

# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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

## CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

PAGE	PAGE
Appeal to the Women of the United States..... 1	Labor and Capital..... 9
A Parisian Model Woman..... 2	Metropolitan System of Railways; Structures on Raskin's Art Lectures, etc..... 10
Motherhood; Poetry..... 3	Woman's Club at Hammondon; Correspondence..... 11
Women as Government Clerks..... 4	The Cosmopolitical Party; Financial and Commercial..... 12
Our Indian Troubles..... 5	Advertisements..... 13, 14, 15
The Bible and the Old Mythologies..... 6	Drama; Art, etc..... 16
Frank Clay (Poetry)..... 7	
The Next Presidency, and Editorials..... 8	

## 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.

## MEETING OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The American Woman Suffrage Association will hold a mass meeting in New York at Steinway Hall on Wednesday, May 10th. Names of speakers will be announced hereafter.

HANNAH M. T. CUTLER, Pres.

LUCY STONE, Chair. Ex. Com.

ON OUR FIRST PAGE is an earnest appeal to the women of the United States to wake to their own best interests, and to do themselves justice. Among the signatures to that document we welcome that of PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS. Few of the new school know how much the cause owes to the exertions of this lady. She was one of the first to exert herself actively in the advancement of woman's social position. She delivered a course of lectures at a period when it was thought as great a shame for a woman to appear on the platform as to appear with her head uncovered in a church. Mrs. Davis is so eminently free from all self-assertion, that there was the greater merit in this act of moral courage. As a graceful and accomplished woman, she is one of the greatest ornaments of the righteous cause.

THE GOLDEN AGE, the new weekly paper that is to rival the old *Independent*, and to exceed it in progress and live thought, is as brilliant as its editor-in-chief, Theodore Tilton. Can anything stronger be said? To the few who do not know the force of our comparison we can only recommend the *Golden Age* as bright, witty and wise.

## THE Cosmo - Political Party.

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

# VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

SUBJECT TO  
RATIFICATION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

## AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE. WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR FRIENDS—The question of your rights as citizens of the United States, and of the grave responsibilities which a recognition of those rights will involve, is becoming the great question of the day in this country, and is the culmination of the great question which has been struggling through the ages for solution, that of the highest freedom and largest personal responsibility of the individual under such necessary and wholesome restraints as are required by the welfare of society. As you shall meet and act upon this question, so shall these great questions of freedom and responsibility sweep on or be retarded in their course.

This is pre-eminently the birth-day of womanhood. The material has long held in bondage the spiritual; henceforth the two, the material refined by the spiritual, the spiritual energized by the material, are to walk hand in hand for the moral regeneration of mankind. Mothers, for the first time in history, are able to assert, not only their inherent first right to the children they have borne, but their right to be a protective and purifying power in the political society into which those children are to enter. To fulfill, therefore, their whole duty of motherhood, to satisfy their whole capacity in that divine relation, they are called of God to participate, with man, in all the responsibilities of human life, and to share with him every work of brain and of heart, refusing only those physical labors that are inconsistent with the exalted duties and privileges of maternity, and requiring these of men as the equivalent of those heavy, yet necessary, burdens which women alone can bear.

Under the Constitution of the United States, justly interpreted, you were entitled to participate in the Government of the country, in the same manner as you were held to allegiance and subject to penalty. But in the slow development of the great principles of freedom, you, and all, have

failed both to recognize and appreciate this right; but to-day, when the rights and responsibilities of women are attracting the attention of thoughtful minds throughout the whole civilized world, this constitutional right, so long unobserved and unvalued, is becoming one of prime importance, and calls upon all women who love their children and their country to accept and rejoice in it. Thousands of years ago God uttered this mingled command and promise: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." May we not hope that in the general recognition of this right and this duty of woman to participate in government, our beloved country may find her days long and prosperous in this beautiful land which the Lord hath given her.

To the women of this country who are willing to unite with us in securing the full recognition of our rights, and to accept the duties and responsibilities of a full citizenship, we offer for signature the following Declaration and Pledge, in the firm belief that our children's children will, with fond veneration, recognize in this act our devotion to the great doctrines of liberty in their new and wider and more spiritual application, even as we regard with reverence the prophetic utterances of the Fathers of the Republic in their Declaration of Independence:

## DECLARATION AND PLEDGE OF THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THEIR RIGHT TO AND THEIR USE OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

"We, the undersigned, believing that the sacred rights and privileges of citizenship in this Republic were guaranteed to us by the original Constitution, and that these rights are confirmed and more clearly established by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, so that we can no longer refuse the solemn responsibilities thereof, do hereby pledge ourselves to accept the duties of the franchise in our several States, so soon as all legal restrictions are removed.

"And believing that character is the best safeguard of national liberty, we pledge ourselves to make the personal purity and integrity of candidates for public office the first test of fitness.

"And lastly, believing in God as the Supreme Author of the American Declaration of Independence, we pledge ourselves, in the spirit of that memorable Act, to work hand in hand with our fathers, husbands and sons, for the maintenance of those equal rights on which our Republic was originally founded, to the end that it may have, what is de-



clared to be the first condition of just government, the consent of the governed."

