case, what is to hinder Christianity from assuming a dramatic form, and the player's books becoming a complete body of divinity? If to love one another be the sum total of the religion of Jesus, why cannot this beautiful idea be represented in plays. Nay, if it come to that, do not the Shakespearean dramas represent it in endless variety of ways already? It might be necessary, however, to introduce Mrs. Hanna More in the place of Shakespeare on Sundays, her religious dramas being so unexceptionable, sweet, and so eminently adapted to the somnolent minds of the fashionable Church goers.

#### THE RESURRECTION OF THE STAGE.

We may be sure at all events that there is a great resurrection in store for the stage, whether it be near or far off; and Mr. Booth is a public benefactor in thus endeavoring, as he has done, to restore the legitimate drama in his theatre.

#### MERGING OF THE CHURCH INTO THE STAGE.

If, therefore, instead of preaching against the theatre and dubbing it "stink-pot" and the "mouth of hell," our dainty clergymen could only see the theatre as Dr. Bellows sees it, and would take a lesson from the players' art in the reading of the Word and in the delivery of their discourses, it would be very considerable of a feather in their caps. And if the old Church must exist as well as the theatre, why can they not shake hands? Their interests are surely identical, at all events when they are both in their highest element, for they both aim at the reformation of manners, habits and morals, and try to make men obey the golden rule.

#### BOOTH'S HORNETS.

Whether this idea of merging a worn-out and vastated Church with the stage ever entered into Mr. Booth's head or not we are not prepared to say. 'Tis certain the stage would gain nothing by the motion as the Church exists at present. But Mr. Booth's enthusiastic devotion to his profession and his attempt to revive the old love of the people for the real drama instead of fostering a taste for the vapid splendors and naked women of such spectacles as the "Black Crook," have raised a host of hornets about his ears who have done their worst and best to sting him to death. "Who are you," they say, "to set yourself in authority over us, and assume to be so much better than we are that you must build a theatre in which to play what you call the legitimate drama? It won't pay!" You will find the old devil too deep for young Melancthon—and serve you right! Are not the people fools and sensualists who love dirt and dirty things and worship naked women and the splendor of flashing legs upon the stage? And do we act amiss by getting up such spectacles and making the people pay for them? To all which Mr. Booth makes no reply but lets his theatre speak for him.

#### JOHN S. MORAY'S TEAPOT HUBBUB.

Not even John S. Moray, who cries out against Booth with as foul a thunderbolt as ever was forged in hell by the Cyclops, could break his Brahminical calm, and urge him to fling bolt for bolt. Mr. Moray is angry with Booth because he has won for himself the reputation of being the tragedian of America, and Edwin Forrest still alive! It is an unpardonable crime in Mr. Booth, no doubt, but how was he to help it? He did not come the highwayman over Forrest, as Mr. Moray has come it over Booth, and come it strong, too! compelled that Hercules of an actor to strip himself of his laurels, that he might pick them up and wear them; but sublimely indifferent to the shining of that particular star, he set up for one of the heavenly bodies himself, and shone grandly in his own light, until all the people saw it, and were glad, and he was, with one accord, set down as the celestial Christ of the American drama—as a luminary of the first magnitude.

In what consisted the offence of this? Was there not room enough for two such mighty orbs in the immensities that Mr. Moray must turn star-killer, and do the business for Booth that Forrest might reign alone? And yet this is precisely what Mr. Moray has attempted to do in a piece which he calls "Booth's Richelieu Reviewed," and which we propose now to review.

#### [TO BE CONTINUED.]

### The Root of the Matter, or the Bible in the Role of the Old Mythologies.

BY C. B. P.

Jesus could be the "I am" before Abraham was only by being the "Ancient of days," as one with the Sun and Father. Time, in Kronos' signification, Abraham, or the *was* before the *is* in Him who "was, and is, and is to come," the Father, Sun and Spirit in all things prelude the good time coming in the Elysian Fields or New Jerusalem, as "spoken by the mouths of all the holy prophets which have been since the world began." When Kronos was as old as Zeus, Muller asks: "Who does not think of the Ancient of days? It was a name fully applicable to the Supreme God, the God of time, the eternal God."

Sure enough, who does not think of the old man when the new Son of man, as the Sun comes from the east and

shines even unto the west, or comes in the clouds of heaven, even as you have seen the Ancient of days or the old man go? In putting off the old man with his deeds, we may see at the same time how the new man is to be sung in the new song of the Lamb, so anciently slain, from the foundation of the world, and quite as old as that same old serpent called the Devil and Satan, who, in the *role* of the heaven, deceiveth the whole world. Abraham, or Kronos, saw that same old Lamb caught in a thicket by his horns, and made of him a sacrificial atonement as the Lamb of God. Kronos, too, was the feeble old man in the planet Saturn, and was the same as Moloch, Chicur, or Remphan, to whom the Hebrews sometimes sacrificed as the star of their God, as per Amos. In some of his modes of being he was not so feeble as would appear, but was the "Strength of Israel," by preserving the ancient ways. He had a status as the ancient Sab, the Lord of the Sabbath Day, to whom it was consecrated, and as Sabaoth he was the Lord God of hosts, and is often confounded in the One who was divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel. This horoscope of the heaven was in accordance with the time-tables of the old astrologers. As the Lord God of hosts in the Sun-type, he had as many heads and arms as Briarius, each head with the seven eyes of the Lord, and each outstretched arm like the flaming sword of cherubim, which turned every way to keep the tree of life. When he came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir, and shined forth from Mount Paran, he had ten thousand saints in his Godhead, and in his right hand a fiery law for them.

The deified attributes, the personations or angels in Jewry, differed only in names from the gods and goddesses in Gentileism. Though there were Lords many and Gods many, there was but one God who included all the rest. As the visible manifestation of the Most High the Sun was most aptly the day-star of body and soul, and Moses and the seventy elders needed not to have ascended a very high mountain to behold the God of Israel unless the Shekinah abode in a cloud. As the lightning or sun from the east, so the Son of Man cometh with clouds. He would probably have Marsaroth, Leviathan and Behemoth in his train, having eyes before and behind, and all coming up in the wake of that questionable sky-damsel with flaming cheeks who did homage to Lucifer, son of the morning, as the bridegroom coming out of his chamber, for he too was the root and offspring of David, the bright and morning star.

Says Muller: "There is no word expressive of any abstract quality which had not originally a material meaning, nor is there in the ancient language any abstract deity which does not cling with its roots to the soil of nature. So, too, as per St. Paul, the natural or material is first, and in correspondence therewith, the spiritual is superinduced, or the physical and the moral the counterpart of each other. So well did the spirit and the flesh agree, where one was not the other could not be. Hence the resurrection of the body, and the holding fast to the dry bones as the bird in the hand worth two in the bush of the nebulae hypothesis with wide wings spread to be spiritually discerned.

So our Lord, who was spiritually crucified in Egypt, as per John, had various ways of bobbing around in the ancient role, so as to be seen, and then vanishing from sight. That the unfleshed spirit may be seen in mediumistic light, we have no doubt, but the ancients had many and various wisdoms for doing the Word, and so leavened were these wisdoms in the interchangeable representations, that the wisdom spoken among the perfect took the largest range of open vision. Sodom and Egypt were spiritually or enigmatically the land of darkness. As per Muller: "The Sun is frequently represented as the avenger of dark crimes;" and we may see, as per John, what a fleeing there was from the wrath of the Lamb. As the Son of Man came out of the East, and shined even unto the West, so was he also called out of the Egypt, where, it may be, he "preached to the spirits in prison." As per Cudworth: "The ancients physiologized their religions," and so completely do the physical or natural and spiritual reflect each other, that it is difficult to divide the sub from the super strata. When the Sun was in his fullest summer strength, how his wrath was kindled, as he awakened as one out of sleep, as a strong man that shouteth by reason of wine. How he smote his enemies in their hinder parts, and put them to perpetual reproach. And when he went down to the dark land, or into the heart of the earth, how he set on fire the foundations of the mountains, and burned to lowest hell as the avenger of dark crime. As per Moses: "I will heap mischiefs upon them—I will spend mine arrows upon them, burning them with hunger and devouring them with heat. I will also send the teeth of beasts upon them, with the poison of the serpents of the dust."

Well was it said that "our God is a consuming fire," for so appeared the Sun in the sign of Leo, as a lion roareth, "there went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured. He burned the heavens, also, and came down, and darkness was under his feet." Those huge beasts which swim the ocean stream, and St. John saw coming up from the sea, or dark waters of the under world, make good mythology, but are rather questionable otherwise.

When the servants of David smote of Benjamin's and Abner's men, so that three hundred and three score men died, there is a man to each degree of the solar circle; and in old time the five supernumerary days, hours, etc., were known as "the sons of Sab"—the Kronos or Ancient of Days—old as the Sun-God who dwelt between the cherubim, who, as



winged with the wind, did fly therewith; "and he rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind"—nor less did the "great woman" fly with the two wings of a great eagle when she fled from the face of the serpent who sought to keep her among his spirits in prison. Ah, that same old serpent! how he has kept the woman submerged even unto this day. How gloriously appear the Rev. J. D. Fulton and other Right Reverends in God with Moses and Paul, pelting the woman down, as in *Æsop's Fables* the boys did the frogs.

It was the Spirit of all things who had his tabernacle in the Sun—the Spirit of the Burning Bush and God of the consuming fire, and not always in such consummation as was devoutly to be wished. The Spirit of the Moon was "tender-eyed," but much was she blessed in the land of Joseph for the precious things she put forth. The trumpet was blown up in the new moon as a statue for Israel and a law of the God of Jacob. This he ordained for a testimony in Joseph. And when she walked in brightness, or *en panier* of cloud, a voice from trump of Sinai was heard exceeding loud:

Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, a loud noise all the earth,  
For the moon in land of Joseph has come to her new birth.

The siege of Troy is beginning to be understood as "a magnificent solar epic," and Helen a damsel to be fought for as the body of Moses by Michael and the Devil. What was the root of Helen? Did she cling to the soil of nature while appearing among many other daughters of God? Did she walk a parallel plane with eve, the great woman, and the Lamb? Wife in the root and offspring of David? or where did she come from? Was she part of that universal leaven that leavened the three measures of meal, or past, present and future, which was, is and is to come? Did she have a squatter sovereignty in the *Amen* of the faithful and true witness, the beginning of creation of God? And could she fetch a compass equal to the Dawn, "who had a thousand names in ancient language because she called forth a thousand and different feelings in ancient hearts?"

O, orient damsels of the ancient days!  
How many times ten thousand were your ways  
For doing sons of God and Satan too,  
As he among them to and fro went through.  
Taking a third of heaven's stars for fight,

Which he in field could only set at night;  
For Michael—"Strength of God"—in Day-star rose  
And dealt the Devil such tremendous blows  
That, spreading all his wings in sore affright,  
He fled, and with him fled the shades of night.  
The last line Milton counted in the sum  
To make the Devil flee the wrath to come.

The Devil done for over land and sea;  
The Son triumphing and his people free;  
The women sang him in Jehovah's name,  
As war or love was kindled in the flames—  
Their timbrels, sounding to the crack of doom,  
Awakened all the saints from out the tomb.  
No more a little sleep—no more of snoring—  
From narcotin distilled from sermon-boring.

So Zion's daughters of the stern affray  
Sang amorous ditties all a summer's day  
To smooth Adonis, Thammur or our Lord.  
For war or love they used the two-edged sword.  
If Saul slew thousands, David slew his ten  
Of thousands; and, of all this host of men,  
The damsels sang them as they fell down slain—  
By change of base they rose and fought again.

For Jezebel my people would seduce,  
And in her train bring up all hell broke loose;  
And Balaam, too, with women flanked the Lord,  
Till Phinehas pinned Cosby with a sword.  
Then from the children the Lord's wrath was turned—  
No longer to the lowest hell it burned—  
Nor old foundations more he wet on fire;  
But all the women sang an octave higher.

When Samson, with the jaw-bone of an ass,  
A thousand slew upon the sky of brass,  
The Sun at summer solstice in that sign,  
With strange fire from the Lord came down malign,  
And fiery-flying serpents flew around,  
And scar'd the people in a deadly wound,  
Till one of brass was made to cure instant,  
*Similia similibus curantur.*

The daughters of Moab, like the daughters of Zion, sang madrigals to the shining one, and to the virgin of the morning and evening twilight, the tender-eyed as well as Leah and the moon. Says Mr. Cox: "Perfectly natural and marvelously beautiful and true, we see the lonely evening twilight die out before the coming night, but when they saw this, they said the beautiful Euridike had been stung by serpent of darkness, and that Orpheus had gone to bring her back from the land of the dead. We see the light that had vanished in the West reappear in the East; but they said that Euridike was now returning to the earth. And as this tender light is seen no more, they said that Orpheus had turned round too soon to look at her, and so was parted from the wife whom he loved so dearly." Says Muller: "Not only do meaningless legends receive by this process a meaning and a beauty of their own, but some of the most revolting features of classical mythology are removed, and their true purport discovered."

So, too, the Bible will have many of its revolting features removed when we learn to read in the true spirit of its mythology—when the veil of the letter is lifted from Moses, the Prophets and the Gospels, and the babes in Christ be ready to go forward and partake of the strong meat.

How aptly does that same old serpent of darkness, who stung Euridike, become one with him who is called Devil and Satan; who stung Eve and brought death into the world, and all our woe, with loss of Eden, till the Sun comes up to regain the blissful seat and this Man restore us. How his face is as the Sun and his raiment as the light, as no fuller on earth can whiten it. How the voice from the cloud said, "This is my beloved Son." How the saints who escape the night serpent come out of great tribulation and have their robes washed white in the blood of the Lamb, or be transfigured with the Sun, as through the blood-bed of purple and scarlet he rises, and with the Bridegroom coming out of his chamber, go up to the Jerusalem above and leave old Lucifer to fall from heaven.

O, the depths of Satan among the sons and daughters of God in the signs and seasons for the fall and rising again of many in Israel. How like Pluto he does the domains of the underworld, yet seeking to compass the camp of the Saints in the Elysian Fields. But Michael, their prince, held with them, as per Daniel, and in vain did the Dragon and his angels fight. The sons of Zemimah be too hard for them.

### TO EVERY FRIEND OF EQUALITY.

After reading this, the next thing you should do is to send your names and those of your friends to be added to the petition on the eighth page, and if you have any desire to have the cause spread, enclose therewith one dollar, to be used for that purpose by the committee.

### THE FITNESS OF POLITICS FOR WOMEN.

BY MARION MARTIN.

#### NO. II.

Politics being the science of government, in the true acceptance of the term, cannot surely be unfit for women's participation unless they are possessed of such angelic natures that the responsibilities and regulations pertaining to humanity are a contamination, and this, certainly, is not the idea had in view when it is objected that politics is unfit for women, for it is sagely decided that they shall be punishable by the laws, the making and administering of which politics is the science.

But the common acceptance of the term politics, as gathered from the mode in which it is at present exercised, presents to the mind the idea of party-spirit, office-seeking, intrigue and fraud, with all their accompanying vices, such as drinking, swearing, smoking, fighting, gambling, etc.; and it is manifestly evident that upon this perverted condition of the science these objections are founded. But look, ye who present such objections, what a degraded ideal this is. Is it worthy the American people, or is it in keeping with the present standard of civilization? If this is to be the standard for our Government, God only knows what fate awaits it; for when a nation succumbs to such corruption as its governing principle, it must be near its fall!

Looking upon this picture of moral depravity, who can fail to see that it is not in the science, neither is it in the privilege of engaging in it, but that it is in the position it offers to the few for self-aggrandisement, which stimulates man's inordinate love of power, and which is manifested even in children in the boyish aspirations for the cognomen of "bully," which rude nature is here placed beyond the reach of woman's counteracting influence. But if woman was allowed a participation in the privileges and honors of politics, gallantry, which nature forces man to concede to her, would check this reckless ambition for power and supremacy and oblige him to lay aside some of his self-sufficiency, here as elsewhere, out of mere civility; besides this, the propensity being deficient in the nature of woman, would flourish just the element wanted in politics to put to shame and do away with this corruption, while her innate refinement would give to ambition a more elevated object than mere love of power.

Looking at the objections to woman's participation in politics in the light of the vices that are its invariable accompaniment, who can fail to see these are not necessary to the science or the privilege of engaging in it; but that these, too, are the outgrowth of man's ruder nature—the necessary accompaniment of his superior courage and strength, left to itself, unchecked and unabashed by woman's refining presence. Yet these very vices are presented as objections to woman's participation in political affairs, lest her refinement should be contaminated by coming in contact with them. What a climax of absurdity! Are not these vices that glare out so hideously in public life, beyond the sphere assigned to woman, the very same that she has had to contend with in the waywardness of boyhood and youth? And are they not as the same that were held in check by her presence and refining influence in the domestic and social relations?—and would they not vanish now as then were she only permitted to enter their forbidden haunts?

In conclusion, we would say, no one would presume to advance these objections unless they have a very perverted idea of politics, or are fearful that men's pet vices will be destroyed, which event would be sad indeed, considering the zeal and pertinacity with which they have been cultivated.

And what is more, no one would make these vices a scare-crow to frighten women from demanding the ballot, unless they have a false idea of women's refinement, believing it

to be that spurious kind of virtue that must be secured from contact with impurity to maintain its integrity—a light that will be extinguished when placed where it can benefit the world—a jewel that will be tarnished when exposed to public gaze.