You have no new issue to make, no new grievances to set forth. You are taxed without representation, tried by a jury not of your peers, condemned and punished by judges and officers not of your choice, bound by laws you have had no voice in making, many of which are specially burdensome upon you as women; in short, your rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are daily infringed, simply because you have heretofore been denied the use of the ballot, the one weapon of protection and defence under a republican form of government. Fortunately, however, you are not compelled to resort to force in order to secure the rights of a complete citizenship. These are provided for by the original Constitution, and by the recent amendments you are recognized as citizens of the United States, whose rights, including the fundamental right to vote, may not be denied or abridged by the United States, nor by any State. The obligation is thus laid upon you to acceptor reject the duties of citizenship, and to your own consciences and your God you must answer if the future legislation of this country shall fall short of the demands of justice and equality.

The participation of woman in political affairs is not an untried experiment. Woman suffrage has, within a few years, been fully established in Sweden and Austria, and to a certain extent in Russia. In Great Britain women are now voting equally with men for all public officers except members of Parliament, and while no desire is expressed in any quarter that the suffrage already given should be withdrawn or restricted; over 126,000 names have been signed to petitions for its extension to parliamentary elections; and Jacob Bright, the leader of the movement in Parliament, and brother of the well known John Bright, says that no well-informed person entertains any doubt that a bill for such extension will soon pass.

In this country, which stands so specially on equal representation, it is hardly possible that the same equal suffrage would not be established by law if the matter were to be left merely to the progress of public sentiment and the ordinary course of legislation. But as we confidently believe, and as we have before stated, the right already exists in our national Constitution, and especially under the recent amendments. The interpretation of the Constitution which we maintain, we cannot doubt, will be ultimately adopted by the Courts, although, as the assertion of our right encounters a deep and prevailing prejudice, and judges are proverbially cautious and conservative, we must expect to encounter some adverse decisions. In the meantime it is of the highest importance that in every possible way we inform the public mind and educate public opinion on the whole subject of equal rights under a republican government, and that we manifest our desire for and willingness to accept all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, by asserting our right to be registered as voters and to vote at the Congressional elections. The original constitution provides in express terms that the representatives in Congress shall be elected "by the PEOPLE of the several States"—with no restriction whatever as to the application of that term. This right, thus clearly granted to all the people, is confirmed and placed beyond reasonable question by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The act of May, 1870, the very title of which "An Act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote," is a concession of all that we claim, provides that the officers of elections through the United States shall give an equal opportunity to all citizens of the United States to become qualified to vote by the registry of their names or other pre-requisite; and that where upon the application of any citizen such pre-requisite is refused, such citizen may vote without performing such pre-requisite; and imposes a penalty upon the officers refusing either the application of the citizen to be qualified or his subsequent application to vote. The Constitution also provides that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members." When, therefore, the election of any candidate for the Lower House is effected or defeated by the admission or rejection of the votes of women, the question is brought directly before the House, and it is compelled to pass at once upon the question of the right of women to vote under the Constitution. All this may be accomplished without the necessity of bringing suits for the penalty imposed upon public officers by the act referred to; but should it be thought best to institute prosecutions where the application of women to register and to vote is refused, the question would thereby at once be brought into the Courts. If it be thought expedient to adopt the latter course, it is best that some test case be brought upon full consultation with the National Committee, that the ablest counsel may be employed and the expenses paid out of the public fund. Whatever mode of testing the question shall be adopted, we must not be in the slightest degree discouraged by adverse decisions, for the final result in our favor is certain, and we have besides great reason to hope that Congress, at an early day, will pass a Declaratory Act affirming the interpretation of the Constitution which we claim.

The present time is specially favorable for the earnest presentation before the public mind of the question of the political rights of women. There are very positive indications of the approaching disintegration and re-formation of political parties, and new and vital issues are needed by both the great parties of the country. As soon as the conviction possesses the public mind that women are to be voters at an early day, as they certainly are to be, the principles and the action of public parties will be shaping themselves with reference to the demands of this new constituency. Particularly in nominations for office will the moral character of candidates become a matter of greater importance.

To carry on this great work a Board of six women has been established called "The National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee," whose office at Washington it is proposed to make the centre of all action upon Congress and the country, and with whom through their secretary, resident there, it is desired that all associations and individuals interested in the cause of woman suffrage should place themselves in communication. The committee propose to circulate the very able and exhaustive Minority Report of the House Judiciary Committee on the constitutional right of woman to the suffrage, and other tracts on the general subject of woman suffrage. They also propose ultimately, and as a part of their educational work, to issue a series of tracts on subjects vitally affecting the welfare of the country, that

women may become intelligent and thoughtful on such subjects, and the intelligent educators of the next generation of citizens.

The committee are already receiving urgent appeals from women all over the United States to send them our publications. The little light they have already received concerning their rights under the Constitution, and the present threatening political aspect of the country, make them impatient of ignorance on these vital points. A single tract has often gone the rounds in a neighborhood until worn out, and the call is for thousands and thousands more.

A large printing fund will therefore be needed by the committee, and we appeal first to the men of this country, who control so large a part of its wealth, to make liberal donations toward this great educational work. We also ask every thoughtful woman to send her name to the secretary to be inserted in the Pledge Book, and if she is able, one dollar. But as many working women will have nothing to send but their names, we welcome these as a precious gift, and urge those who are able to send us their fifties and hundreds, which we promise faithfully to use and account for. Where convenient it is better that many names should be sent upon the same paper, and the smallest contributions in money can be put together and sent with them. Every signature and remittance will be at once acknowledged by the secretary, and one or more tracts inclosed, with a circular as to the work to be done by individuals.

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, President.  
JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.  
MARY B. BOWEN, Treasurer.  
PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.  
RUTH CARR DENISON.  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 19, 1871.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

### A PARISIAN MODEL WOMAN.

BY MAURICE RADEN, A. M.

[From the pen of the author of this lively sketch will likewise appear in one of our next numbers a racy article entitled, "American Ladies in Paris during the Second Empire."]

Madame Eugenie Lerique de Chateaubriand is the wife of a prominent lawyer, thirty-two years old, mother of three children, of elegant figure, exceeding amiability and distinguished manners, and enjoys a yearly income of forty thousand francs.

Madame Lerique de Chateaubriand being a pearl of the best society, possesses, of course, many admirers among the *petits-crévés*; and upon these gentlemen—the *jeunesse dorée* of society—devolves the pleasant duty of conferring upon certain of their lady friends the enviable distinction of being "a lady comme il faut."

[It may, perhaps, not be out of place to say here a few words of the *petits-crévés*. *Petits-crévés* are what are called in the new French art-language those more or less ridiculous harlequins of society who know no higher ambition than to dress themselves after the latest fashion, to dine in the *Maison Dorée*, to smoke cigars at a franc a piece, to keep horses, etc.]

Madame Lerique de Chateaubriand has achieved the social pinnacle of her day. With the exception of a few such women as Delphine Gay or George Sand, the heroine of my little sketch may be considered as the finest type of her class. She is the perfection of the ideal Parisian woman; the female fruit of French civilization; the result of that liberal intellectual education accorded to French women.

If it be true that the condition of its women is the gauge of the moral and intellectual development of a nation, I have no doubt that the characteristics of such a refined specimen as Madame de Chateaubriand will throw some light upon certain peculiarities of the French people, as demonstrated by the late Prussian-Franco war. Her whole routine of life revolves with mathematical precision within a moral swamp of vanity and imbecility, from which a man can extricate himself only by means of indomitable resolution. And it is women like her who are the mothers of the more intelligent class of trans-Rhenish society!

As much expect to gather figs from thistles, as that children of a genuine Parisian woman should excel in manly virtues!

Noble, excellent minds are often derived from inferior fathers, but never from indifferent mothers. The future of a man lies in the hand of that being who sits the most at his cradle, who presses him the oftenest to her bosom. Think not, dear reader, that I exaggerate by asserting that the numerous victories which the German troops carried over the French is due chiefly to German mothers.

Let us become a little more familiar with the mode of life of our amiable Madame Lerique de Chateaubriand. We abstain from further comments; facts are more eloquent than moral hypotheses.

\* \* \* It is 11 o'clock. Madame rings the bell. The *femme de chambre* enters the bedroom and wishes the lady good-morning; steps to the window and raises the blue-silk curtain. Thanks to the soft light, we perceive the pale face of the beautiful Lerique. Lerique is always pale in the morning; not until after a finished toilet does she bloom like the rose.

"Josephine," she says, in a very low voice, "what kind of weather have we to-day?"

"Most brilliant sunshine, my lady."

"Then I shall wear that silver-gray silk dress, with the black-lace trimming. What do you think?"

"O, madame, I think I would prefer the garnet-velvet robe. It is now November, my lady, and the silver-gray costume looks a little too light."

"How stupid! I wore the garnet-velvet robe only day before yesterday on the drive in the Bois de Boulogne."

"O, pardon, my lady, I forgot! How would you like the dark-green poplin dress? You look charming in that, and besides it is so stylish."

"Very well; I'll take the poplin dress. After breakfast I will drive out. You will give the necessary orders. Now be so kind as to dress me."

The zealous *femme de chambre* sets diligently to work. Madame Lerique de Chateaubriand moves neither hand nor foot. She permits herself to be swaddled like an infant. Thanks to the skill of Josephine, this difficult task is performed in twenty minutes. Madame places a little hood upon her head, throws a peignoir around her shoulders and is ready to take her breakfast. This consists of tea, eggs, cold roast, or, perhaps, some cutlets with compot. At table,

Madame greets her preoccupied husband with the grace and aimability to be expected of such a woman as *Lerique de Chateaubriand*. Both partake of the repast together in the breakfast-room, which pleasant interview consumes nearly half an hour.

And the children? Oh, yes! *Lerique* and I had well nigh forgotten them.

The children—a boy and two girls, respectively of nine, eight and six years of age—have already breakfasted at 11 o'clock with their governess.

Lucien, Jeanne and Adrienne, you must know, are most admirably brought up. As soon as Lucien, the first born, was five years old, all three of the children who had been so long boarding in the country under the care of a faithful nurse, were brought home to live. The dear children looked a little pale when they returned; but thanks to heaven, none of them died, and this is as much as can be expected of that sort of country boarding.