If woman's refinement is only the result of the degraded and dependent position assigned to her it is purchased at a fearful price, and if it can be so easily contaminated it is but a spurious article and not worth the pains taken for its preservation.

In view of these facts is it strange that women proffer their services to right these wrongs? When we consider the sad confusion into which politics has been betrayed by man's exclusive rule, principle having been sacrificed for fame, honor bartered for office, and merchandise made of the ballot, should they longer keep silent, and that too in the very face of ruin and under the conviction that there is a refining, ennobling element wanted in politics, that woman's finer nature, intuitive perception and aptness for moral truth can alone supply, and knowing, as they do, that this is the only department of public life that presents such a picture of moral corruption, because it is the only one from which women have been so exclusively debarred?

### WASHINGTON REPORT.

We have had numerous applications from various parties for the report of the proceedings of the Central Women's Suffrage Bureau, held at Washington, March 3.

For such report we are indebted to Mrs. R. C. Dennison, which is as follows:

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

A meeting of the Central Women's Suffrage Bureau was held yesterday afternoon, in the lecture-room of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Mrs. B. A. Lockwood called the meeting to order and Mrs. Paulina W. Davis was called to the chair.

The hall was well filled with ladies, and a few gentlemen came in toward the close of the meeting.

Mrs. Davis, in calling the meeting to order, said that she hoped that, as usual, the utmost freedom of expression of opinion would be indulged in.

Mrs. Lockwood then arose and said there were two questions which she hoped would receive the consideration of meeting. One was the establishment of a

#### CLASS IN LAW STUDIES

for ladies by the Free National University, and the other was the printing, in a cheap, complete form, the Constitution of the United States, that every woman in the land might be able to obtain and read it. She said that there was not now a complete copy, with all the amendments, extant, that she was able to find, except the one published in

HORACE GREELEY'S ALMANAC,

and she thought that it was the duty of this meeting to take some action in the matter.

Professor Wedgwood was then called upon to make a statement in relation to the law class for ladies established in the university of which he was a professor. He stated that the class had already been established, and that a large number of women were in attendance, and that to accommodate all who desired to attend they were going to open a new class. He said that in the National University women had the same privileges as men.

MRS. M. C. CARNER

was the next speaker, and said that a woman had made application for a professorship in the medical department of Howard University, and she desired to get the sense of the meeting upon the matter. She said this lady was a graduate of a New York college of high standing, and had also graduated from the University of Berlin, Germany, and was in all respects a most competent physician, and she was exceedingly anxious that the chair in the college should be secured to her with the same standing in all respects as gentlemen professors. The professorship, she said, would cost \$400. She hoped the meeting would take some action in regard to this matter.

Mrs. Davis said this was a matter that came home to her personally. She had, twenty years ago, longed to become a physician, and had gone all over the country seeking admission to different colleges, but was turned away, and now to see

#### A WOMAN PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE

in a college would to her be a glorious sight.

Mrs. Lockwood then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the ladies of the Central Woman's Suffrage Union most heartily endorse the idea of establishing a medical professorship, to be filled by a woman, at Howard University, and that a committee be appointed by this meeting whose duty it will be to raise funds for purchasing the same.

The committee was appointed as follows: Mrs. M. T. Carner, Mrs. B. A. Lockwood, Mrs. S. A. Edson, Mrs. C. B. Winslow and Mrs. Archibald.

MRS. SENATOR STEARNS,

of Minnesota, then arose, and said that she desired to offer a resolution that deeply affected every woman interested in the cause of woman's suffrage. She hoped it would be concurred in by the meeting. It was as follows:

*Be it Resolved*, That we honor Victoria C. Woodhull for her fine intellectual ability, her courage and independence of character, her liberality and high moral worth, and since her every word and look and act impresses us with the conviction that she is profoundly in earnest, we feel that for this earnestness and fearlessness we, as women, owe her a debt of gratitude which we can only repay by working with and for her with our whole hearts.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

A general discussion was then entered into upon the condition of the woman's suffrage movement, Dr. Mary Walker, Mrs. Carner, Mrs. Archibald, Mrs. Ricker, Mrs. Barlow, Mrs. Lockwood and others taking part, the points advanced, especially those in relation to association together in political matters.

Mrs. Davis said, that as the meeting was about to close, she hoped that the subscription would be opened for the purchase of the medical professorship, before alluded to, that any present might be allowed the privilege of subscribing to the object.

Mrs. Lockwood prepared a subscription list, and about \$100 was subscribed, when the meeting adjourned.

R. C. DENISON.



(CONTINUED FROM NINTH PAGE.)

argument as correct, which we cheerfully do, we still claim it as one in favor of free trade; thus, whereas the revenues are more faithfully collected under a small duty than a large one, therefore the laws are more justly executed, and taxation falls more where it is intended that it should fall.

Turning, however, to a larger experience than any we have yet had, we find that on referring to the revenue collected by the English Government in 1847 from the free trade policy and reduction of duties in 1846, Sir Charles Wood said: "For the first time in the memory of any person conversant with financial matters, it has been unnecessary to have recourse to deficiency bills, there being a balance of £9,000,000 in the treasury."

This is a most remarkable statement, that the most notable year of free-trade policy should produce a plethora of revenue previously unknown to the then living statesmen, is a circumstance and one to which we would call the particular attention of protectionists. From a return made to the English House of Commons in 1850, it appears that the average amount of duty collected on corn in England, under a protective tariff, covering the twenty years preceding 1847, was £372,590, while the amount collected under the first year of the general free trade system was £615,814, or nearly two-thirds greater. This again is strongly corroborative evidence of the superiority of free trade, even as a policy, to produce revenue, and meet the necessities of the Government.

A still later return demonstrates that from 1841 to 1851 import duties in England to the amount of £500,000,000 were repealed, the result being an increase in the amount of revenue collected to the extent of £4,726,000.

In the face of these facts it would be positively amusing, were it not so injurious, to hear journalists and politicians advance protectionist theories. We will defy any one of these gentlemen to point out to us a single case wherein a relaxation of either prohibitory or protective duties has not reduced the cost and increased the consumption of the article so relieved, and increased the revenues from that article to the Government.

We have taken our statistics from English experience, because we have no domestic experience, and certainly should not refuse to consider and apply that which the practice of other nations may point out as most desirable and beneficial. The ground we have traveled over is not merely an exceptional year or two, but covers at least twenty-five of the most eventful free trade vs. protectionist years in the history of the world.

We have given every tabular statement laid before the English Government upon this question, and, without one single exception, they point to the benefits in every particular of free trade—as national policy—as the most encouraging and conducive to the growth of manufactures—as the most desirable for the working classes—for the creation of national wealth, and even for the production of revenue.

#### HINTS TO YOUNG LADIES:

OR,

#### LIFE, MANNERS AND SCHOLARSHIP.

In a previous article I introduced to you the subject of womanly manners and culture, and it has been suggested to me that I should continue and elaborate it. A lady without fine manners is like a rose without perfume, for manners are the aroma of character as well as the flower thereof. I notice that our young ladies, inheriting the love of freedom that belongs to the race, the soil and the Constitution, are too apt to pre-empt upon their freedom, and run into a certain lawlessness of behavior which has a smack of the freebooter in it, and is in no wise befitting to them or a tractive to gentlemen. No one admires more than I do a brave, self-reliant woman who has passed through the fires of persecution and the "baptism of sorrow," and become a law to herself, leading a life untrammelled by custom, prejudice and the effete traditions of society, and obedient only to her own high and pure soul. But a life without law or even the wholesome and beautiful restraint which springs from the idea of ladylike decorum in the intercourse of women or with the opposite sex is the lowest condition to which human savagery can sink.

But even in what is called "good society" there is far too much of license permissible in the manners of ladies. They are loud, demonstrative, defiant, and their conversation often as scientifically pugilistic as the prize ring; "hitting" and "countering," putting one another into "chancery" and the like, and not unfrequently ending in real ill-feeling, if not in downright quarreling. But a lady is never loud, never demonstrative. She is an island, girt about by an impassable barrier of fine manners and self-respect. In her presence there is always an evening atmosphere of serenity and calm. One never sees her rush laughing and boisterous into a room where there is company assembled, nor does she rudely force herself into the conversation, denying this and sneering at that opinion and making herself generally disagreeable. She is the opposite of all that. She has been well bred and educated, and her manners are ethic. Rudeness is simply impossible to her, and she is a Christian more than she knows.

Let there be as much hearty good-will expressed between friends or acquaintances as their mutual nearness or dearness may warrant, but avoid extravagance and the affectation of display. Young ladies should be very circumspect

in their behavior; not bold and talkative, but modest, like a violet; for there is no sweetness in their sex like modesty. It is immoral to be rude, and violates the fundamental law of our religion which commands us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is rudeness to answer with a sneering countenance or in a rough tone of voice—all jostling of persons, practical jokes, insisting upon preference in matters of place—all loud talking, disrespectful words, nicknames, laughter at personal deformities and peculiarities, and whatever else is evil in the category—are manifestations of rudeness, often of something worse, as having a deeper seat in the moral nature; and, as Hamlet says to the players, "I pray you, avoid it!"

If we respect ourselves, we shall respect others, and yield to them all rightful courtesies and we in our turn may receive the like from them. And even if they make us no return it is our duty to act by them according to our light and knowledge; for duty is the highest law. It matters little in the spiritual sense whether we receive change for our heavenly coin or not; let us be sure that we, at least, issue no counters which are not intrinsic gold, the ring whereof shall turn the very air to music. Whoso renders evil for good is herself the greatest loser.

And this fine bearing, this beautiful demeanor, which makes life so pleasant and poetic, is more or less within the reach of every one. All can be kind and gentle; forbearing; not hasty to provoke; charitable of failings; in honor preferring one another; in love helping one another; for these are the attributes of good manners.

You will see by the general tone of what I have hitherto said to you that I think very little of *external* accomplishments when they are nothing more than external; when they are merely stuck on to the character like a piece of upholstery; and I have said that all meretricious adornments play the wearer false, and are sure to drop off like peacock's feathers, and leave the poor jackdaw bare, and make him a laughing-stock. Nor do I care for education, so called, which is merely mechanical, and seeks only to cram the pupils with knowledge. If that were the be-all and end-all of education, I see no good of the soul, and think it might very well be dispensed with, as an unnecessary expenditure of divine power; and young ladies, might just as well have been so many beautiful mechanical dolls. But, as I understand education, it does not mean cramming with the dry bones of learning, but developing the faculties of mind, and the sympathies and affections of the heart. So that what you learn is for the higher prospect of culture—is to be absorbed by you as nourishment as a great stimulus to your faculties—to make you think wisely and act bravely and beautifully, as becomes maidens and women.

In school you get the foundation of that knowledge which is to make your characters. And when you leave it, you will have to study on your own account. None of us ever learned much at school; but it is of incalculable importance that all should get the right basis and bias at school, so that when a scholar leaves he shall have chart and compass to go by, and a good cargo on board.

I have said that all school learning, even the best, does not amount to much, and you will find this is true when you have left school; that is to say, if you continue your education afterward, as I sincerely hope every one of you will on your own account. You will have, indeed, to study a great deal if you truly desire to make the best of yourselves and to move creditably in cultivated society. Good manners, as we have seen and said, are of immense importance in society, but these are not all, and can never make up for lettered deficiency. You must not only be well bred ladies, but intelligent and well-informed ladies, able to take a modest and intelligent part in lettered conversations. I have no time, and it may be just now that you have not the inclination to listen to me if I had, to map out a course of reading for you, such as would equip you for the tournaments I have spoken of, but I ought not to let this opportunity pass without telling you that a general acquaintance with English literature is indispensable to every lady's education.

I am well aware how great this subject, as a study, is, and what long and close application it requires before any one can say he has even a fair knowledge of it. But there are books which will render this study not only easy, comparatively speaking, but intensely interesting. There is Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English Literature for one, and Craike's History for another. The poetical literature, at all events, will prove attractive to you, commencing with Chaucer and ending with the modern poets.

See how easy it is to get acquainted with the poets. Begin, as I said, with Chaucer, then take Shakespeare as the great representative of the human intellect and imagination in Elizabeth's time, and find out the poets and dramatists of his age, and read well all you can find of their works, if it be only in extracts, such as Chambers gives. You will thus have a good idea of the Shakespearean era, the Augustan era of our literature. Then take Milton and find who were his contemporaries, and master them. Then go to Pope, who has made a very distinctive era, and not a very grand one. Pass then to Cowper and Burns, who were the heralds of our modern literature, with its new life and power. How new, you will discover best by finding out, first of all, how old, imbecile and pedantic the poets of the Pope era were.

You can take the same course precisely with the prose writers, and range round the representative men of each age the philosophers, historians, statesmen, essayists and the rest.

You will never regret this study. It will make you taller, wiser and better woman by many inches than you can be without it.

Heed, also, works of imagination. Don't be afraid of such, but take large doses of them, and be sure they will do you good.

Above all, live you with beautiful thoughts now and evermore, and resolve that you will not waste your lives, but strive ever after the good and true, the holy and the everlasting. It is a very serious thing, this which we call life, and living is a very serious business, which you will all come to see by and by. Make your lives great by great endeavors and high aims. Take care that the specious rationalism—so popular, so fashionable in this day, and so utterly ruinous of all holy feeling—does not run away with you. There is great danger of this, for we are all rational here in America, and believe in nothing which we cannot cut with our knives; testing religion by the understanding, and reducing God himself to a problem of mathematics. Young ladies, I profess to be a rational man, but I hate the thing called rationalism, and all the rational tendencies of this age, which, indeed, are fast destroying the souls of the people; robbing them of their supremest attributes, and stripping the world of all its poetry and beauty. Keep you your souls alive to all good feelings—to faith and trust and belief in the Infinite. We are surrounded by wonder and mystery, and it is good in the highest possible sense to feel this, to cultivate reverence for the Maker of all this, and not to care about rationalism which is so very learned, and so eager to prove all things and bring them to the tests of science and common sense, when the poor, pedantic thing cannot prove anything, does not know the first letter in the alphabet of God, and cannot tell me the mystery of the growth and coloring of the simplest flower.

In conclusion, I will hope that some of you at least, if not all of you, may see the import to you and to your sex of these last remarks of mine. They have a most important meaning for you, which whoso sees and understands will gratefully garner up in her inmost being. For although it is fashionable, in these rationalistic circles, to laugh at religion as a dead thing, and to ridicule it as if the profession of it were an impugment of the intellect of the professors, be sure that religion is not a dead thing, but now and evermore a most vital and vitalizing reality, full of beneficence and the grandest moral power and of the sweetest and holiest beauty. Religion cannot die, for it has its roots in the human soul and is as indestructible as God himself. Forms, theories, doctrines may die—and a good shutness to most of them as very bad rubbish, and a decent burial to them! But love, faith and reverence can never die; and the more you possess of these attributes the greater and more beautiful will you become.

I am no priest, young ladies, and do not at all affect the priestly office; but I love my fellows, men and women both, and knowing the value of the religious element and its cultivation to character, I am constrained to give it its due place, at this time, in this address.

Remember, however, that it is not superstition which I am inculcating and insisting on here. I am a foe to the death to all superstition, and to all attempts, by dogmas or otherwise, to put shackles upon the human intellect and narrow the affections of the human heart. I desire, therefore, to see you, and all women, trust yourselves as well as God, have faith in yourselves and in the final appeal to your own souls in all matters of belief and conduct.

American women should be the first in the world, as being the freest and possessing the most intellectual advantages. They, the mothers of this republic, are the wombs of its civilization, and upon them depends the grandeur of American destiny. A great destiny is before our country, young ladies, and a civilization altogether new, with new thoughts, modes, manners, customs; new empires of religion and morals; new literature; new laws and new life. But all that lies far away in the future, with few portents shadowing it in the present, but all things tending to it, the great Hand of the Almighty guiding and directing all, bringing out of our low political profligacy, our moral profligacy, our enormous crimes and wickedness, his own grand and predestined issues. For here, as I believe, what highest possibilities are in the human soul are to be developed, and the final destiny of the human race is to be wrought out.

I would say more to you if I had time, and if I thought you were willing to hear me. What I have said has been rapidly, and far too loosely written, I know. But I hope you will carry away a good suggestion here and there, and remember that a beautiful and cultivated nature is better than a beautiful face without this culture, and that you are here to get a cultivated nature.

GEORGE SEARLE PHILLIPS.

THE *Washington Republican* says: "Mrs. Frances Rose Mackinley is the last accession to the lecture platform. She is described as a Southern brunette, of Spanish descent and striking beauty, with half Grecian profile, dark and clustering hair, deep, rich voice, fascinating presence, great command of words and brilliant mind. Her recent lecture on 'Woman's Achievements' was very favorably noticed by the critical New York press."

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

LYNDENVILLE, N. Y.

GEO. L. CLARK.



[For Woodhull &amp; Claflin's Weekly.]

## I'LL NEVER FORGET THEE.

BY M. L. M.

I'll never forget thee, my loved one; no, never,  
So long as acute memory fulfills her part,  
Your image is stamped there indelibly ever,  
To be fondly cherished down deep in my heart.

Though time's flitting progress shall bring many changes,  
And distant miles seem a strong barrier between,  
And circumstances introduce many strangers,  
I ne'er shall forget what the dear past has been.

Though fate may allot us a different station,  
And we may never be more than friend unto friend,  
My heart needs no proof of a dearer relation,  
To convince me that love will endure to the end.