Madame Eugenie Lerique de Chateaubriand knows exactly what she is doing.

An American mother would shrink from the thought of thus giving up her children to the control of nurses. She could not bear to live separated from them for years. But Eugenie would severely condemn such principles of education; she would term them "American rhapsodies," and undoubtedly shrug her shoulders. A French lady of distinction and a baby! Do not the American ladies know how much one is annoyed by these angels who continually do cry? Do they not perceive that it is contrary to all the rules of manners that a young mother who is assured ten times an evening by her ardent admirers that she is charming should expend herself in manifold unesthetical services to the small cosmopolites? Shall she be disturbed during the night by an unmelodious voice when sleeplessness makes one a fright? No. As long as children have not reached an endurable age they must be quarantined. One must not suppose unreasonable things of mankind! At this very moment the saying of a Latin author occurs to me: "*Sunt certi denique fines*."

Lucien, Jeanne and Adrienne have now been four years under the paternal roof; and what more could you wish? Little Adrienne was not three years old when she was indulgently permitted to return. Do you doubt dear reader the affection of Eugenie Lerique de Chateaubriand for her children? You do her injustice. She is an exceedingly kind and tender mother, neither is she inflexible in enforcing the above-cited rules.

An English governess is intrusted with the education of the three children, and fulfills her charge with as much skill as devotion. Miss Lulu Hopkins receives board, lodging and eighty francs salary per month. She has to work very hard early and late. At 8 o'clock her pupils leave the nursery. After a soup is served study commences. This includes all branches of learning. Miss Hopkins is a sort of universal genius; she teaches Lucien Latin, Jeanne German, and the little Adrienne already speaks English fluently. At 11 o'clock the four friends have their breakfast; after that they take a walk to the Park de Monceaux. At 1 o'clock they return. Study is then resumed and continues until 4 o'clock—have second walk to the same place. At 7 o'clock the grand dinner is served, at which the children see their mother for the first time during the day. After dinner sometimes mamma converses with the little brood for a quarter of an hour, but this happens only when no urgent engagements are on her list, such as the opera, a ball, or visits to make. Poor madame is not able to bear the merry music of her children; she can sit five hours or more in the opera house in the crash of a boisterous orchestra, but those unaccustomed sounds of laughing, childish voices give her headache! She desires Miss Lulu Hopkins to retire with her pupils. Good Lulu obeys orders promptly, but her soul is sometimes vexed within her by the caprices of this most gracious lady. Madame is not only a tyrant but an egotist—her greatest pleasure is to command; her foot knows no softer, no more charming footstool than the neck of a female slave. And how can the pride of an English governess serve her against the unsparing discipline of a French lady *comme il faut*? Miss Lulu would like, once in a while, to have an hour all to herself, if only the *femme de chambre* might take the children to the park; but Madame Lerique Chateaubriand has no sympathy for such inclinations. The skillful Josephine is a very active spy and a confidante of madame.

I pity you, bold Lulu, if you ever should dare to emancipate yourself!

Was it not the good Pestalozzi who said: "The mother is endowed, and endowed by God Himself, with all the qualities which should render her fit to become the principal agent in the moral and intellectual development of her child!"

We left Madame de Chateaubriand at her *déjeuner*. Madame has a most excellent appetite. Her physician, who acts besides as first counsel for her personal charms, repeats to her daily, that abundant and nourishing food is an essential element of female beauty. She accepts, of course her doctor's prescription with the utmost care. At about half-past 12 our heroine enters her boudoir.

Josephine is already at her post.

The most important business of the day, the sacred toilet, begins.

Madame Chateaubriand has notified her coachman, as you will kindly remember, that she intends to take a drive after the *déjeuner*.

Let me tell you, in plain English, that Madame wishes to drive at half-past 3 o'clock.

Three hours are daily spent by the beautiful Eugenie for her exterior! Who is able to enumerate all the tender secrets of this period of seclusion?

The "artist" who first waits on her is the *pedicure*—in other words, the chiropodist. He receives fifty francs per month.

After the *pedicure* has left, Josephine leads the queen of the *salon* to the bath-room, where twenty minutes are usually spent. Returned, the beautiful Eugenie devotes herself to the culture of her teeth. She had a sound tooth drawn with heroic self-sacrifice, because it stood a little too far back. An excellent artificial pearl has taken its place, and Eugenie's teeth may now be described as faultless. This work is soon done; the second "artist" appears, the *coiffeur* or hairdresser.

An *attache* of an embassy might envy his address. A *débonnaire* smile plays about his thin, elegantly cut lips, mutton-chop whiskers, dazzling linen, long aristocratic fingers complete the imitation of the perfect gentleman.

Eugenie converses with her hairdresser on the most intimate terms. Monsieur Lebrun saves her the trouble of perusing the classic authors, and she is ready to swear that he is the wittiest talker, the most profound politician, the most agreeable companion in all Paris. You cannot



imagine how familiar this man is with all the secrets of the *chronique scandaleuse*! Nobody knows his contemporaries, from cabinet officers to the ladies of the *demi-monde*, better than Monsieur Lebrun. For Madame Lerique ed Chateaubriand he is a living source of the most interesting information, the most delightful, exhilarating recitation; his versatility exceeds the limits of credulity. As an artist he stands alone upon the summit of his genius; he not only dresses one's hair; no, he creates a poem of each particular hair; a map in one's curls; erects cathedrals and temples on one's frizzettes.