And although I must bid the lasting adieu,  
And again your loved face I may never more see,  
I'll invoke the good angels' care to protect thee,  
And kindly request that you remember me.

## THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

## THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS AT PRESENT IN FORCE.

BY J. F. BYRNES, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, 504 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I have limited the Woman's Rights question as above because that is what I propose treating of, and because the subject thus limited is a clear one. Any question touching the political rights of the citizen, or of a class of citizens, in or under a Government like ours, is of importance, and should be treated candidly, fairly and gravely. Webster defines political rights to be "rights that belong to a citizen as an individual of a nation." A right again is defined to be "a just claim," "that which justly belongs to one." I take it, then, that a political right may be said to be "that which justly belongs to a citizen as an individual of a nation by right of citizenship." I desire to show, as I believe it to be the fact, that the right to vote is an inherent right of citizenship, subject to certain restrictions, but of which right the citizen cannot be deprived.

Previous to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution the term "citizen" had an uncertain significance. In the "Dred Scott" case, finished in 1856, the term citizen was considered and the question of citizenship was elaborately discussed, and it had to be, as one point of the case turned upon the question of citizenship; and, while a large class of persons were disfranchised by the decision, no class of persons by name were defined to be citizens of the United States. There was, however, affirmed a citizenship of a State, distinct and different from citizenship of the United States, and inferior to it in rights and privileges. Justice Curtis, in delivering his dissenting opinion in the case, alluded to citizens of different rights as being all citizens of the United States, but says "That the Constitution itself has defined citizenship of the United States, by declaring what persons born within the several States shall or shall not be citizens of the United States will not be pretended. It contains no such declaration." Women were alluded to as citizens by both the Chief Justice and Justice Curtis—by the latter as citizens whose rights were to be determined by the respective States in accordance with their views of the necessities or experiences of their several conditions. "One State," says he, "may confine the right of suffrage to white male citizens; another may extend it to colored persons and females."

One thing is certain; at the present time no State may or can confine the right of suffrage as above alleged. Whether it can deny the right to any class of citizens we will consider. The necessity for defining citizenship and protecting the rights of the citizen led to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Its language is: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," etc.

To whatever extent women born or naturalized in the United States were citizens prior to this amendment, under it there is no doubt of the extent of their citizenship. They are citizens of the United States, and of the States wherein they reside, with all the rights and immunities of such citizens. Nor may any State abridge, much less annul or destroy, the right of such citizens of the United States.

Is the right to vote a right of national citizenship, an inherent right, or is it something which a State can bestow or deny?

The Constitution has nowhere declared in terms that the right to vote shall attach to every citizen. But it has, by the language of the Fifteenth Amendment, declared in terms 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."

Here the language as to the right of the citizens of the United States to vote is particular as to the thing to be done by such citizens, and general as to the class by whom the particular thing is to be done. If it is claimed that the exemption from restriction applies to a particular class only, and that another class might be restricted, then I allege the restriction must be of the right to vote, which is in itself a recognition of the right.

The Constitution of the United States has neither denied nor restricted the right to vote to any class of citizens. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.—Fourteenth Amendment.

It is very evident that the right of the different States to restrict the right to vote to particular classes of citizens of the United States, within the respective States, has been restrained or destroyed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The limitation of the right to vote to white males is now

inoperative and wholly void. What sustains the limitation to males would seem to be difficult to define. The term, "all citizens," used in the Fourteenth Amendment, is comprehensive, and should be used in its fullest extent. I am sustained in this view by the opinion of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, when treating of the interpretation of the words "all men" in the Declaration of Independence. The language of the Amendments is involved in no doubt; "And," says Justice McLean in the case referred to, "the Constitution was intended to be a practical instrument, and where its language is too plain to be misunderstood the argument ends." In affirming the right of the citizens of the United States to vote the Fifteenth Amendment has added nothing to their rights; it has simply affirmed them. The Fourteenth Amendment has indeed restricted the States from impairing those rights, either by their Constitutions or the laws under them. That the right to vote is a right inherent in the citizen, is not only certain upon general principles and is so affirmed by the Fifteenth Amendment, but I think I shall be able to show that the doctrine is sustained by law, by adjudicated cases, prior to the adoption of either of the amendments to the Constitution referred to.

Says Judge Curtis in the case alluded to: "It would not be easy to fix on any political truth, better established or more fully admitted in any country, than that taxation and representation must exist together. We went into the War of the Revolution to assert it, and it is incorporated as fundamental into all American Constitutions."

But are females taxed in the sense to which this doctrine refers? Taxes are defined by Sheppard, in his "Constitutional Text Book," to be "a duty laid by Government, for its service, on the person, property or income of individuals, and are of two kinds, direct and indirect. A direct tax is laid directly on the income or property itself; an indirect tax is one levied on articles of production or consumption."

Article I, section 2, clause of the Constitution requires that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States, according to their respective numbers, as determined by the census. And section 9, clause 4 of the same article prohibits any capitation or other direct tax, unless in proportion to the census. A capitation, or, as it is sometimes called, a "poll tax," is a tax imposed upon each head or person of the population.

There are then paid by the women of the country millions of dollars, in taxes, both direct and indirect. They (the women) are counted in the census, and all direct capitation or poll taxes are levied with respect to that enumeration of the people of whom they are about an equal half part. It is the taxation, as citizens of the United States, that entitles them to representation under the Constitution.

The object of all taxes is the same—the support of the Government; and those upon whom they were levied, and by whom they are paid, have that undoubted right to a direct voice in their imposition, asserted in the declaration that taxation and representation should be coexistent. It is this general taxation which secures representation, and not any special State imposition.

Again, says Chief Justice Taney, "The words 'people' of the United States and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the Government, through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the 'sovereign people,' and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty." It must be borne in mind that every word and sentence of this opinion was carefully written and thoroughly considered for purposes well understood at the time, nor forgotten since. It will not do to affirm that it meant every male citizen, nor will it answer to assert that this sovereignty was confined to but one-half the people of the country. If, then, the female citizens, constituting, as they do, one-half of the nation, and are the guardians or depositories of one-half the sovereign power of the nation, there would seem to be something monstrous in denying to them a share in the actual participation of the Government. In fact, the thing was not always done. Women voted in New Jersey for years, under the old Constitution, upon equal terms with male citizens, and this fact is a full answer to any objection as to not only their right, but the propriety of the exercise of that right.

I totally deny that in a representative government, where a proportion of the sovereignty resides with every citizen, that one half of the number can exercise all the functions of government to the exclusion of the other half. We are speaking of citizens and their rights, and it will not do to set up fanciful theories to sustain absolute and palpable political wrongs.

To the point that the ballot is an incident of citizenship, I would quote the language of Chancellor Kent, second volume Commentaries, page 66. Speaking of naturalization, he says: "Naturalization is the act of the United States by which an alien is invested with all the rights and privileges of a native-born citizen or subject. A person duly naturalized in the United States becomes entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a natural born citizen, except that a residence of seven years is required to entitle him to hold a seat in Congress, and that he is not eligible to the office of President or Vice-President. To entitle an alien to vote, he must be naturalized. He cannot vote without such naturalization. He becomes entitled to the right to vote upon such naturalization, subject only to those regulations of assessment, tax, etc."

The evidence of right, when challenged upon citizenship, is the production of naturalization papers. These produced, certify citizenship and secure the right to vote incident thereto.

By the right to vote I do not mean a right apart from the proper legal regulations of its enjoyment; but a right to which the election laws have relation, securing the citizen thereby against frauds and corrupt practices; and it is as well to say just here that it is this right for which I now argue.

Citizenship may be acquired by treaty as well as by naturalization, and with like effect, as will be shown by the following case decided in Pennsylvania, and reported in P. L. I., vol. II., page 119, "Harold's case." The facts were these—I quote the syllabus: B. being a native of Saxony, who came to New Orleans in 1800 and resided there till 1811, within which time Louisiana had been ceded to the United States by treaty of April 30, 1803; removed to Pennsylvania in 1811, and in 1840, having lived for many years in a particular ward in the borough of Reading, and having annually paid his proportion of county tax, offered himself there as a voter. In the case and upon the above facts the court held that the treaty of April 30, 1803—of which the 8d article declares, That the inhabitants of the ceded Territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and

admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyments of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizenship of the United States, etc.—conferred on him citizenship in the absence of naturalization under the laws which were then and have from time to time still been in force, and that being such citizen, he was entitled to vote under the State Constitution and laws regulating elections. Here the right to vote as incident to citizenship and as one of its immunities and privileges is directly affirmed.

In Massachusetts, in 1811, a case was submitted to the Judges of the Superior Court, and is reported in Massachusetts Reports, page 523. They say: "It would seem superfluous to declare our opinion that the authority given by the Constitution to inhabitants and residents to vote is restricted to such inhabitants and residents as are citizens." And this opinion was upon the express ground that the political rights of the people were not to be extended beyond the citizens of the State. This doctrine I take it was true of New Jersey. When the women of that State voted, they voted as citizens and under the rights of citizenship.

Judge Curtis, in the Dred Scott case, affirmed: "There can be no doubt the enjoyment of the elective franchise is one of the chiefest attributes of citizenship under the American Constitution." There is abundance more of evidence to the same point, going to establish the proposition that the right to vote belongs of right to the citizens of the United States.

I will refer to the case of Corfield vs. Coryell, reported in 4, W. C. C. Reports, page 380, 1. This case, treating of section 2, paragraph 1, of article 4, of the Constitution, which declares "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," says: "This is confined to these privileges and immunities which are in their nature fundamental, which belong of right to the citizens of all free Governments, and which have at all times been enjoyed by the citizens of the several States which compose this Union from the time of their being free, independent and sovereign." After enumerating general rights, such as that to life, liberty, property, locomotion and the like, rights enjoyed by and common to male and female citizens alike, it continues, "To which may be added the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws and Constitutions of the States in which it is to be exercised." Here we find the right to vote affirmed as a fundamental one, enumerated among other rights of the same class, subject only to State regulations. I have cited cases enough to support the view I advanced, that the right of the ballot was the right of the citizen, in the language of the case last cited, a right which belonged of right to the citizen.

The political equality of all the citizens is another fundamental principle in our Government. This is taught in "Sheppard's Constitutional Text Book," and is not subject to a doubt. A division of the citizens into classes, with different privileges attaching to each class, would be nothing less than the establishing of an aristocracy. To deny to females the right to vote there must be found in the Constitution some plain declaration that they are excepted from the term citizens, or that an inequality of rights is consistent with American citizenship. The first proposition is impossible, for nothing of the kind can be found. The only inequality of rights that can be found is under the head of naturalized citizens, and such inequality is definitely set forth.

There is one point well deserving of consideration which I have omitted to notice in its proper order, and of which I wish to speak. That "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is another fundamental principle, and recognized by this Government in its fullest significance. Every individual citizen is the subject of the Government, and in theory all consent to its acts, but without an actual participation in the affairs of the Government how can that consent be expressed? It will not do to say that a mere acquiescence in matters, that you are restricted from participating in, is the consent alluded to in the maxim above quoted. If it were so, then the abject submission of the subjects of a despotism would be construed into that consent which would give to such despotism a just power to oppress. The only consent which can truly give power is that which is coupled with an actual, active participation in the matter of consent—that which, in the matter of government, assists in carrying on the operations of the Government. If female citizens are denied a share in this actual participation, it is idle to speak of their consent; and it must not be forgotten that they constitute one-half of the entire citizenship of the nation. All powers of government operating upon them as a class of citizens are unjust from the terms of the proposition. There is but one mode of expressing consent in the sense alluded to in the above maxim, and that is by the vote. It is the political voice of the nation speaking through the ballot boxes, proclaiming who shall be its rulers, and declaring its policy and its laws. It is the entire sovereignty of the nation which must speak, and to effect this every citizen with whom is lodged a portion of that sovereignty must have a voice, since it has been judicially proclaimed by the highest tribunal in the land that with every citizen resides a portion of the nation's sovereignty. Deny to a class of citizens this power to speak, and you violate justice and establish despotic rule.

It need not be asked whether there is any power in the Government to establish classes of citizens with different and unequal rights, except in the case of naturalization. There is power, however, to prevent the establishment of such classes any where under the Government, and to maintain not only the rights of the citizen but the equality of those rights throughout the whole extent of the country.

I think it has been clearly shown that the right to vote is the inherent right of the citizens of the United States. Now, however, the exercise of this right may have been legally restricted to a particular class prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. We see that subsequent to the adoption of this and the Fifteenth Amendment an important change has been effected, and without any change having been made in the language of the constitutions of the different States or in the election laws. Out of thirty-one States admitted into the Union prior to 1851 but three of these States, under their respective constitutions in force at that date, omitted to limit the franchise to male citizens. Twenty-four of those States restricted the suffrage to white males. In Indiana and Illinois, under their respective constitutions, the ballot was extended to foreigners under certain circumstances, subject to the condition that they should be white and male citizens. From the above facts one thing is evident—and that is a deliberate and systematic exclusion of female citizens from the right to vote, and as positive a restriction, upon the part of a large majority of the States, to white male citizens. In other words, the different States



retained, in the matter of the ballot, the rights of citizens of the United States. But, says section 1, of article 14, of the Constitution, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Under this and the language of the Fifteenth Amendment the restriction to white male citizens has fallen, and the male citizen votes throughout the Union without respect to color or previous condition of servitude. What then is there to sustain upon the part of the several States this other restriction of the ballot to male citizens? We have seen that women are clearly included within the term, citizens of the United States; that the right to vote by judicial decisions is the right of these citizens; and that the right of citizens to vote is affirmed as well by the Fifteenth Amendment. It would seem to follow that the inability to restrict the right of citizens of the United States by any State under the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment swept away the only obstacle in the way of universal suffrage for the citizens of the Nation.

It is doubtful whether any legal change has been made by the adoption of the late Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution in regard to the absolute right of women to vote. It is true they were practically disfranchised under the laws of most of the States—deprived of one of the fundamental rights of the citizen: first, by the conventions which framed the organic law, or the State Legislatures which, under that law, legislated in regard to elections and electors. Let me here again refer to the decision in 4 W. C. C. Reports, where it is ruled that the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the laws and constitutions of the States, is one of the fundamental privileges of the citizen, as are the different and ordinary rights conceded to all, male and female alike. Let me further apply to this fundamental right, this right common to all, the doctrine held by the Chancellor of New Jersey in the case of Attorney-General vs. Stevens, reported, Sax's Chancery Reports, N. J., 369. The following is the language of the court: "The power of the Legislature is not omnipotent; it has boundaries beyond which it cannot pass. In regard to those public rights which appertain to the citizens generally, a common property, it cannot make such a disposition of them as entirely to defeat the citizens of their common rights."

That legislative disposition, then, of the right to vote upon the part of the female citizens, which deprives them of their common right, cannot be made without the legislature overstepping that boundary beyond which it cannot legally pass.

The right of the citizen to vote is a fundamental right—a privilege inherent to the condition of citizenship—one that may be restricted indeed, but within that limit which preserves it in its fullest healthy action.

If the question was as to the right to life, or liberty, or even property—to a tract seven feet by two—no man would question it. Why should it be questioned when it refers to that right which is the conservator and preserver of every other right?

If the law, as laid down above by the learned Chancellor, was sound at the time of its announcement, all legislative deprivation of the right to vote, upon the part of an entire class of citizens, was illegal and void, because the power to deprive of the right was not vested in, and did not belong to, the body which assumed to exercise the power. Bear in mind that there is no dispute with the doctrine and practice of the Legislature to guard and secure from fraudulent practices the right of the ballot. The right or the power of entire deprivation is the only one contested. The right to the ballot is as sacred and as fundamental as the right to life, to liberty, of locomotion, or property, and is no more derived from legislation than is either liberty or life. In fact, under our form of Government, the right to vote is the conservator of all other rights, and is therefore the most important, and should exist co-equal and co-extensive with the others. We make no complaint that life may be forfeited, and liberty and locomotion properly restricted by the laws which guard those rights. We simply deny to any State law, fundamental or otherwise, the right to annul, absolutely, even the least considerable of them. As the Government was instituted to "secure justice," and as Government derives all its just powers from the consent of the governed, it fails in its purpose, and exercises an unjust and illegitimate power when it withholds from an entire class these privileges, with relation to which the class has never been consulted, in relation to which they are denied an utterance.

A convention of one half of the citizens of a State, one half as a class, and with whom is lodged but one half of the sovereign power of the State, can have no rightful legitimate power to frame a Constitution for the entire people of the State, when the remaining half of the citizens, as a separate class, and with whom is lodged one-half of the political power or sovereignty of the State, are excluded from, and are without a voice in, such convention.

We are so accustomed to think of these matters as we have dealt with them, that we lose sight of general and sound principles which have not been reduced to practice, and which, in fact, underlie and support the entire structure of our Government.

If we reflect but for a moment we will find that the exercise of political power, by woman, is not only not a new thing, but a matter really familiar to us all, and dates as far back as the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. It is not worth while to enumerate, even a portion, of the long roll of illustrious women who have wielded the sceptre, and moulded, or assisted to mould, the destinies of empires. To the more attentive ear, to the more fervid imagination, if not to the more sagacious mind of Isabella, we are indebted for the success of Columbus and the discovery of our own New World. Who shall say that to the women of America is long to be denied her rightful voice in the destiny of a people, existing as a nation, by reason of a woman's acts? But to the law upon the subject, and the practical points of the case.