But this *prestidigitateur* in hair has finished, and now a number of very graceful coloring operations begin. The plastic artist leaves, the art of painting takes his place. Josephine opens an elegant little case. Strong red becomes mixed with tender white, the veins on the temples and on the neck receive a blue nuance; the eyebrows and eyelashes a trifle more of shade, a little artificial trick, and the looker-on perceives a piquant, no, a languishing expression. But if Eugenie wishes to charm particularly, she knows how to dip her pink lips in a more ardent hue; the hands are also treated with a variety of savons, essences, tinctures, and finally the nails painted.

After the entire personal toilet is finished, commences the toilet of dressing. Let me throw over this highly sensational chapter the veil of a Christian charity.

At half-past 3 o'clock, Eugenie puts on the charming little cloak trimmed with fur, and descends. Two minutes later, the carriage is heard rolling over the pavement. Madame Lerique's first visit is to her milliner; the second to her jeweler; the third to the fancy stores.

In the meantime, it has become dark. Madame cannot select colors by gas-light, therefore all further shopping is put off until to-morrow. The two hours preceding dinner are used for making calls. Countess Vaurien, Duchess Y. and Senator G., are "at home" to-night. Francois, the coachman, receives his orders and drives to the faubourg St. Honore. At home, the *maitre d'hotel* is excited to frenzy that Madame stays out so late. The cook is in despair over *mayonnaise*, which is spoiled by long-keeping. At last the bell rings. It is Madame! The dinner may be served.

Does Eugenie ever look into the kitchen? Oh, yes! She is very fastidious if she perceives that the sauce is too thin, or there is too much salt in the soup. Everything else concerns only the *maitre d'hotel*. Her husband supplies the money, and the *maitre d'hotel* buys everything. It is a matter of course that the latter gentleman makes at least forty per cent on everything he buys. Monsieur and Madame de Chateaubriand are well aware of that; but it is aristocratic to be cheated.

After dinner Madame goes either to the opera or into society, or she receives at home her friends and acquaintances. The famous *salon conversations*, so popular in France some fifty years ago, are no longer the fashion. The easy form of chattering remains, but without the genius of former times; it consists of witty gossip, of lewd scandal, of flat *bon-mots* and stale compliments. This is the *menu* of evenings "at home."

At about 1 o'clock our heroine returns home. She takes up the evening journals and devotes an hour or so to their reading. Her favorite is the *Figaro*; next to that she likes the *Paris Journal*. The *feuilleton* in the style of Albert Wolff is most delicious reading for her. Francisque Sarcey is too profound, too scientific; and besides he is not writing that sort of French which Madame prefers to read.

On Sunday Madame attends High Mass, after which she sometimes looks over a romance by Feydeau, or, in fine weather, she drives to the Bois. Sometimes she is suffering with headache. For her husband's sake and Miss Hopkins, I do earnestly hope that this is not often the case.

Such is the life of an educated French lady. In the small cities the ladies are eagerly copying Paris, even in its faults and vices. I forgot to add that a *femme comme il faut* is not afraid of gallant intrigues, nor of contracting heavy debts without the knowledge of her husband.

And now I ask thoughtful readers if they are still astonished that no oaks grow upon such sandy soil? The tyrant has well speculated.

Surely the Second Empire, which cultivated everything but the moral virtues, knew what it was doing in encouraging to the utmost the frivolity and wretched imbecility of its female subjects. And it is proved that the tyrant speculated only too well.

## MOTHERHOOD.

### ITS POWER OVER HUMAN DESTINY.

BY MRS. L. B. CHANDLER.

[CONTINUED.]

I charge upon you, mothers of to-day, the grand duty of educating yourselves in all the scientific knowledge, all the physiological and psychical laws, to prepare the means for a free and unpolluted maternity to coming generations; and have dwelt, first, upon the duty of mothers to sons, because in its fulfillment, it seems to me, lies the only hope of guiding the surging passion of masculinity into those channels of enlightenment which can save parentage from perpetuating and intensifying the diseased conditions, physical and spiritual, which are eating into the core of life; and because motherhood in the past has so sadly neglected the education of sons, and still shrinks from its performance, praying earnestly for their salvation from sin, but failing to lead them in the ways of righteousness by proper enlightenment and caution. Because motherhood, by this timidity and negligence, fails to avail herself of the power which this teaching would surely exercise over the reason and conscience of boyhood, and which would infuse a leaven of purity into the manhood of coming generations. And now, perhaps, many are too painfully conscious of the deplorable effects of that ignorance which permits maidenhood and wifehood to sail out into the realms of its own special sphere all uninformed and unarmed. How sadly deficient is the training of a mother who, with solicitous watchfulness, warns her daughter of dangers, but fails to point out what they are or instruct by what means they may be detected; who fails to instruct so clearly and familiarly what associations and in-