There are but three forms of government recognized—the monarchical, the aristocratic and the democratic. We will deal with the first and the last only.

The accepted doctrine is, that in a monarchy the sovereign power of the State resides with a single person, the monarch. And the monarch may be a woman. This is the theory, and history makes us familiar with the fact. The philosophy of government, as taught, by example, is, that there is and has been for four thousand years, no shadow of inconsistency in woman sharing in or exercising alone absolute political rights—the right to govern—if you please, to meddle in politics—and that up to the shoulders. Under the monarchical form of government, she don't lose caste by being a political personage. She is rather dignified by her political position. If

homely as Elizabeth, she is to all eyes the golden-haired beauty of the realm. If masculine as Catherine, no man saw impropriety in her acts. In plain words, political power never unsexed her in the estimation of the world. So much for the political position of women when the entire sovereignty of the nation resides in a single person. In a democracy all are sovereign. In our own representative democracy I have shown, by judicial authority, the highest in the land, and which none may controvert, that a portion of this nation's sovereignty resides with every citizen. Why shall the republican women of America, every one of whom is politically sovereign, be unsexed by the exercise of the very power which exalts the sovereign woman of England above all men of that nation. I want this question fairly answered before another objection is made to female suffrage in the United States. Be it again remembered I am treating the question as a question of rights, and I am illustrating it by facts, which I challenge the attempt to controvert. Women, then, in the eyes of the law, were citizens of the United States prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Articles of Amendment, and were entitled to vote, but were unjustly restricted by State laws. Since the adoption of these articles of amendment, which, by virtue of article 6 of the Constitution of the United States, or the supreme law of the land, and which the judges of the State courts are bound to enforce. No State can abridge the rights of citizens of the United States. Is there, then, any law existing by which their right can be legally tested? I submit that there is.

The third section of the Act of Congress of May 30th, 1870, passed for carrying into effect the Thirteenth Amendment, seems to me to afford an opportunity of testing the question of female suffrage. The language of the act is as follows: "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 enable 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 unlawful act or omission aforesaid of the persons or officers charged with the duty of receiving or permitting such performances, offered to be performed, or acting therein, be deemed and held as a performance in favor of such act, etc. 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 performed such act." It will be observed that, in the language of this act, the masculine pronoun *he* is used with reference to the term citizen, whose right it is intended to protect.

If this fact be urged against women being included within the meaning of the act, the reply is, that the same term is used in almost every penal statute enacted in every State in the Union, and is taken for and accepted as a general term, embracing every person liable to punishment for crimes committed. The term *he* is thus used in the Constitution of the United States in repeated instances. In article 5 of the amendments providing "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime," etc., the term occurs in this wise, "Nor shall *he* be compelled in any criminal court to be witness against *himself*," etc. Here the term is used in connection with another masculine pronoun, *himself*; and yet it is a general term, and includes women, for they can no more be held to testify against themselves than men.

In article 6, amendments, securing the right of trial by jury, it is provided that the accused shall be "confronted with the witnesses against *him*, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in *his* favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for *his* defence." Here the masculine pronoun is used, but in a sense absolutely general and without distinction of sex. The act referred to then embraces all persons as absolutely as if the specific word *she* had been incorporated into the act. It is not an unnecessary matter thus to descend to particulars in treating the subject. The contest is against custom and prejudice.

The folly and wrong of excluding a woman who is a property holder from participating in the election of that body of citizens composing the councils of a municipality within which her landed estate lies, must be obvious to every one. In this case she has interest directly to be affected by the action of the municipal law makers; yet she is debarred from action, while the pauper whom she helps to support in the public almshouse goes to the polls and assists in the election of those who depress or advance her interests. The man who has not a dollar's interest in property, and who is a burden upon the community, has a right, which the citizen owning a million, providing that citizen be a female, cannot exercise or even claim. If this is not a political absurdity I should like to know what is? But a woman's interest in the State, while probably less direct, is yet as absolute as it is in the township, town or city. Her condition of legal servility is rapidly disappearing before advancing civilization, and that in the face of what, to every one but the legal practitioner, must seem to be very uncommon sense.

Woe be to the layman who reads any modern married-women's act and attempts to act upon it without legal advice. What it reads is nothing; what the courts have defined it to mean—that they have interpreted it—is everything; and its plain English to the uninitiated is as unintelligible as is a dead language. The conservatism of legal tribunals, and I speak of them with profound respect, tends to preserve everything within the iron lines of precedents; and the question of the legal rights of woman has had a contest not only with prejudice and lack of thought and knowledge, but with the skilled antagonism of the legal mind of the entire country.

The question of women's political rights will have to be subjected to the severest legal tests. It is a new question with us. Those citizens now exercising their rights, once assured that women's claims to participate are just, will, I am persuaded, cheerfully co-operate with her and welcome her to her higher national existence—a position of trust, confidence and responsibility to which her American citizenship fully and unreservedly entitles her.

The nation is but an aggregate of communities, which are again made up from the family circle. Of the necessity of women's co-operation in the minor circle, all will admit. With an ever-increasing intelligence upon the part of the entire community, the propriety, nay, the necessity, of her co-operation in the greater communities is not only just—it is wise and necessary. There are now many questions of political significance in which the interests of women are equal, if not paramount, to that of men; questions which she understands with a more thorough understanding, or with which she has keener sympathies—into which her moral forces should enter, if they do not control them. By petition, by remonstrance, she already exercises a power in the nation's affairs—and always in favor of the humanities. In the great question of questions—I mean the "Rights of Labor"—she is largely and fearfully interested. It cannot be set-

led without her co-operation and aid, or if it is set led in favor of her debasement and man's corruption; she has then political interests. She is a citizen, and with this great fact come her political rights; and, with an interest coupled with a right, why should she not at once be put into possession of that right that her interests may be protected?

Is there any sound reason against it? I know of none. It may be—it certainly should be—that, politically, men are wiser than women. It is conceded that women are better than men; but it is also claimed by those whose wisdom is admitted, that the highest and most perfect form of government would be that which was conducted by the wisest and the best.

Combine, then, here in the United States, the wisdom of the male citizen with the higher and purer morality of the female citizen, and we may assume, and with reason, that our Government will in some degree approximate that highest ideal—the government not only of the people but of the wisest and the best.

## PERSONAL HISTORY OF EARL DE GREY.

WHAT HE THINKS OF THE RECEPTION OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The British Commissioners sitting at Washington to adjust the Alabama claims is composed of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest probity, conscientiousness and honor. They are, so to speak, the pick of the United Kingdom. The Earl de Grey and Ripon is perhaps the most popular of all the English nobles. As "Lord Golerich," which was the title of courtesy that he was known by, before he inherited the two combined earldoms which he now represents, with their vast patronage and enormous rent-rolls, he was distinguished for his large and liberal views upon all the great questions of the time, involving the interests of the working classes, and was regarded by them as their truest and most influential friend. He was identified with popular liberty in all its phases, and had the strongest sympathy with the people in their struggles against the tyranny of capital. He defended the Welsh miners in their strike against the injustice practiced upon them by selfish capitalists, and it was currently reported at the time, although we cannot vouch for the fact, that he advanced them large sums of money, at various times, to enable them to sustain their contest. He advocated the ballot and a very wide extension of the suffrage. He was the friend, too, of popular education, of a national system, which should include every child in the kingdom, and compel their parents, if need be, to send them to school, that all might be educated. "The working classes were to be educated," he said, "because they were men whose souls were equal to the highest, and not merely because they were mechanics who had a living to get." The idea of the sacredness of humanity pervaded and animated all his efforts for the workmen. Hence he was the liberal patron of mechanics' institutes, and we have had the honor of meeting him as their advocate upon many a platform in Yorkshire and elsewhere. His extreme liberality in politics pointed him out as the future leader of the radical party in England; and he was sure to be at the head of every good movement whether for charity or social reform. He was summoned to the Upper House too soon, however, for this idea to be carried out.

But no young man was ever more highly honored than he by great constituencies as well as by the working classes. He was elected M. P. for Huddersfield by a large majority over a favorite townsman; and we believe it was during his absence from England that, like Cobden, he was subsequently elected as member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, the largest constituency in England, if not the most radical. This was the culminating political honor of his life.

In private life he is one of the most genial and affable of men. There is not an atom of the pride of rank in his composition. He is equally as accessible to a workman as to one of his own order. He is a brilliant speaker, exceedingly eloquent and powerful as an advocate, and a winning enough at fence when he meets with an incensed antagonist or a trickster.

He is identified also with every sanitary measure for the improvement of the health of cities, and is zealous in his efforts to obtain the free admission of the working classes to all museums of art—Polytechnic exhibitions and the like. He has thrown open the picture galleries and grounds of all his noble mansions to the people, and his beautiful and historic domain of Fountains Abbey at Ripon is the public pleasure ground of the people of Yorkshire through his liberality. He has a whole army of devoted friends, literally so, and possesses the faculty of compelling by the beauty of his own disposition and nature the love of all he comes in contact with.

Writing to a friend in this city, he says, speaking of the reception which the Alabama Commissioners have met with in this country: "My colleagues and I have been much pleased with the friendly reception which we have met with on all hands here; and which we hope augurs well for the result of our labors. But it is too early at present to express any opinion as to what that result may really be."

We sincerely hope that justice will be done on both sides, and that the results alluded to may be of such a nature as to strengthen the ties of friendship between the two countries.

G. S. F.

## 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.



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## WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

### WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The question of the constitutional right of women to citizenship and suffrage having become, in both its legal and political relations, a question of great and immediate importance, a convention for its discussion will be held in the city of New York on the 11th and 12th days of May next, at Apollo Hall, corner of Broadway and Twenty-eighth street. Distinguished and able speakers both men and women, will take part in the discussions. There is at the present time a demand in both political parties for new and vital issues, affording, therefore, a special opportunity for this question to assert its claims, as a political one, upon the attention of the whole country. Every man and woman who believes in a truly Republican form of Government is urgently invited to attend the convention.

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER,  
President.

### 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.

### THE NEXT PRESIDENCY AND THE NEW PARTY.

NO. I.

From time to time we have been the recipients of letters from various persons resident in various parts of the country deprecating the fact that I have put my name before the people as a candidate for the next Presidency, and that I keep it standing on the first page of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. Most of these people profess to think, and there is no doubt they do think that such a course does injury to the cause. I have no desire to con-

ceal anything connected in any manner with the movement to inaugurate a new party—the Cosmo-Political party. This party does not merely base itself upon the inequality now existing in the exercise of political rights, its scope is much broader and includes all inequalities not consistent with the broadest freedom that is compatible with the public good; a perfect equality among all people to the perfect exercise of all their rights as free people and as individuals, and the administration of exact justice to them all. Speculation, theorizing and philosophizing have had their day and done their work. They have worked from the centre outward, or in other words have wrought diffusively. Something different is now required; something constructive must now begin, around which the parties which are now going to pieces can rally. This requires a centralizing idea—one strong and forcibly pronounced which is so far from custom and from former practices as to be *prima facie* evidence of departure from the old and an inauguration of the new.

Ever since the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments became a part of the supreme law of the land I have known that there was no room for doubt regarding the equal political and civil rights of all whom by it were pronounced citizens. Under the original Constitution, literally rendered, free from all interpretations of common custom and practice, all were equal. But these amendments removed the possibility of interpretations being given to it against the rights of any of the people. Hence it was that these amendments "bridged over" what otherwise would have required years of hard toil to accomplish. Instead of being obliged to educate the public prejudice up to the point of a liberal construction of the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been made to compass the end, leaving the public prejudice to grow up to its standard of equality.

This is but another department of the abolition of slavery. To the freedom of the negro the public prejudice is scarcely yet become accustomed. Many people still regard them as inferiors, worthy to be chattels. So, also, do they regard equality for woman. As the public mind must accept the freedom of the first, so also will it be obliged to admit the equality of the last.

I repeat that I knew the great importance of these amendments to the speedy acknowledgment of the enfranchisement of women as citizens, and gave the whole subject the most serious thought. I knew that some bold movement was required that would make apparent the very extreme of results to be anticipated from the realization of equality. What greater departure from precedents than the one I made could have been made? In the New York Herald of April 2, 1870, I announced myself as a candidate for the next Presidency, and by so doing asserted the right of woman to occupy the highest office in the gift of the people.

At the same time I pronounced the disorganization of the Republican party as inevitable. Events which have already occurred fully sustain what I then asserted. I also said: "I am well aware that in assuming this position I shall evoke more ridicule than enthusiasm at the outset. But this is an epoch of sudden changes and startling surprises. What may appear absurd to-day will assume a serious aspect to-morrow. The blacks were cattle in 1860; a negro now sits in Jeff Davis' seat in the United States Senate. Let those, therefore, who ridiculed the negro's claim to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and who lived to see him vote and hold high public position, ridicule the aspirations of women as much as they please, they cannot roll back the rising tide of reform."

"The present position of political parties is anomalous. The minor questions of the hour do not affect parties as such, and no well-defined division of sentiment exists. A great national question is wanted to prevent a descent into pure sectionalism. That question exists in the issue whether women shall remain sunk below the right granted to the negro, or be elevated to all the political rights enjoyed by men."

In thus putting forth the "Woman Question" as that upon which the next Presidential election would turn, it was necessary to have an embodiment of the movement. Without giving thought or care for the ridicule I knew such a course would call upon me, I had the strength and courage to make myself the embodiment of the central idea of the movement. I also knew then, and am fully conscious now, that when any shall arise who shall be a more perfect embodiment of the ideal, then she will be promoted to the place which I assumed, because of the absence of another to fill it.

By no means would I have it understood that I desire that the movement shall be directed in my interest as such candidate. That has nothing whatever to do with it further than as I have stated above. I have, nor make, no claim upon anybody for anything. I have simply done what I felt it my solemn duty to do. Nor have I, nor shall I request support for what some denominate my presumption. I am not entirely certain that I should be willing to assume the arduous responsibilities which accom-

pany the office of President; certainly I should not if I did not feel it to be a further duty.

I think I am a conscientious laborer in the cause of the advancement of humanity. Thus far I have not found the individuals who make up this humanity so fully possessed of the principles of justice as to make the labor a pleasant duty, even were self-aggrandisement the end in view and, by the labor, possible of being attained. What, with the inveterate hatred and persistent malice of my sisters and the contemptible self-importance and overweening self-sufficiency of my brothers, have I had to cheer me in the course I have marked out and which I have so far pursued, sometimes in the face of obstacles that would appall most men. Whatever I have done was simply my duty, for which no one owes me anything. Whatever I may do, it will be what I conceive to be my duty to do, for which no one will owe me anything. Whatever effect the sum total of my efforts may be, when equality and justice shall be ours, it will entitle me to nothing. I shall have done only what it was my duty to do. For doing this I have no right to make a charge upon humanity. They will owe me nothing except the acknowledgment that I am one of them and a sister, which every one has a right to demand.

Therefore, I do not think any should be alarmed because I have announced my candidacy, nor fear that the cause will be injured by keeping it before the public on the first page of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY as a continual warning that *some woman* will be the next President.

I cannot forego the privilege of speaking a few plain words to such of our readers as are so prejudiced and bigoted upon other social questions as not to be able to read anything which does not entirely agree with their preconceived opinions. Such minds as would discontinue the reading of a paper because its editors chance to hold that prostitution is a trade by which women live, only show their own littleness. Rest assured that we feel complimented by the knowing that the free speech we utter finds some tender people whose mental stomachs cannot endure strong food, or a variety to which they are not accustomed.

For ourselves, we have no preconceived opinions. All opinions we possess to-day are open to conviction to-morrow. Principles alone are enduring and true. Policies ever change and should ever change. We never intend to advocate a policy which is not founded upon principle, and all that are thus founded we shall advocate fearlessly and boldly, whether they are met by approving smiles or by frowns of disapproval. Were there never any new thoughts and ideas advanced the world would remain stationary. Every advance in thought is sure to be met by the opposition of everybody who prize preconceived opinions, accepted customs and prevalent practices more highly than they do a desire for truth. Who shall set him or herself up and dogmatically assert their's is all the truth there is? While none of us have arrived at perfection, we should all show constancy by allowing that others may be right and we wrong, excepting when they attempt to deny that two added to two make four.

Our first reason for publishing this journal was to make it the organ of a new party which should stand upon the eternal principles of liberty, equality and justice. Our second was to make it in reality an exemplification of the right of free speech, or a free paper for a free people. If there are people so bound by prejudice, bigotry and intolerance as not to be able to look at a subject through other than their accustomed eyes we are sorry for them. They are not yet free. They are not yet capable of equality, and they only show their disability by assuming what they are not willing to accord to others. The number of those who practice human rights is lamentably small. We trust this journal will increase it.

From what I have said I would not have it inferred that I am proof against or above support and approval in the bold political career which I have taken. What I do wish to make clear is that I shall do what I conceive to be my duty whether it meet approval or the contrary. I may also be pardoned for expressing my sincere thanks for the support which has already been given to me, not as a candidate but as a co-worker in a cause the solution of which it is believed will be arrived at by carrying through the movement I had the privilege of inaugurating. Many of those who have been acknowledged leaders of the movement have come frankly forward and acknowledged the importance of this movement. When we stop and realize that it also has the support of the greatest judge of constitutional law in the country, it must be admitted that those who denounce the movement because it was inaugurated by me, and not by them, are open to the charge of something less than doing their duty.

I labor for the cause of humanity without thought of position to flow from it. I ask every friend of humanity to join in this work. Upon the question of suffrage we are all agreed. Let us then not weaken this cause if all of us are not agreed upon other questions of social reform.



Upon these there is room for disagreement. Let this disagreement be left to settle itself; but do not let it paralyze the efforts which should be unanimously made to induce Congress to act upon the question now before them: the rights of women as citizens under the Constitution as it is.

Every speaker, every paper, every person, who is in favor of equality for women, should use every legitimate means to obtain every possible name as a petitioner to Congress to pass this Declaratory Bill. We learn from Mrs. Griffing that names are pouring in rapidly, but not rapidly enough. A million names should be collected by the next session of Congress. If all friends do their duty double that number will be gathered. No person will pretend to deny that one-twentieth of the population of this country are in favor of equality. Let this twentieth part so express themselves and Congress will not hesitate to pass the required act.

When this is accomplished the era of a diffusive civilization, which was begun by Charlemagne about the year 800, will culminate, and the fourth era of civilization, with a foundation built in the heart of all humanity, will begin. For the first time will the great principle of universal brotherhood find opportunity for exercise. Round its incipient conditions history will aggregate fact upon fact until the whole world will have been brought into the folds of a common government which will be exercised over all people by the consent of all people.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

### THE PEOPLES AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

Has the result of this Franco-German war given to Europe any feeling of security? No. The French people chafe under a national disgrace and dismemberment that they will never submit to. So soon as France has recuperated, the struggle will be renewed; and next time she will enter the contest with the god-speed wishes of European populations at her back and not without allies. The generous French people have ever been the champions of republican freedom. Even under Napoleon III. their voices were ever raised in favor of the freedom of nationalities, save and except the single case of Mexico, and in that exception no blame can be attached to France but only to Napoleon, for it was a Napoleonic idea, against which the French people protested.

During the Schleswig Holstein war we found the voice of France raised in favor of a popular vote; and when the subsequent uprising in Poland occurred, and England, under Lord Palmerston, hobbled with France as to remonstrating with Russia upon her barbarities, France replied that she was prepared to remonstrate in favor of Poland, but that if in the case of Russia declining to listen, England was not prepared to give any effect to the remonstrance, then France declined to interfere, as such a course would only render more oppressive the grasp of Russia upon Poland. The French Government also reminded England that this had already been the case with the remonstrances jointly offered by England and France in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and, therefore, that France was not prepared to stultify herself in like manner again.

What sympathies have the German people shown for the rights of peoples, let the mercenaries she has supplied to the highest bidder answer. They have ever been in the market for sale, and are to-day, to fight for any despot who can afford to pay \$2 a week for them.

Does any sane person pretend to say that Germany herself has gained by the power she has obtained to oppress the ceded French provinces? It is commonly assumed that the unification of Germany is a step in the onward march of freedom; but if this unification means governing provinces by putting a bayonet to their throats, we emphatically call it tyranny, despotism, red-handed national murder, and shall look forward with hope to the day when the outraged peoples will rise and crush the crowned tyrants who have leashed them as a pack of hounds.

The danger to the new kaiser and his unprincipled tool Bismarck comes from within. Both of them are the direst enemies of the truly liberal German people. German unity being accomplished the questions of more liberty, economy and a relaxation of the galling military regime will be their watchword, while these two monarchical despots will contend for heavy taxes, vast standing armies, and all the other paraphernalia of their two-man government.

Already is the cry being raised among the members of the Reichstag for the freedom of the press, the right of assembly trial by jury in political cases, a modification of the term of military service, and the separation of Church and State.

"As for freedom of the (German) press," says the correspondent of the New York Herald, "it is in the most pitiful condition, and confiscations of all journals which dare to have in the least an independent opinion are the order of the day."

Such is the state of the vaunted German Empire; a

cesspool of despotism and popular degradation—having a population probably the most stolid, easily imposed upon, and least capable as guardians of their own liberty of any people in Europe.

Here is a specimen of the German civilization, of which we have heard so much:

VERSAILLES, January 22, 1871.

It has come to my knowledge that at the late mobilization several officers of the standing army have contracted marriage without my consent. I therefore take occasion, without adverting to the legal punishment attending such a proceeding, to make known that every such marriage is legally null and void, and can only obtain legal validity by the celebration of the rites a second time and with my consent. The Minister of War will make this known to the army.

WILHELM.

Comment upon this order is totally unnecessary.

From the agitation of the demanded reforms and the opposition to such tyrannical measures, if it is possible for King William to kick the German people into opposition, will arise the only benefits of the war to them. He may have to turn the cannon upon his own people, as in 1848, and mow them down like sheep in the streets of Berlin. But there will be a republican France on his border and the republican sentiment of her generous population will give moral and perhaps material aid to the German people in such a contingency; for it is certain that republican France will not endeavor to regain possession, in name, of her lost provinces, when, by creating a republic in them, all the union she can desire with them will be practically fulfilled. There is a bond in republicanism that has a thousand times greater power than any dynastic or national one, and when this bond causes the fraternization of the French and German peoples, their poppet kaisers and their tools will find the foundation on which they built will sink from under them.

The military fame and prestige gained by a successful war may dazzle for a day, but pay-time is coming, and though the Germans are not so ripe for Republicanism as the French, still they are more tenacious of their money, and the expense of supporting an epauleted buffoon will appeal stronger to the German mind than his military successes do; and then will come the tug of war.

Spain and Italy are both ripe for the Republican form of government, and England is gravitating to it. Many there are, it is true, who believe in the autonomy of races, and that this autonomy renders forever impossible the fraternization of peoples. This we regard as entirely fallacious. Nationality, it is true, has been made use of by crowned heads as an instrument to keep their kingdoms intact. But in spite of all we cannot help but see that the principles of common justice that make men Republicans and give them a common interest are steadily progressing; feudalism is giving way, liberty is advancing both civilly and religiously. People are learning more and more every day that the common principles of human equality are applicable to all, and that neither race, religion or anything else interposes a barrier to the fraternization of peoples, or their being governed alike or even under one Republican Government. The true secret that leads the minds of the masses to speculate in this direction is, not so much inherent admiration of our Government as it is from feeling the oppression of their own.

On Thursday, March 3, at Mission Hall, West Smithfield, in London, a prominent speaker said: "He knew *droves of honest men gradually dropping into the grave from the want of the common necessities of life.*" Such is the state of England to-day, having a debt of \$4,003,500,000 hanging over her head, not one dollar of which is being paid off, and her Government increasing her taxation and augmenting her military forces.

If we ask the populations of Europe for an account of their progress during the last half century, what reply shall we get? That they have gone \$10,173,500,000 further into debt; that even in times of peace their debt increases. That at the present time the clang of increased armaments drowns the cries of the widows and orphans, made so at the hands of a bloody war, that has only ended by showing to Europe in what a chronic state it is. And the curses of the people of Europe will be leveled at the Germans for submitting their necks to a tyrant's yoke, and by becoming as clay in the hands of an unscrupulous king and his "grand rascal" minister—compelling them also to accept a military yoke.

Can it be wondered at that a people in such a condition begin to look toward our republic as their model? That France insists on a republic; that meetings are being held in England, calling for one also; that Victor Emmanuel only stopped a revolution in Italy in favor of a republic by taking possession of Rome, to satisfy and take the attention of his people; that Spain chafes under the chain of a monarch, and loudly demands a republic? No, this can be matter of no surprise, and every dollar of increased debt, every ship of the increased navy, and every man of the increased armies, swells the evil, and increases the cry for a republic as a remedy.

## THE NEW YORK HERALD

A CONVERT TO

Our Interpretation of the Constitution.

It is with unfeigned pleasure that we are enabled to add to our already large list of influential papers which indorse our Constitutional Argument, this great and able journal. Last week we showed that the *Tribune* advocated both sides of this question. This was to be expected, for any paper to be under the necessity of finding arguments to support a protective tariff, under the direct fire of a whole line of Free Traders, becomes so thoroughly accustomed to arguing all around things that consistency should not be expected of it in so slight (?) a matter as woman's equality.

But for the *Herald* to come out broad and square for a right which it not long since denominated "an abomination," is *prima facie* evidence of conversion. We trust it is not so sudden as to prove temporary; but that it is genuine let the following language, used when speaking of the President's South Carolina Proclamation, testify:

But some of our learned contemporaries say that the suppression of these local disorders (which do not amount to insurrection) belongs to the several States and not to the United States. These learned expounders, however, look to "the Constitution as it was." Let us call their attention to the Constitution as it is.

The Fourteenth Amendment ordains equal civil rights to all citizens, and declares that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens thereof, and of the State in which they reside; and it gives to Congress the power to enforce these and other provisions of this article by "appropriate legislation." The Fifteenth Amendment establishes equal suffrage or political equality for all citizens of all races and colors, and gives to Congress the "power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The outrages referred to by the President in his message are, to a great extent, outrages against these civil and political rights of citizens of the Southern States of African descent. Congress, therefore, has the power to enforce these citizens' rights by "appropriate legislation," and Congress is left to its own judgment as to the legislation which will be "appropriate" in such cases in any part of the United States.

The power of Congress, then, invoked by the President, is clear and comprehensive. But at the same time the continuance of rebel disabilities under the Fourteenth Amendment is a fruitful source of these Southern disorders. These disabilities, directly and indirectly, alienate from the Government and array against the President, Congress and the Republican party thousands of Southern white men who, under a universal amnesty, would be reclaimed.

Until this sudden conversion of the *Herald*, it was wont to expound the "Constitution as it was" expounded, but when it regards it as it is, it becomes quite another affair. The *Herald* also seems to differ from the position assumed by Mr. Bingham in his report upon the Woodhull Memorial, for it evidently conveys the inference that Congress has the right to interfere in these little disarrangements in the States, whereby some of the citizens are deprived of their rights. For it says that "Congress, therefore, has the power to enforce these citizens' rights by appropriate legislation, and Congress is left to its own judgment as to the legislation which is appropriate in such cases in any part of the United States."

The *Herald* Editor who wrote the article in question evidently heard Mrs. Woodhull's speech at Cooper Institute, for he uses her language so nearly in speaking of the Fifteenth Amendment that it leaves no room for doubt. He says: "The Fifteenth Amendment establishes equal suffrage or political equality for all citizens of all races and colors." Mrs. Woodhull, in the speech referred to, said: "There is but one construction the language of this amendment (the Fifteenth) is susceptible of, and this becomes apparent if the section is properly rendered. It simply means that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of race to any body. From the simple negative it rises into an all-powerful command, by which the sovereign people declare that the right to vote shall not be denied by the United States, nor by any State, to any person of any race." The establishment of political equality for all citizens of all races is but another way of saying the right to vote shall not be denied to any person of any race. Nothing can be plainer than this, and we are, therefore, justified from this time forth in setting the *Herald* down as an advocate of equality for all citizens, consequently of Woman's right to suffrage. Women are citizens, and, therefore, have the right to vote, or, as the *Herald* styles it, have political equality.

### FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

No. III.

We now propose to consider that portion of our subject which treats of a high tariff as a means of revenue. This argument of the necessities of the Government as an excuse for protection has been so often advanced that we must necessarily consider it. Our national experience has been exceedingly limited upon this phase of question, the most prominent experience we have being that of the whisky tax, which gives a greater amount of revenue under a 50c. a gallon excise duty than it did under one of \$2 a gallon. This, however, arises mainly from the fact that under the lesser duty there are less inducements to evade the law, and violations are less frequent than under the greater one, therefore the increased duty collected under the reduced tariff is not chargeable to the credit of free-trade principles, but only to a more faithful collection of the revenue. Accepting this ar-

[CONTINUED ON FIFTH PAGE.]



## ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER ON THE SOCIAL EVIL.

MRS. WOODHULL &amp; CLAFLIN:

I had intended an early reply to an editorial on the Social Evil, in your paper of March 18, pointing out what seemed to me fallacies in the argument, and tendencies to increased immorality in the legislation proposed. But not being able to command the time for this at present, I will ask you to print extracts from various English writers, which express my own sentiments in admirable language, while they come from those who have given much thought to the whole question, now under consideration in Parliament and over the whole kingdom.

We should hesitate, I think, to try an experiment which has been so recently tried and condemned in Great Britain, after having been examined and discussed by the best minds in the kingdom. When such women as Florence Nightingale and Josephine Butler, such men as Francis W. Newman, John Stuart Mill and Francis Close form themselves into Associations to work against these odious acts, and make their whole lives a protest, we may well consider before rushing into legislation which will call out as formidable resistance here. I could fill your paper with extracts of similar character to these and still the subject would scarce be touched, so numerous have been the essays, appeals and arguments sent out by the various associations in England alone. I am, respectfully yours, ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

[FIRST EXTRACT.]

[From the Co-operator.]

Of all subjects of interest to men as social beings, none exceed in importance those relating to marriage, and affecting for good or evil the relation between men and women. To stamp, therefore, any vicious subversion of this relation with even a quasi social sanction is a most vital error.

That this error should have been committed in the Contagious Diseases Acts already passed, and which apply to a portion of the army and the navy, has surely arisen solely because these acts have been smuggled through the Legislature. I cannot, therefore, doubt that the movement now on foot for the extension of these acts, and for inclosing the whole civil population in their vicious network, need but be known to be defeated. To aid in spreading this knowledge, and in causing the repeal of the acts already passed, I am anxious to contribute a few words written from the man's point of view.

The promoters of the Contagious Diseases Acts being forward a long array of bodily afflictions as directly due to the formidable disease arising from the vice to which I allude. Diseases of the throat, eye, ear and of various other kinds afflicting children and families, are traceable (they say) to this one foul origin, in individuals more or less removed from those at first afflicted. They also assert that the system of inspection and registration of women which the acts establish has greatly reduced the extent of the disease in the portions of the army and navy to which they apply.

Without denying either of these propositions (though the latter is open to much dispute and denial), it is plain (1st) that experience acquired during a short existence of the acts is no test of what the result would be when the whole social tone had been lowered, as the acts, if continued, must lower it. (2) That the result of their application in the army and navy—where men as well as women may be made subject to inspection—can never be paralleled by any results among the civil population.

That the acts must directly tend to lower the social tone and increase the number of those who practise the vice, just in proportion to their success, is obvious; because such success gives a greater percentage of security to those who practise the vice. That, independently of success, they also tend to increase the vice, is equally obvious; because they stamp it with legislative recognition, and thus seem to confirm by the national voice the wholly gratuitous—and I consider most false—assumption that the practice of the vice is needful. The acts, therefore, tend to lower the social tone, and thus to widen the area of vice. Who, therefore, can say that after some years—though the percentage of suffering may be reduced—the actual amount of suffering may not be increased by the increase in the practice of the vice? Admitting, therefore, the hideousness of the disease, and the possible efficacy of the acts as at present applied to the army and navy, I must deny that any statistics are brought forward which prove that a long continuance of them will be effective in reducing the actual amount of the disease, even in the army and navy, much less in the civil population.

In these observations I have descended to the platform of the promoters of the acts; and on this platform I maintain their case is not proved. Such a platform, however, is surely not the one on which the supporters of a vital national existence will ever contend. Allowing that all lovers of mankind must unite in the desire to destroy so hideous a scourge, we should also surely admit that the warfare must be carried on against the disease itself—not its manifestation. The real disease to attack is the moral vice—which the acts directly foster—and not its manifestation in the body. To attack the bodily disease, and leave the other untouched, is to hack at the branches and twigs; and the only excuse for so blind a proceeding would be, that thus it was hoped to destroy the life of the tree. But do the acts proposed warrant any such excuse? Is not the safety sought to be secured—is not the social sanction proposed to be given—really pruning and nourishing the tree, bordering it round, and giving it a place and renewed life in the national garden? Instead of pruning and tending, we should recognize the poison of the tree, and see in the poison a sign calling us to attack its real life—the moral vice.

I deny that there is any proof that the legislation proposed will not ultimately increase the disease by widening the area of the evil; but were it otherwise, then, in my opinion, the remedy discovered is worse than the disease removed; for a nation of men bodily strong but morally sunk and degraded, is surely a far more hideous sight in the face of heaven, than a race weak and diseased and morally higher; and who for a moment can deny that the national recognition and protection of the perpetrators of vice must degrade the whole national mind?

If any of our sons were living with us in the country, free from the temptations of a great town, do we doubt that they would grow up pure from this vice? Is it not, then, the temptation of the town which gives us any fear for them? A partial legal status has been given—and a general one is desired to be given—to this vice. When I conceive of such status being given, and remember my own youth passed in chambers in London, and call to mind discussions on this subject with others of my age and standing, I feel how

greatly the position of those who condemned the vice would have been weakened by the prestige of such status, and how powerfully the words of those who maintained its almost universal practice would have been weighted.

To the observation—"All men have done these things, however quiet and sober they seem now," how crowning would have been the further assertion—made to men young and ignorant, and who have all things to learn—"The very law, you see, recognizes them as what men do!"

Is it not certain that such an act of public recognition will turn the scale in favor of so debasing and shameful a practice in the mind of many a waverer? Here, then, is a law desired which—affecting vice before its open commitment—proposes to aid in plunging an undiscovered number of youths into its practice, in order to guard and defend those who are already of their own free-will wading its filthy stream. Instead of thus dealing with vice before its commitment, we surely should ask for that rule to be applied which is esteemed the correct rule, in the more bungling social process of dealing with crime after its commitment; we should surely ask, in both cases, that the interest of the one innocent man be made to override that of the hundred guilty. To neglect this obvious consideration is to put a seal on the arguments of the tempters, is to act on the walled assumption—so terrible in its moral destructiveness—that the vicious practice is a social necessity, and not a social sin.