timacies are imprudent and dangerous that it is impossible for the unwary girl to be deceived; who fails also to instruct her that she has no right to lower the standard of womanly purity and fidelity in the estimation of mankind by exercising the attractive power which, if rightly employed, may check the passion and win the reverence of her brother man, for the sake of enjoying a brief season of admiration and homage. The attractive power of womanhood should be held as a solemn trust, to be exercised in sincerity alone, and, O mothers! teach, with all possible stress, that a woman who, through this power, panders to the love of dominion or selfish lusts of man, or the gratification of vain and selfish appetites in herself, commits a folly and falsehood which wrongs all womankind. When puberty arrives and dawning womanhood arouses all the latent susceptibilities of being, hasten to instruct thy daughter in that knowledge which is necessary to her physical well-being and personal safety, not only, but that in the creative function of motherhood she is endowed with the conditions which enable her to co-work with the Divine energy in establishing and maintaining the purity of true social relations. It seems almost superfluous to enjoin upon mothers the duty of informing their daughters upon all things pertaining to marriage and parentage. But, sadly enough, the army of ignorant and timid mothers still marches on, each generation leaving undone what had been left undone by the preceding, the wailing of a trampled womanhood and desecrated motherhood not yet sufficing to inspire with courage the souls of those already enlightened to fulfill their duty toward the children they have borne. The Christian Church, considering the birth of Jesus exceptional in all respects, has never discovered the philosophy of the fact that Joseph "knew not" Mary from the hour when the announcement of the new life was made till the birth of the child; nor has medical profession discovered, or, if discovered, has not taught the imperative necessity of such condition to secure to motherhood that undisturbed operation of the forces within her body, and the passivity of mind which are vitally important to her own well-being and that of her offspring. When the "harp of a thousand strings" is attuned to a new key by the unfoldment of a new life within itself, every string is thrilled with exquisite vibration, either of delight or torture. Shall any soul save the owner dictate what hands shall sweep its chord? Whether they shall receive impulse from any? Or whether, like the *Æolian harp*, it shall, all untouched by mortal hands, vibrate only to the celestial harmonies which ever wait upon the incarnation of soul in human form? The intrusion of masculine passion upon an unresponsive wife is always a violation of soul and body. A lustful passion enforcing itself by a stronger will, and submitted to and endured by woman because she has been erroneously taught such to be wifely virtue, has conduced to establish a state of legalized prostitution which poisons the fountain of being, physically and spiritually, from the moment of conception, making fearfully true the scriptural statement, "Conceived in sin and born in iniquity." Motherhood has been held in abeyance to the falsely assumed duties of wifehood, and the results to offspring left wholly out of the account. One of the sad facts coming within the sphere of my observation in early life, and that seethed and surged in my soul with unquenchable desire for reconciliation to the teachings of reason and perceptions of justice, was the wedded experience of a lovely woman of my acquaintance, whose husband was so given to intemperate drinking that he was unfitted for the pursuit of any business, and she, like thousands who have preceded and still follow in the doleful procession of faithful wives, victims of appetite and lust, or blindly and ignorantly subordinating the holy office of motherhood to conjugal affection, unconscious of the responsibilities of parentage, bringing into existence children whose anti-natal conditions may entail upon them a life-time of misery, and add fresh recruits to the army of criminals. She believed it her duty to minister to his desire lest he should abandon himself to the society of lewd women—never dreaming, I suppose, that she was prostituting herself not only, but the highest function and holiest office with which she was endowed. According to the phraseology which libellously and blasphemously attributes to the *Divine fiat* the results of selfish and, perhaps, criminal gratification—"God blessed the means"—to add to a family already too numerous for the slender strength of the mother properly to care, still less support. The result, after several innocent souls had been pushed out of their bodies, the mother, too, succumbed; and leaving three children to battle with poverty and a drunken father, passed on to her release. This is but one of multitudes of like cases.

I was not long since reading of a case which came under the observation of a benevolent lady of New York city, who found a family of several children in circumstances of extreme destitution. The father, a confirmed sot, whose appetite had quenched the instincts of fatherhood as well as the nobility of manhood, and who would take the shoes and stockings provided for his shivering children, and sell them for rum. Think you that woman had the first spark of appreciation of her responsibility as a mother when she could reply to the question, "Do you intend to continue living with this man and bringing into existence children to endure such miseries, whose father will even wrest the means provided for their covering to the supply of his baneful appetite?" And she answered, "I do, for I love him spite of all." No! she saw not, comprehended not, that in mother-