The promoters of the law point to France. Let me also point there, and ask whether the state of society there which at all events accompanies the legal recognition of the vice, does not prove the moral degradation, on the vital question of the relation of the sexes, which is likely to follow in the wake of any such recognition.

Self-condemned as these acts are from every point giving a wide view, I must refer to one point from which, in their civil aspects, they more especially bear their own condemnation in any shape in which I have seen them advocated; they deal simply with one-half the community—the weak, and, as far as direct influence goes, the legislatively helpless class—women. Mr. Berkeley Hill has hinted, indeed, that some men might be included in acts which make inspection compulsory. Let the promoters of these acts remove the injustice I refer to, then, by proposing to include all men whose habits are as well known to the police as those of the women with whom they consort; and then indeed the most vigorous opponent of this legislation may composedly fold his arms, as far as the civil population is concerned, and rest on the certain collapse of the whole effort.

Short-sighted as I consider them, I see in those who advocate these laws men as anxious as myself for the good of mankind; but men who commit the error of attacking its mere manifestation, instead of seeking to purge away the vice itself. This vice is of the mind, and to be reached alone through moral influence. Moral influence can only be exerted by the open discussion and disavowal of the sin and the sinners. Such discussion these advocates are bringing on; and glad I am to find that ladies have been already moved to take part openly in it. This one result commences a vast social change; and if, having caused the repeal of the laws already enacted, it in its reaction from the spirit of those laws so far extends as to place the men who practice this vice in the same social category as the much more to be pitied women with whom they practice it, a blow will be indeed struck at the vice itself. Love of the sinner requires us to place a social ban upon him while he sins. The vicious child of social life of which I write only maintains its diseased existence by affiliating itself with society, through the men who commit the sin bringing to their sisters, their mothers and their wives the poisonous atmosphere of unrestrained license. This is the stream along which the infection flows; this is the stream whose strength and vitality the advocates of the bill would nourish, while it is the one which must be divided and severed; and then this monstrous birth of social life will dwindle and dwindle, until at last we may hope to see it roll together its hideous limbs, and die.

HORACE FIELD.

30 THURLOW ROAD, HAMSTEAD, N. W.

[SECOND EXTRACT.]

The Dean of Carlisle, in a letter published in the *Record*, March 14, 1870, says:

In common with some of our legislators themselves, with many magistrates, clergymen and others, I really believe that I in some way confounded these acts with those relating to the diseases of "animals." This might be, in one sense, a pardonable mistake; for in the acts now under consideration women are treated as mere animals, are deprived of all the safeguards of modesty, are liable to the grossest insults on their persons, have a measure of justice dealt out to them which no other existing British law ventures to administer even to felons; in fact, this is such a specimen of legislation that I for one cannot trust myself to express the indignation and abhorrence with which I regard it. I am quite sure that if my clerical brethren will only get the acts and study them, they will enter into my feelings. It is little creditable to us as men and as clergymen that the most formidable opposition to this abominable infringement of British liberty and female delicacy has issued from the injured and insulted parties themselves.

Some thousands of women of all ranks, with Florence Nightingale, Miss Martineau and other ladies of high character at their head, have aroused themselves for the protection of their humbler sisters, and, doing violence to their natural feelings, have forced themselves into public notice, and they will, I have no doubt, triumph; not simply because they are zealous, and virtuous, and benevolent, but because their cause is righteous and true.

I do not profess to enter at the present moment upon a minute discussion of the subject; I desire mainly to enter my solemn protest, as a husband, a father, a grandfather and a clergyman of fifty years' standing, against this whole legislative procedure, as based on false, immoral and unscriptural principles, insulting to religion and virtue; while at the same time its utter impotency to allay the plague which it professes to avert is proved by the statistics of all the wretched hospitals they have opened; and this verdict is echoed back to us from those unhappy countries who have tried the experiment long enough and widely enough to prove that the result has been a frightful increase of the profligacy which is the parent of the malady, and an actual increase of the malady itself! Every one of these statements has been substantiated, and can be further substantiated, by many and competent witnesses.

Your obedient servant,  
FRANCIS CLOSE, Dean of Carlisle.

[THIRD EXTRACT]

Mrs. Butler, wife of the Rev. G. Butler, Principal of Liverpool College, has lately delivered in Leeds an address, an

hour long, to eight hundred women, concerning Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864 and 1869. After expounding in detail the unconstitutional and tyrannical nature of the proceedings carried on against women on the authority of these acts, she went on to say:

"But this is not the worst. The moral principles out of which such proceedings spring are worse than any physical outrage. It is not wonderful that physicians who maintain that a class of harlots is useful and desirable, and that chastity in man is unhealthful, should actually prescribe unchastity to young men. We could not have avoided suspecting this, but we have clung to the hope that such a thing was very rare. But when we find a physician of high authority distinctly to profess that youths (boys is his word) ought not to be debauched from intercourse with harlots, we cannot but fear that there exist corruptors of youths where we had hoped there had been none but virtuous and high-minded men." [Mrs. Butler hereupon read quotations from the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee by Sir William Jenner, one of the Queen's physicians. She then continued.] "We all know men in the medical profession whom we consider as safe advisers and wise, kind friends in matters affecting our families and our bodily health. But we will not be held back by any personal considerations whatsoever from denouncing the doctrine promulgated by certain men (we fear, not a few men) in that profession. Their doctrine is of the devil himself. Do these men expect us women to hold to any moral faith whatever, if we are to believe what they so busily circulate in the ears of our young sons—ay, and in the ears of mothers also—that God has so constituted men that their material and present well-being necessitates the deliberate slaughter of womanhood—the devotion to death, present and eternal, of thousands of our sisters, beings fashioned like ourselves and having immortal souls? We adjure you—mothers of sons, and all women—never to admit into your houses henceforward any physician or surgeon without learning whether or not he holds a doctrine which would make any religion, any school of philosophy, detestable; namely, that it is right to sacrifice the spirit to the flesh, virtue to appetite."

## DRAMA AT THE POLLS.

VINELAND, N. J., March 14, 1871.

To-day, at our town election, business was performed orderly and quietly, although we had two boards of officers. Perhaps the *two* caused the order; for had not the women's board been there, the excited tones of voice, heard a little while on the men's side of the hall, might have augmented to anger and worse. It will be perceived that, but for free movement and general sociability, the hall would have appeared like the old Quaker church—men on one side, women on the other. Perchance the style of occupying the house of worship by the sober sect has changed under the great light now being shed on all the dear children of the same good Father.

When the men had mainly retired, an aged woman entered and, after pleasantly greeting the women's board and cheerful bystanders, turned away, saying, "Her vote merited a place where it could count on the election;" and, addressing the men's board, offered a ballot. She was told "It could not be accepted—as good a husband as lived represented her in the law." "He does not represent me, as he is not taxed for me," she replied; and disclosing her tax-bill asked "With what show of consistency she was taxed forty dollars, thereby acknowledged a citizen, then refused representation?" "We act by the law," said they, complacently. "You are working wrong; if you want representation with your taxation, refuse to pay, and ask the courts for redress." A middle-aged woman, being drawn to listen, asked, "If they could not see that if any party must have dealing with courts, it was the duty of election officers." "Not at all," they said; "we shall not martyr ourselves—fight your own battles." "But," said the woman, "men have long been trying to crush with ridicule all women who sought independence and power to use a legal or public privilege; and above many abuses and detractions, the terms virago and amazon have been brandished as telling weapons; now, you are really bidding us to turn amazons and take the field." Said they, "Whatever course you take, you'll go, at last, to the courts. But we shall not become liable to prosecution, prisons and fines. Fight your own battles." She continued, "We can show that settling this matter with courts is your affair, not ours. We are unwilling that protracting, postponing suits delay this question at the will of adverse judges; and you can obtain decisions very quickly. You, as well as we, know the custom of depriving us of suffrage is usurpation, not only of human rights, but these rights after they are guaranteed by the good old Declaration of Independence. You are resting on that tyrannous custom, not on the Constitution. Now, reject the usurpation and stand on the Constitution, for it will sustain you in accepting our ballots. If prosecuted, plead conscientious discharge of duty, obligation to law and the null authority of custom. Any respectable court can be shown that the spirit of the Constitution, as it always was, and the letter of it, as it stands amended, will acquit you; and it will also acquit you and call on the States to erase the word male from statutes, that it may no longer disgrace male-law framers."

There seemed enough said—it was all said in good humor; yet, as she closed, the atmosphere felt laden with fresh waves of the old charge—"fight your own battles." In considering several ways by which we might reach the exercise of this right, the course above presented looks direct, legitimate and most honorable to men. Yet, as few town officers dare make the test, let us urge of high functionaries a declaration by which low ones may know themselves empowered to act in the case.

MARY E. TILLOTSON.

## 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.

Donn Piatt states that the Ohio Republican delegation in Congress have lost confidence in Bi-gham, owing to his bad habits, and that they do not propose he shall be again placed at the head of the Judiciary Committee. If bad habits are to exclude Radical Congressmen from the chairmanship of important committees, then Democrats will have to be appointed.



## FRANK CLAY;

OR,

## HUMAN NATURE IN A NUTSHELL.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

(CONTINUED.)

Pete answered, "Had you thought, you ought to think  
And know what's sure to follow when you wink  
At youth's transgressions. You helped me to glide  
To ruin, with a slow but certain stride—  
And now to tell me that you didn't think  
I'd fall, although you led me to the brink  
Of the abyss, and rush headlong to ruin,  
At first through your, at last through my own doing.

"You fed my evil leanings, now they grow,  
And there you stand as much surprised as though  
You'd crushed them out. No doubt you meant well, yes,  
You've that excuse, you scarcely could have less.  
My nature leaned to evil, very true,  
And that's the very reason why that you  
Should rather check than gloss its inclination.  
You're good intent's you're only palliation.

"You thought! No, Ma'am, you didn't think at all,  
Or must have known what would perforce befall.  
I think sometimes, think of the kindly hand  
That blindly helped me on to where I stand;  
Of all the little shieldings, favors, plans  
To aid me. When I strayed I rubbed my hands  
And thought, if father finds me out, I know  
Where, for protection, I can surely go."

She heard no more, but clasped her throbbing head,  
Regained her room and sank upon the bed,  
And wept, in utter, prostrate, wild remorse;  
She felt Pete's words were not without their force;  
Then calmly she determined, at all risk  
That every mother's weakness she would whisk  
From out her mind—he never more should say  
She'd been a means of leading him astray.

She mused, "He's desperate, and the path I take  
Will either check or force him on to break  
All bounds. I'm sure I know not how to act—  
I think he may be yet reclaimed with tact.  
What shall I do, I cannot let it rest  
In silence; still, it's after all the best  
And wisest plan that I can now pursue.  
I really don't know what to say or do."

Just then Pete entered, sat upon a chair,  
And said, "Now mother, look this question square,  
Right in the face, here are two paths to take—  
If to my father you this news should break,  
I quit the house at once, now and forever;  
Take care, before the only link you sever  
That holds me 'neath your roof, you'd better try  
To let this matter rest with you and I,"

"The question rests with you, sir," she replied;  
"You'd throw it in my face if I should hide  
Your faults again; and, pray, where can you go?  
How earn a living, I should like to know?  
One thing I've settled—you shall not stop here  
To carry on a dissolute career.  
Now, mark my words, you never more shall say  
That through my kindness you were led away."

"I spoke the truth," said Pete, "which wasn't pleasant;  
The past is dead, please now discuss the present.  
Where shall I go—and what am I to do?  
Well, that's a question I must ask of you.  
One item in your kind consideration  
In coming to your new determination,  
The facts are here: no home, no friends, no place  
To lay my head—what's likely to take place?"

"I answer now at once," replied his mother,  
"Your question, simply asking you another.  
Suppose I take the very course once more  
That you have just been railing at me for,  
And hide your failings in my aching breast,  
Will you act worthy of the final test?"  
"I will," said Pete; "at least, you may depend.  
I'll try in earnest my late course to mend."

He left the room, and she began to weep;  
Exhausted lay and sank to silent sleep.  
She dreams an aged man is sitting there,  
With furrowed, wrinkled face and flowing hair;  
He folds his arms; upon her face is bent  
His gaze. She questions, "Who art thou? who sent  
Thee here? Thy face is strange to me, I'm sure;  
Though pleasant, still thy gaze I can't endure."

He answered, "As thou didst not turn to me,  
But passed me by, at last I come to thee.  
I am the spirit of unvarnished truth,  
And keep the record of all erring youth;  
I note who falls, the reasons why they fell,  
The records of their past I keep, which tell  
That evil, fed with weakness, strangles good,  
Who's poisoned with the rankness of the food!"

"I take an unformed mind within my hand,  
And count its tendencies as grains of sand,  
While being formed, the influences brought  
To bear upon it, whereby it is taught,  
Are noted in my books to mitigate  
The evils formed, which shape its future state,  
And he who brings such influence to bear  
Will find it in my books recorded there.

"If done with venom, one black mark is made,  
If with false kindness, of a lighter shade:  
The mark is drawn, yet still it is a mark,  
A sin the same, although not quite so dark;  
But when the mind's matured and takes its place,  
Although the evils taught may leave a trace,  
Yet still the good once known outweighs it all,  
And erring then, the chastening rod will fall.

"Sins are noted with care, in each grade or condition,  
As of contamination, neglect or omission,  
Persuasion, collusion, default, inferential—  
Each thought, word or deed that may be influential  
In leading to evil, is properly weighed,  
And a note in my record is carefully made  
'Gainst the tempter and tempted, in spite of intention,  
Which is never excepted in lieu of prevention.

"From pages to pages for hundreds of years,  
The same tale of direlect duty appears;  
The same deeds recorded from parent to son;  
The same path of folly of negligence run;  
The same pleas are offered in extenuation;  
The same weak appeal from a just condemnation.  
The experience around you will hold in contempt;  
You deliberately sin, why should you be exempt.

"Here's a child with a pliant, susceptible mind,  
To the growth of corruption 'tis somewhat inclined.  
He's sitting at table in a little high chair,  
When he grasps and secretes some ripe fruit lying near.  
His mother observes it and smiles at the act,  
Quite pleased with his cunning and babyish tact.  
Then I take down my book, make a little note there—  
Not beneath the child's name, that would scarcely be fair.

"Here are sister and brother engaged in their play,  
He has bitten her spitefully, then ran away.  
'You're not hurt,' says mamma, 'cease you're foolish alarms.'  
(The delinquent is hiding his face in her arms)  
She kisses the mark, saying 'Now it won't pain,  
Don't cry, little Pete will not do so again.'  
Another small mark is put down in my book—  
An evil trait fed that I cannot o'erlook.

"A little girl comes to mamma to relate  
That Pete has just snatched from her hand a small cake.  
Mamma replies, 'Then he's a naughty, bad brother;  
But there, never mind, I will give you another.'  
You remember it all? yes, no doubt 'tis your son,  
And the work of destruction goes thoughtlessly on,  
I turn a new page in my record and add  
A mark 'neath the heading of 'Nurturing, bad.'

"A mother is heard to her little son say,  
'You've been playing truant from school, sir, to-day;  
You will grow up a man and remain quite a dunce;  
I will not tell your father, I promise, this once;  
Do be a good boy, don't do so any more.'  
He promises, yet does the same as before.  
She gives him an apple each morning to bribe  
His presence at school, one more mark I inscribe.

"A father appears on the scenes, and we find,  
He, knowing his son is precocious in mind,  
Being perfectly cognizant, quite well aware  
That his wife is not fit to be placed in sole care  
Of his son, yet he carelessly leaves her to lead  
The boy her own way, glossing every misdeed;  
He knows the boy's mind must have something to do,  
And will seize the absorbent that first comes to view;

"Still providing no interest, he leaves him inert,  
Every energy actively on the alert  
To grasp the first influence that shall present  
A field to engage his quick mind to its bent,  
Then pleasure steps in, and he finds what he sought,  
Is engrossed in it's coil, for has it not brought  
The something he craved for you would not provide?  
Then down he is swept in its fast-ebbing tide.

"I turn to the boy, I will read his account,  
His share in the evil with justice recount;  
It slowly appears, as he learned to detect  
The right from the wrong, and in every respect  
His blame by his knowledge is evenly measured,  
The gauge is the evil he knowingly treasured.  
There's no just excuse when he knew he did wrong,  
No matter what influence lured him along.

"He grasped at the evil, cast virtue aside,  
Of his own free accord, he must therefore abide  
The result, he is weighed on his merit alone,  
The faults of his mentors can never condone  
The purposed transgression he wittingly chose;  
Each sin is recorded and placed against those  
Who violate right; he is charged with his deed,  
'Tis in vain the shortcomings of others to plead."

The breakfast-bell rings; Mrs. Gray from her vision  
Awakes, leaves the room, and an air of decision  
Denotes she has made some firm, settled resolve,  
No matter what sacrifice it may involve;  
Her head is erect, and her eye flashes light,  
Her step more majestic, her form more upright  
Than is wont, and although she may speak not a word,  
It is plain that the depth of her will has been stirred.