hood God had endowed her [with a function and office which supersedes, in its nature and bearing upon human destiny, all other powers, obligations and responsibilities. The power of maternal influence after separate existence is established the world concedes; the necessity for more thorough education, and still more for faithful and wise application of such knowledge in motherhood is beginning to be taught, and, to some extent, realized. But the fundamental truth of the duty of motherhood to make itself an *intelligent instrument of creative power*, and to provide, first, suitable ante-natal conditions; second, suitable provisions for the rearing of offspring after birth, and to subordinate every form of selfishness to its demands is hardly thought of, still less appreciated. The egregious error resulting from ignorance, and blind following of established usages, and the effect of educational influences in the past is, that in wedlock man and woman are exempt from responsibility or any relation but the conjugal, and exempt from the results which flow from a selfish gratification—have no God-given responsibilities to determine the exercise of parentage; and because they have chosen to unite themselves as man and wife, they have no duty in relation to their fitness or unfitness—their conditions and circumstances as bearing upon the well-being and destiny of offspring. Can any one who possesses a fair share of intelligence doubt that an office which involves the physical and spiritual well-being of humanity beyond that of all other human relations should be subject to and controlled by the highest intelligence, clearest intuitions and deepest convictions of the being endowed with its functions, and never subject to the selfish appetites and ignorant demands of a parental relation, which cannot assume the office nor concern of its attendant burdens either of soul or body. Perhaps some sister says All is right with me. I have no cause of complaint. Be thankful, then, and realize that this affords you more opportunity therefore for greater responsibility to work for the relief of the great mass of mothers and wives not in like favored conditions, in investigation of the causes of the diseased conditions, the depravities and criminalities now festering everywhere in the social fabric. Farmers' clubs appoint committees to make observations and report upon the breeding and rearing of swine and chickens, and so ascertain reasons of success and failure. Is not the righteous method of human reproduction—the securing of highest conditions for all souls launched upon an endless existence—quite as serious and worthy an object of scientific research? So long as motherhood is desecrated, ignorant, troubled, hindered in its divine operation—its perfect obedience to the voice of God in the soul of the mother—so long will diseased, discordant natures be launched upon social life. Subjects for such dens of infamy and objects of protective legislation as St. Louis records, and as pour forth their foul miasma in the centres of commerce at all points. Subjects for inebriate asylums and the desolation of a drunkard's home. Subjects for jails and prisons, and the gallows, so long as that relic of barbarism exists. There can be no ignorance, no oppression in family, society, State, that does not infuse its leaven of unrighteousness and uncleanness into every atom of society and State.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

### GIVE ME BUT TRUTH.

Truth! let the false world frown, or what it will—  
Let friends who fawned in other times forsake,  
And kindred e'en, forgetful to fulfill  
The duties that their natal unions make,  
Turn cold away in silence, or betake  
To censure which no mingling has of rath,  
And, if it must be so, affection shake,  
The choicest treasure lent to age or youth;  
But always grant this meed, my own heart's perfect truth.

With this I'll float upon the waves of time,  
And feel my lone existence yet has charms;  
Altho' dread falsehood, ignorance and crime  
Those dear ones sever from my eager arms,  
Whom I'd have shielded with my life from harms;  
Tho' throngs around me in false modes unite,  
And, blind to fate, have but for me alarms,  
To learn and live the truth be my delight,  
Though every vile voice hiss, and every vain hand smite.

And if my words fall as a form in sand,  
And my love flow as winds that ne'er return—  
If no congenial renderings reach my hand,  
No faithful heart respond when mine shall yearn—  
Still, sordid policy and place I'll spurn,  
And social wrong and world-defiled renown;  
Serenely then life's less'ning lamp may burn—  
Calmly I'll lay the well-used body down,  
And know I wear from earth Truth's everlasting crown.

The multitude, a little longer yet,  
Must grope in twilight, faltering and unblest,  
Pursue the phantoms, fashion, pride, and get  
Their certain thorn-wreaths knit into the breast;  
But, sure as God is love, and Heaven gives rest,  
The time must come when their fell ways shall cease,  
When Folly's struggling votaries oppressed  
With meet confusion, shall in shame release  
Their scorn of honest lives, and plead for truth and peace.

O! what a paradise will earth become  
When all her children good alone pursue—  
All vagrants will find virtue, joy, a home;  
All home's contentment, thrift, and pleasures true;  
All tyranny and rule their levels due;  
Slavery shall end, reft spirits be made whole;  
Pervading kindness rush all bosoms through;  
Bliss, as God's edict, o'er the nations roll,  
And Truth's all-glorious sway enapture every soul.

VINELAND, N. J.

M. E. TILLOTSON.



## WOMEN AS GOVERNMENT CLERKS.

## THEIR WORK AND THEIR PAY.

## EFFICIENCY AND RELIABILITY.

## FAIR PLAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April, 1871.

The opening of the Civil Service to women has been considered by the social philosopher as one of the greatest achievements for her in the labor field, and its retention been guarded with jealous care. To this end a careful survey should be made of its requirements, and regard be taken to meet them. The question of woman's freedom and personal independence is receiving a solution here, in consequence of this opportunity to meet the issues of life in a pecuniary ease, far removed from anything opened to them elsewhere.

The question, has this employment, which, up to this time, has been considered in the light of an experiment, proved a successful one, ought to be of the deepest interest to every person interested in woman's welfare and advancement. It is a subject which has elicited much comment, and upon which various opinions have been expressed at different times. The writer has been led to believe that a candid statement of what women have and are doing in this respect, will have the effect of aiding the right public sentiment on this, as well as relative phases of the new movements.

## THEIR ORIGINAL EMPLOYMENT

was in 1862, upon the recommendation of General Spinner to Secretary Chase, and their first work was cutting and trimming the fractional currency. Needing help in the counting-room, General Spinner asked that six of these ladies be given him for that work. So expert did he find them that the whole of his work, which has increased prodigiously, is now done by them.

Through General Spinner's effort, a bill passed, authorizing the appointment of sixty female clerks, at a salary of \$60 per month, and Mr. Rollins obtained the appointment of forty in the Internal Revenue Bureau at the same time.