Pete retired to his room, and he felt much distressed  
At the harsh words he had to his mother addressed;  
He inwardly promised from that hour contrition,  
A retrograde step from his fallen condition;  
He paced up and down, as unable to rest,  
His arms folded tightly, his firm lips compressed,  
He felt that the crisis at last was at hand,—  
He must now fall forever, or make a firm stand.

The morning mail came with a letter for Pete,  
And Ella's handwriting his eager eyes meet:  
'Tis quite unexpected," he says, as he takes  
The note in his hand and the envelope breaks.  
His sight becomes dazed and the writing seems blurred  
On opening the sheet, for the very first word  
He saw was a "Sir"—he knows what that presages.  
(There was one single sheet—I will read you its pages.)

"Sir—

"Since I saw you I have pondered well  
The past. I find my duty will compel  
Me now to close our intercourse; but here  
I hope you will not think me too severe.  
I wish you well, not one hard thought can find  
A harbor in my calm, collected mind,  
And yet I must the sterling truth reveal,  
Inform you how, towards you now, I feel  
Distrust and fear have taken full possession

Of me, I can't believe your late profession  
Of reformation, my trust once betrayed  
Can't be regained by empty promise made;  
'Tis better now at once to tell you so.)  
I won't recount the reason, that you know,  
The course which I have marked out to pursue  
Is quite the best for me, perhaps for you.  
Return my letters, please, I can't refrain  
From telling you that until I regain  
Them I shall be in deepest of distrust.  
I would not wound you, Pete, and yet I must  
The task complete, the dread ordeal pass through.  
How do I know whom you might show them to.  
There now, you see the little faith I have,  
And so adieu—I say no more. To save  
Your feelings, for I wish to spare you, Pete,  
Henceforth as mere acquaintance we must meet."

Pete sat down and answered. He said: "Dearest friend,  
The missive, in coldness and sorrow you penned,  
Lies here. I have nothing to say in defence;  
I have done with deception and hollow pretence.  
I ask you, dear Ella, don't send me away;  
Do grant me another short trial, I pray.  
I'm altered, indeed, and my mother knows all;  
The blow I have dreaded has come like a pall.  
I can't send your letters back, Ella; oh, no!  
Please spare me that last, irrevocable blow.  
Yet, if you persist and no pledges will heed,  
I will act as you say, and will send them, indeed.  
My spirit has urged me, again and again,  
To spare you the trials, the anguish, the pain;  
I promised I would, yet I found me too weak—  
My heart seized the pen and compelled me to speak  
The words that had struggled and tempted within.  
Be mine then the punishment—mine was the sin."

He sealed up the envelope, wrote the address;  
And thoughts of his folly successively press  
His brain as he ruminates over the past  
And what his late course would have come to at last.  
He'd squandered away an existence, he knew;  
Had not made a friend, or deserved one, 'tis true;  
And no one could thank him for one kindness done—  
He was but a faithless, undutiful son.

What aim has mankind as he passes through life  
And joins the contention of every day strife?  
What is it he seeks, and pray what does he find?  
How frail are the pleasures absorbing his mind.  
How many attain what they vainly pursue?  
As far from the goal when life's sand is run through  
As when at the start, for the phantom they chase  
Keeps flitting before without leaving a trace.

A bright conjured castle, the vision before;  
As each end is gained he but covets the more;  
Whate'er is attained has no power to content,  
For something beyond are his energies bent,  
Nor pauses to think for one moment how sweet  
The pleasures extending their hands at his feet.  
He seeks in the future the joy he desires,  
Unheeded it lies in the dust and expires.

What little things anger, provoke or perplex;  
What trifles annoy; what mere bagatelles vex!  
We make our own troubles; we weave our own woes;  
Become to our own peace of mind the worst foes.  
We speak a cold word when a kind one would bless;  
Oft turn a deaf ear to the wail of distress.  
And what do we gain in the end to repay  
The happiness lost, cast aside, thrown away!

And where, after all, does contentment reside?  
We woo it with haughtiness, petulance, pride;  
It heeds not the call, for we nurture it not;  
No, no, we must first meet with pleasure our lot,  
Where'er we are placed, and in whatever sphere,  
Must grasp all the friendship and love that is near,  
Expand all the impulse and kindness the heart  
May prompt, 'twill a perfect contentment impart.

Meet mankind with earnestness, faithfulness, trust,  
Be honest to him, be he just or unjust;  
If he errs, let him err; but depart not one jot  
From right, pass him by with regret, he has not  
Gained aught by his folly; indeed, he has lost  
A joy, if he knew he would gain at all cost.  
There's nothing o'er which human vision may range  
For innate conviction of right an exchange.

If he only knew of the joys that proceed  
From the complaisant feeling that every deed  
Is unstained by selfishness, egotism, lust,  
He'd turn from his path with the deepest disgust.  
But meet not his folly with angry retort,  
His foolish career is not worthy a thought.  
At heart for his fate let compassion be life;  
Indeed, he has lost all the sweetness of life.

A wild visionary incessantly lured  
By some distant object, wherein is insured  
The cup of his bliss, that he ceaselessly pleads,  
And as he advances the object recedes.  
He dies in pursuit of an ideal dream  
Always close to his side though remaining unseen.  
Ah! why will he shut himself up in himself,  
Sell life to obtain what he dies and leaves—pelf?

Our vain pleasures pass, merely leaving behind  
A sense of contempt, of dejection, ennui.  
The wearied heart turns with a yearning to find  
Repose from the sweetest of pleasures that we  
Had foolishly promised our jubilant mind;  
And sweet is the sleep from our languor to free  
The overwrought frame from the pleasures we sought.  
We wooed, won and found that our treasure was naught.

There is but one happiness God has ordained;  
The means to obtain it is open to all;  
There's only one path whereby it is obtained,  
What, where, or however your state may befall.  
Be earnest, affectionate, leave unrestrained  
The generous noble impulses that call  
Warm feelings and make man imbued with content,  
And thankful indeed for the happiness sent,

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



## EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Editors' duties are little understood and still less appreciated by their readers. No single person does or should write everything which appears as editorial in any paper. But it is supposed that the editor-in-chief knows what is to appear in his or her paper, and readers have a right to expect a supervision which warrants the supposition of such knowledge.

At times, however, articles find their way into the columns of a paper which are not indorsed by the editor. Though there is no excuse for this, still it will happen. We are no exception to the rule. And we do not claim extenuation because we have once or twice permitted this to occur when under a great press of other affairs. Whatever censure we have laid ourselves open to by the appearance of articles which we did not examine previously, we are prepared to accept as just, and to make no attempt to shirk the responsibility. Therefore we shall not deny responsibility for what several have taken us to task for. It was our duty to have prevented the occasion. We did not. We accept the responsibility and the accompanying censure. We shall continue to deal with what we consider existing ills of the times fearlessly; we shall boldly expose everything which we attempt; and shall at all times use sufficiently plain language to make the exposition clear, but we never did, *do not now*, nor never shall approve of insinuations or inferences which are beneath the highest standard of thought and action.

THE MIDDLETOWN AND WILLIMANTIC "AIR LINE"  
R. R. COMPANY.

Brokers in Wall street didn't altogether agree with us in the accounts we published of the engineering management of this railroad. Time will completely vindicate us in that as it has already done in other things. Meanwhile the following despatch, received last week from Connecticut, adds somewhat to our previous history of the mismanagement going on in this enterprise:

"The laborers on the Air Line Railroad, hearing that the property, carts, horses, etc., of the contractor would be seized by creditors, armed on the 17th inst., and took possession of it. The sheriff from New London was sent for, and arrived at 3 p. m. the same day on the ground with a posse, but, deterred by the threatening appearance of the rioters, sent for reinforcements and postponed action.

The laborers have not been paid since the 1st January and say they will not permit the property to be removed."

We make no further comment just now; our preceding articles on this road and the way in which it is controlled are plain enough to be comprehended, but this little circumstance of not paying laborers for nearly a quarter of a year is more eloquent than anything we could add.

## A VOICE FROM MISSOURI.

We take the liberty to publish the following extract from a letter which accompanied the article below:

SEDALIA, Mo., March 13, 1871.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

"Your excellent journal is much liked by the progressive people of our State, and is creating quite a sensation. I see one of our county papers has copied your unique platform in part, leaving out 'Christian and infidel, materialist and spiritualist.' Your fearlessness and originality will make your paper a great success."

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN MISSOURI.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

I have just returned from the capital of our State, and am happy to say that the woman cause is attracting considerable attention there. The woman cause, in more phases than one, by they way, attracts the public eye—the woman cause as it expresses itself, in silk-velvet and diamonds and point-lace; and before I proceed to give you an idea of the progress of the woman suffrage question at the gay capital, let me digress to speak, as is the fashion, of the beauty that lends its fertilizing influence every winter to this otherwise dull town. My eyes were dazzled with the dress, the glitter, the parade: languid ladies lounging leisurely up one street and down another, gorgeous as rainbow hues, glittering as sunbeams.

"What an interest the ladies do take in the affairs of state!" I exclaimed, as I saw them mounting and descending the Capitol steps. "Pshaw," said a gentleman; "they are getting old." "What do you mean?" I asked, and his meaning flashed upon me the same moment. "For shame," I said; "is this your gallantry you boast of?" and I thought, a little sadly, what a waste of time and money and mind! These ladies, arrayed in costly robes and glittering jewels, idly lounging the days and years away, and, if it be as these gentlemen say, because they are getting old and must catch husbands, how pitiful to have it made a subject of jest by the very ones who are responsible for the folly! Men shut women out from the paths of usefulness and independence, and leave them no alternative but to dress and dress, and wait and wait to catch an owner of the masculine gender; and then, while they are doing the only work left for them, these gentlemen (who love and pity the weaker sex and are afraid to let woman vote lest they should lose *man's respect*, whisper and hint and chuckle and grin at the sad, sad sight. Then they atone for all this by paying little empty compliments to beauty and fashion.

The gentlemen discussing grave affairs of state in the legislative halls are heard to speak in eloquent tones of the beauty that is gathered there; and I have noticed that they take pains to give "beauty" a place of its own, as a thing separate and distinct from brains. The orator begins in grave, slow tones: "Before me I see assembled the talent, the wisdom, the intelligence and"—here he bends his head condescendingly toward the ladies, lowers his voice to ten-

der accents, and smilingly says—"the beauty of our State." These gentlemen may not mean that beauty is a thing opposite to brains, but it sounds that way, and it looks premeditated when they say the same thing so many times in the same significant way. The last time I heard this thing said was by a member of the House two or three days ago. He was lending his oratory to the subject of public roads in Missouri, using all his eloquence to defeat a bill before the House to make the high-roads not less than forty, now more than sixty feet wide. He began in the style mentioned, turning a beaming glance on the ladies, and saying, after "talent and wisdom and intelligence," the "beauty here assembled." He was soon in the depths of his subject and lent more poetry to it than one would imagine was possible. Flowers and poetry, and pathos, and beauty, and high-roads all delightfully blended. He made one bold assertion as he grew warm: "Missouri is a great State, with vast resources of undeveloped wealth. I am proud of Missouri, for it is destined yet to become the great centre of the—the solar system!" Here the "talent and wisdom and intelligence" laughed uproariously, and the "beauty" smiled. After the aforementioned startling assertion he gave one forcible reason why the members from the country ought to oppose the bill before the house. He said: "The gentlemen from the metropolis and other populous cities throughout the State were in favor of taxing the honest yeomanry of the country to build grand highways, so that they (the city chaps) would have promenades and drives in the rural districts for themselves and their girls; and," said he, "every man who breathes the inspiring breath of freedom, every man who loves his country and carries a heart in his bosom, every honest son of the hills and prairies who has ever toiled in tilling the soil of his native State, every man who ever drove a cart or ever said 'Whoa!' ought to raise his voice against this oppressive measure!" Here there was much laughing and kicking of spittoons to drown the voice of the orator, but the Speaker of the House brought silence with his gavel, and said that any member who was seen kicking a spittoon would be reported and treated with severity. Here the orator broke in, "He ought to be spit on," but he grew more serious after this interruption and said that he wished the gentlemen to consider the arguments he had advanced and pass over all that he had said for fun and to please the ladies. The ladies, doubtless, appreciated this compliment, coming, as it did, from the lips of a legislator, a representative of the people, as he styled himself more than once in this speech. He may represent "the talent, the wisdom and the intelligence," but he does not represent the "beauty," I am happy to say. I do not give this speech as a sample of the speeches of the gentlemen who represent us in the Legislature of Missouri; I give it because I never heard anything like it before, and I think it may be called unique. I heard a gentleman behind me say that a physician recommended him to take some whisky—and—BARK! and I suppose he was only following the doctor's advice. I did not inquire if this member were favorable to the woman cause, but I ascertained that many of the most prominent members of both Houses were, and during my stay a woman suffrage society was organized. I clip from the *State Times* this notice of the meeting, which I send you:

"Miss Couzens, Mrs. Livermore and Miss Alice Torousley lectured to full houses, within the past month, in the Chamber of Representatives; and notwithstanding the Governor's cold reception of the committee of ladies from St. Louis, much good has been done in Jefferson this winter in calling the attention of the members of the Legislature and that of other prominent men to the subject."

But I hope the grand work, so gloriously begun at Washington by Victoria C. Woodhull will bring us to the "consummation so devoutly hoped for," in far less time than the humiliating work of petitioning and petitioning as heretofore. Man has won the way for self. Woman must do the same; and as man has fought his way upward, woman must fight her way.

I have thought for a long time that if woman could establish a financial character, man could not, in his great generosity and chivalry toward the weaker sex, longer resist her appeal for justice, for the ballot.

I hope the day is not far distant when the intelligent women of America will go to work to establish a financial character, and turn their thousands into tens of thousands, instead of velvets and diamonds and laces to parade in the face of men. Hard cash is more potent to win man's respect than the most charming womanly attributes clothed in dependence.

NELSON KENT.

March 13.

## PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY.

The enemies of this noble enterprise say that it has been hawked at and nearly killed by its present managers, and that they are nothing better than an unscrupulous gang of stock jobbers. It is uncharitable to believe that such men as McLane, Brown, Webb, Denestown, Skiddy, Mason and Potter—the managing directors—have lent themselves to a wholesale robbery of the stockholders, among whom there are widows and orphans and men of moderate means, who are in sad want of dividends, which, it is alleged, have been fraudulently withheld from them, and squandered on the officers and servants of the company. To test the truth of these reports, and to give the responsible parties a chance to clear their fair names from the foul aspersion cast upon them, I will ask a few plain, practical questions, with a view of getting at the truth or falsity of the villainous reports now in circulation.

Do the company pay their President a yearly salary of.....\$20,000  
First Vice-President.....13,500  
Second Vice-President.....12,500  
Agent on the dock.....10,000  
and a corresponding high price to other clerks and servants in their employ?

Do the Company pay a premium of 2½ per cent. of its net earnings to all of the attaches in the Wall-street office?

Are all of the above extravagant allowances, by an agreement of the directors, paid in gold?

Do Wells, Fargo & Co. continue to receive a commission on all of the freight shipped in the Company's steamers from this port?

And finally, do the Pacific Mail Company pay an annual rent of \$30,000 for this Wall-street office, in which to transact business which would be equally well performed at their spacious office on the dock?

It is the hope of a suffering shareholder that some responsible party connected with the Company will answer the foregoing inquiries, which are but a small portion of the damaging reports being industriously circulated by the

enemies of the Company, and which hang like the nightmare over its future prospects.

If the reports are true, it is an infamous fraud and outrageous swindle, and the stockholders ought to know the fact and take immediate steps to correct the evil. It is well known that the Company has on hand an accumulation of cash, amounting to over \$2,250,000, and it is also well known that their present prosperous condition and earnings are sufficient to warrant large dividends.

A STOCKHOLDER.

## MR. ODO RU-SELL AND THE BLACK SEA QUESTION.

The London *Daily Telegraph* says, speaking of Mr. Odo Russel and the Black Sea question:

Our Government, whether acting upon special information or guided solely by the same instinct which influenced popular judgment, decided that pressure could be exerted upon Russia more effectively at Versailles than at St. Petersburg, and resolved to send a special envoy to the German headquarters, for the purpose of inducing Prince Gortchakoff to recede from an untenable position. It was known that Prussia had the strongest motives for deprecating the outbreak of a Continental war at the crisis of her struggle with France; it was also believed that Prussia had relations with the great Northern Empire which enabled her to speak with authority at St. Petersburg. Under these circumstances, it was felt that the shortest way to Russia lay via Versailles; and Mr. Russel was sent thither to make representations, which it was virtually understood would be transmitted from the banks of the Seine to those of the Neva.

In words which admitted of no possible misconception, he gave the Prussian Government to understand that, if Russia persisted in repudiating the Treaties of 1856 of her own pleasure, England was prepared to fight; and, immediately upon this simple fact being made clear to the Chancellor of the German Empire, Russia saw fit to moderate her pretensions, and agreed to submit her claims to a Conference of the European Powers. Whether one event was the cause of the other, we are not, of course, prepared to say; but we can hardly doubt that the representations made to Count Bismarck influenced the determination of Prince Gortchakoff.

From this we see how much the voice of England is worth in European questions. Time was when England did not stultify herself by going to third persons to transact her international business.

HENRY BROUGHAM.—Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim. There is a law above the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man. In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Benheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of treaties, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came there a change to pass? Not assuredly by Parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic and scattered its guilty profits to the winds.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Mrs. Laura Giddings Julian, in a Washington letter to the *Indiana Radical*, commenting upon the refusal of the House of Representatives to Mrs. Woodhull and Mrs. Hooker, and the right of women to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, writes as follows: "A second vote on the 'woman question' was had last Monday, and I am sorry to report that it shows a decidedly bad temper on the part of the House. Mrs. Woodhull and Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker asked the use of the House of Representatives for the purpose of discussing the rights of woman under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The House voted 42 in favor to 139 against the resolution. To be sure there is a rule, adopted by the House years ago, precluding the use of the Hall for any meeting in which the House does not participate. But a year ago when the Labor Congress met in the city, they asked the use of the Hall, and it was not a difficult task to evade the rule by a carefully worded resolution, giving it to those men claiming to represent nearly a million of voters. When the women of the country, representing one-half the people, but disfranchised, in a resolution similarly worded to bring it within the precedent, ask the privilege of discussing this question, so vital to them, they are denied the use of the hall. Gentlemen, we shall adopt Wendell Phillips' advice to the colored people. We will 'never forgive at the polls.' Judge Woodward, of Pennsylvania, one of the most eminent jurists of the country, and a Democrat who constantly votes against giving woman a chance to exercise rights he admits she is entitled to under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, has recently declared that colored women are unquestionably enfranchised under the 'previous condition of servitude' clause of the Fifteenth Amendment. There can be no question of this, since they are 'citizens' under the Fourteenth Amendment."—*National Standard*.

In the list of gentlemen who were admitted to the bar of New Jersey on Wednesday last, at Trenton, N. J., we find the name of John Thomas Rowland, a counsellor of this State, and member of the firm of Rogers & Rowland, of No. 4 New Chambers street. Mr. Rowland practiced law in Ireland for many years, and we feel assured that his talents and industry will eventually cause him to be recognized as a lawyer of great ability. Mr. R. is a lecturer and poet of no mean order.



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English Calicoes in a new shade of purple,

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IN DENOMINATIONS OF

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

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

### RESOURCES OF THE COMPANY.

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK, Dec. 2, 1870.

Messrs. GEORGE OPDYKE & Co., New York:

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

The earnings for the month of October, from all sources, were \$43,709 17, equal to \$524,510 04 per annum on the 147 miles of road, viz.: Main line from Sidney to Oswego, 125 miles; New Berlin Branch, 22 miles.

The road commenced to transport coal from Sidney under a contract with the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in the latter part of November. The best informed on the subject estimate the quantity to be transported the first year at not less than 250,000 tons, while some estimate the quantity at 300,000 tons. This will yield an income of from \$375,000 to \$450,000 from coal alone on that part of the road.

Taking the lowest of these estimates, it gives for the 147 miles a total annual earning of \$899,510 04. The total operating expenses will not exceed fifty per cent., which leaves the net annual earnings \$449,755 02, which is \$214,555 02 in excess of interest of the bonds issued thereon.

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

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

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

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

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## MAXWELL & CO.,

## Bankers and Brokers,

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THE UNDERSIGNED BEG TO inform their friends that they have opened a Branch office at

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

CHAS. UNGER & CO.

January 3, 1871.

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ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY RAILROAD COMPANY.

Principal and Interest Payable in Gold.

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

Mortgage at the rate of \$13,500 per mile.

Price 97½ and accrued interest.

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

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

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

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## SET OF TEETH,

With plumpers to set out the cheeks and restore the face to its natural appearance. Movable plumpers adjusted to old sets, weighted Lower Sets, fillings of Gold, Amalgam, Bone, etc.

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,  
With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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Makes the most LUXURIOUS and DUR-  
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PUREST, MOST ELASTIC, MOST DUR-  
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It is far the best Cathartic remedy yet discov-  
ered, and at once relieves and invigorates all the vital  
functions, without causing injury to any of them.  
The most complete success has long attended its use  
in many localities, and it is now offered to the general  
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little or no pain; leaves the organs free from irrita-  
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and certain cure. The best physicians recommend  
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A large stock, including Pianos of the best Makers,  
for sale cheap for cash, or to rent. Money paid for  
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To know by signs, to judge the turns of fate,  
Is greater than to fill the seats of State;  
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Determine Fortune in her second cause.  
These are a book wherein we all may read,  
And all should know who would in life succeed,  
What correspondent signs in man display  
His future actions—point his devious way—  
Thus, in the heavens, his future fate to learn,  
The present, past and future to discern.  
Correct his steps, improve the hours of life,  
And, shunning error, live devoid of strife.  
Any five questions in letter, enclosing two dollars,  
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YEAR 1870-71.

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## YOUNG LADIES,

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PRINCIPALS—MADAME MALLARD AND MADAME  
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Madame Carrier, with whom she has associated her-  
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late Sir David Brewster. From her early training and  
a thorough education, received in Scotland, together  
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every respect qualified to take charge of the English  
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The Principals hope, by devotion to the mental,  
moral and physical training of their pupils, to secure  
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For particulars, send for Circular.

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Sample and circular mailed free, on receipt of 35  
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Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have  
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From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati  
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The only line running four daily trains from Cin-  
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Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splen-  
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Remember! lower fare by no other route.

To secure the advantages offered by this great  
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Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louis-  
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Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington street, Boston;  
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CENTRAL RAILROAD OF NEW JER-  
sey.—Passenger and Freight Depot in New York,  
foot of Liberty street; connects at Hampton Junction  
with the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad,  
and at Easton with the Lehigh Valley Railroad and its  
connections, forming a direct line to Pittsburgh and  
the West without change of cars.

## ALLENTOWN LINE TO THE WEST.

Sixty miles and three hours saved by this line to Chi-  
cago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, etc., with but one change  
of cars.

Silver Palace cars through from New York to Chi-  
cago.

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Commencing May 10, 1870—Leave New York as fol-  
lows:

5:30 A. M.—For Plainfield.  
6:00 A. M.—For Easton, Bethlehem, Mauch Chunk,  
Williamsport, Wilkesbarre, Mahanoy City, Tukan-  
nock, Towanda, Waverly, etc.  
7:30 A. M.—For Easton.  
12 M.—For Flemington, Easton, Allentown, Mauch  
Chunk, Wilkesbarre, Reading, Columbia, Lancaster,  
Ephrata, Litiz, Pottsville, Scranton, Harrisburg, etc.  
2 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, etc.  
3:30 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, Mauch Chunk,  
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.  
12 P. M.—For Plainfield on Sundays only.  
Trains leave for Elizabeth at 5:30, 6:00, 6:30, 7:30, 8:30,  
9:00, 9:20, 10:30, 11:40 A. M., 12:00 M., 1:00, 2:00, 2:15, 3:15,  
3:30, 4:00, 4:30, 4:45, 5:15, 5:45, 6:00, 6:20, 7:00, 7:45, 9:00,  
10:45, 12:00 P. M.

## FOR THE WEST.

9 A. M.—WESTERN EXPRESS, daily (except Sundays)  
—For Easton, Allentown, Harrisburg and the West,  
without change of cars to Cincinnati or Chicago, and  
but one change to St. Louis. Connects at Harrisburg  
for Erie and the O. R. Regions. Connects at Somerville  
for Flemington. Connects at Junction for Stronde-  
burg, Water Gap, Scranton, etc. Connects at Philadel-  
phia for Mauch Chunk, Wilkesbarre, etc.

5:00 P. M.—CINCINNATI EXPRESS, daily, for Easton,  
Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Harrisburg, Pitts-  
burgh, Chicago and Cincinnati. Sleeping cars to Pitts-  
burgh and Chicago. Connects at Junction with D., L.  
and W. R. R. for Scranton.

Sleeping Cars through from Jersey City to Pitts-  
burgh every evening.

Tickets for the West can be obtained at the office of  
the Central Railroad of New Jersey, foot of Liberty  
street, N. Y.; at No. 1 Astor House; Nos. 254, 271, 526  
Broadway, at No. 10 Greenwich street, and at the prin-  
cipal hotels.

R. E. RICKER, Superintendent.  
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This remarkable book, just from the press, contains a graphic consolidation of the various principles involved in government as the guarantee and protection to the exercise of human rights.

Such principles as, from time to time, have been enunciated in these columns are here arranged, classified and applied. A careful consideration of them will convince the most skeptical that our Government, though so good, is very far from being perfect.

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.

It is an octavo volume of 250 pages, containing the picture of the author; is beautifully printed on the best quality of tinted paper, and is tastefully and substantially bound in extra cloth. No progressive person's house should be without this conclusive evidence of woman's capacity for self-government. Price, \$3 00; by mail, postage paid, \$3 25.

## EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAPLIN.

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.

## THE THEATRES.

NIELSEN'S.

The innovations of the "Black Crook," which are the mainprings of its great popularity, are importations from the music halls of London, where these places of amusement first arose. The internal revenue officers held them liable to pay a license as being theatrical performances; while, on the other hand, it was contended by the proprietors and a large class of the public that they were not dramatic, hence not liable to pay a license. When taken into the law courts some judges decided one way, while other judges decided the opposite. From these facts may be seen the nondescript nature of such performances. In the "Black Crook" are collected perhaps the best list of such performances ever presented to the public in either hemisphere.

First, we have a ballet corps in numbers and gracefulness certainly unsurpassed, but which we have so fully described before as to render a repetition unnecessary.

The Rannels family are gymnasts and acrobats, or, as a Cockney would say, "tumbler." After making their bow they run to the front of the stage, grasp each other's hands and in an instant they become a revolving wheel. The process by which this is accomplished is too rapid to permit of one catching its details so as to describe it. Then one takes hold of the other by his hands, swings him off his feet and holds him aloft by the hands only; he then balances himself and stands upon his head, using the other's head for the resting-place. They next grip each other and revolve like a ship's propeller, each representing one wing of it. Next, one lies on the floor, face downward, the other stands on his back, then jumps up, as he does so the under one rises on his hands, the upper one jumping nearer his neck, then he jumps, the under assuming an upright position on his knees the upper one alighting on his shoulders. The top one vaults, the other stands upright, the top one alighting on his shoulders. He then vaults into the air, turns a somersault, alighting on the other's shoulders where he started from. One moment they seem not to have a bone in their bodies; the next they seem to be braced with cast iron.

The wonderful Majiltons are a sensation of the highest order. If Newton discovered the law of gravity, the Majiltons set it completely at defiance. As for the laws of equilibrium, after seeing the Majilton diablerie, one almost questions the existence of any such laws. The first one who enters holds his arms aloft, bends his body backward till his hands touch the floor, turning a somersault; then he, in some indescribable manner, performs this feat backward, if you can understand that. However, such is the case, ridiculous though it seems. While engaged

in this and other similar gyrations, the other one enters, a tall, slim figure, in black tight, with long black hair. From his appearance one would judge him to be engaged by the Manhattan Gas Company to examine their gas pipes from the inside. With him enters his sister, a very pretty girl, rather inclined to *embroider*. After a preliminary dance or jamboree, during which our black diable lifts his feet so perpendicularly, and yet withal so gracefully, that he looks like a monster black crane. He approaches close to his sister, both dancing and being not more than a foot apart; he throws his foot completely over her head, both dancing all the time to the music. While his arms are swaying about in the most unconscionable manner, here are lifting and falling, her hands tightly clenched, her shoulders shrugging, the muscles of her face tightly compressed, yet the whole moving to the time of the music. All this time the other brother is twisting, twirling and skipping round them in a most ludicrous manner.

This performance, lasting some ten minutes, being concluded, Miss Majilton takes a light cane; her brother throws up an old soft felt hat, as it descends Miss Majilton whips it into a flying rotating wheel, dances, or rather races, all over the stage with it, whipping it sideways, then with one hand under the other arm; then taking one of her feet in her hand she elevates it over her head, and dances about the stage on the other foot, the hat following her wherever she goes, spinning away like a patent-blower. She then lies on the floor and keeps it spinning in all kinds of positions, both her brothers dancing over her and jostling her as though attempting to make the hat fall, but all to no purpose. Although the whole performance is being done in double quick time, she rises, gives the hat a twitch, and it falls loosely on the black Crane's head. Here is a tableau. The Crane then tries his hand on the hat; he spins it backward and forward, at his side, behind him, under his arm, under one leg; they jostle him to the floor, pull him about by one leg and arm, turn him over, pull him round and round, but he keeps the hat spinning, jumps to his feet, and while the other two are cutting up, points at them with his thumb over his shoulder, puts the other hand behind him, spins the hat there, spins it away, gives it a switch and it falls on his head. Tableau.

Now commences a combined fandango and Fetic dance, in which the black Crane seems to revolve between his own limbs. While he is on the floor his body contorts into the letters

S, T, O, X and G,

apparently all at the same time while he is writhing. As he jumps up he gets such a slap in the face that he is sent to earth; here ensues face-slapping, spanking with a piece of board, knocking down and a melee of *diablerie* that is perfectly bewildering and amusing in the extreme, ending a most ridiculous tableau that must be seen to be appreciated. The attempts of the one to imitate the feats of his brother the Crane being laughable to a degree. As the trio leave the stage such a *furor* of recall ensues as is not often heard in a theatre, and it is invariably insisted on—all attempt to continue the play being drowned by the noise from the hands and feet of the audience. Whereupon one of them enters, places a pocket-handkerchief on the stage, turns his back to it and bends backward until he picks it up with his mouth; his body forming the letter O; his face being outward and on the stage. Their whole performance justifies the appellation given to them in our hearing by one of the audience, namely, "the magical flexible, lightning, whalebone men."

Professor Nelson and his children, the two boys, enter, walk on their hands, their bodies being curved above them; the Professor revolves them in the air, sixty revolutions a minute. Then he holds one aloft in his hands, who vaults, turns a somersault, alighting in his hands again.

He then picks one boy up by his neck with his feet; the boy steadies himself, and turns a somersault, alighting on the Professor's feet again, the boy never having used his hands at all. The boy then sits on the Professor's feet, turns a somersault, alighting in the same position he started from; then he vaults, somersaults from sitting to standing, and *vice versa*. The whole performance being an exhibition of agility and muscular power that is astonishing, the movements being too quick to be followed by the eye distinctly enough to admit of a detailed description.

Messrs. Moe and Goodrich perform on parlor skates, first exhibiting their skill as artists, then giving a series of novel and ludicrous entertainments. As young men learning to skate they tumble about in the most life-like manner. In their attempts to help each other up they cut the most ridiculous capers, sliding through each other's legs, getting entangled, crawling on their hands and knees, their feet slipping from under them and going away up above their heads as they fall with a bang, enough to split the stage. One comes out dressed as an English dandy, his hat falls off, and while he is making frantic efforts to regain possession of it, the other comes out attired as a female; she trips up and falls smash upon the hat, whereupon the dandy makes a circuit of her, looking through his eye-glass for the hidden hat, which she eventually extracts looking like a closed pair of bellows. He then goes to her assistance. In his endeavor to lift her up she slides across the stage, and her feet lodge on the sill of the lower box. Her frantic efforts to readjust herself elicit roars of laughter. The subsequent occurrence of similar positions on her part, and the execution by her of numerous somersaults, always bring down the house.

This is the last week of the Black Crook in this city. The Philadelphians are, however, to be regaled with this performance of performances on April 10 at the Academy in that city.

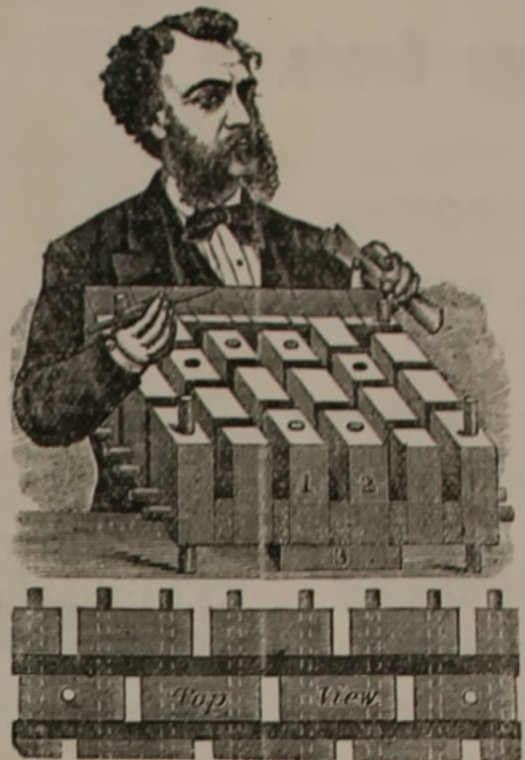
HILMAN & THORN have just opened a first-class dining-saloon at 98 Cedar street, a few steps west of Broadway. They supply, by their arrangement of private dining-rooms, a need, long felt in that vicinity. Gentlemen who have private business to arrange can attend to it there while discussing their lunches 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.

Look out for coal-dealers who go about with the profession that they are going to break up those who have "monopolized" the trade of Wall street, but whose practices do not "square" with their professions.

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

## H. M. BEIDLER'S "Sectional Pin" Wood Pavement.

PATENTED JANUARY 31, 1871.



INVENTED SPECIALLY FOR PAVING  
BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

\$15,000 PER MILE,

CHEAPER THAN ANY WOOD PAVEMENT EVER INVENTED,  
"AND THE BEST."

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 FOOHOLD 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

H. M. BEIDLER, Patentee,

Markoe House, 919 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

NEW YORK OFFICE,

200 BROADWAY, N. Y.