These are the only permanent clerkships for women provided for by law, all the rest are temporary.

## WHERE MILLIONS ARE HANDLED.

In the Treasurer's offices there are 248 ladies. Their duties range all the way from nine to eighteen hundred dollar clerkships. The duties, mark, not the pay!

The Redemption Bureau is perhaps the most interesting feature of this office. Here all the mutilated and disfigured currency is brought to be redeemed, and new money sent in its place. The ladies receive this money direct from the banks, business firms, corporations and private individuals, in its original packages, and are responsible for the amount they take until it leaves their hands. Upon counting it, if mistakes are discovered, which are quite frequent, they are at once reported and notice taken of the same. It not unusually happens that these mistakes amount to hundreds of dollars, sometimes in favor and sometimes against the parties sending the currency.

## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF \$900 PER ANNUM.

After counting and assorting this money, putting each issue carefully by itself, the initials of the lady counting it is put upon the strap, the "overs" and "shorts," as the mistakes are styled, reported, and it is delivered to the clerk having charge of the division. From him it is taken to the cutting-room, and there guillotined by the axe of the executioners, by cutting it in halves, which renders it, from that moment, dead to all use. It is then sent, one half to the Register's office and one half to the Secretary's office, to be counted again. Each mistake is easily detected by the initials on the strap confining the notes, and a strict account is kept of them, and the same reported to each lady at the end of the month.

If counterfeits are not detected in counting and assorting this money, the amount so passed is also charged to the lady passing it. It often happens that half a month's salary goes to pay such losses. If, through any misfortune, oversight or carelessness, money is lost while in the hands of the counters, it has to be made good by them. Not long since one of the ladies lost a hundred dollars in this way.

## A PLEA FOR JUSTICE.

It is for these reasons, the great responsibilities and risks incurred, that General Spinner has urged upon Congress, year after year, the injustice of the inadequate pay given to these ladies, and asked that their salaries be raised. In one of his annual reports he says: "No one who is at all acquainted with the business operations of this office, will gainsay the fact that many female clerks, receiving only \$900 per annum, can do, and do, more work of the kind mentioned, and do it better, too, than any clerk in the Department, receiving double their salary, possibly can. In order to test the difference between the two kinds of clerks in this kind of work, more thoroughly, the female clerks were required to review and recount the work of the male clerks; and it was found that they not only corrected errors in the count, but that they detected counterfeits that had not before been discovered, or known to any person connected with the Treasury Department in this city or elsewhere, and that had been overlooked by the male clerks in the offices where they were originally received, and by those in this office who had counted them."

## VALUABLE EXPERTS.

One lady in this division is so expert in deciphering disfigured, burned and mutilated money, that her services are invaluable. She saved, at one time, to The Adams Express Company, a large sum of money, which had been under water until, to an ordinary observer, it was past all recognition. Having deciphered the whole amount, it was replaced to the Express Company. As an expression of their appreciation of her services, the company gave her five hundred dollars.

This lady's services are appreciated by the Government at the rate of nine hundred dollars a year! Another lady has charge of the money account for the cash-room, and is responsible for the correctness of it. A man doing this work, and doing it as well, would get at least two thousand dollars per annum.

These are only a few instances where this injustice is most glaring.

It is wonderful to see with what rapidity the nimble fingers of these ladies count and assort this money, and with what quickness they detect the counterfeits. Their delicacy of perception seems miraculous to the uninitiated.

## HOW THE WORK WEARS—PROMOTION.

The constant strain upon the nervous system, occasioned by this consciousness of responsibility and fear of loss, soon tells upon the physical health and spirits of these women, impressing itself in a care-worn expression of countenance; for it is an acknowledged fact in ethics that women are far more sympathetic to the dictates of the higher moral motives than men.

General Spinner has succeeded in getting only three promotions in his office under the law passed by the last Congress authorizing the Heads of Departments to appoint women to any positions they might be competent to fill.

## COLLECTING THE TAXES.

In the Internal Revenue Bureau there are ninety ladies employed. They do writing entirely—only one of the ninety getting more than nine hundred dollars.

The Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue gives it as his opinion that the employment of these ladies as clerks is a decided success; that several of them are doing clerical work of the best order, such work as the gentlemen get the higher salaries for doing. The work is neatly and promptly done; and it is also his testimony that they do not seek to take advantage of their sex to ask for privileges. I mention this for the reason that it has been urged as an objection against the employment of ladies, that they do so seek to lighten their labor.

This Bureau was one of the first where this experiment was made and where it has found its most successful solution so far as clerical work is concerned.

## IN THE "HEAD-CENTRE'S OFFICE."

The Secretary's office has one hundred and fifty (150) ladies employed; 125 counting notes and 33 in the library. The librarian is a lady, and was appointed to fill a vacancy formerly occupied by a gentleman at a salary of \$2,200. She performs the same duties in every particular, and receives a salary of \$1,400 per annum, the largest paid to any lady, as yet, in the employment of the Government. There is also one accountant receiving a salary of \$1,200 per annum in the Secretary's office, whose ability, the chief clerk of the Treasury Department says, is inferior to no gentleman in the division.

## AN IMPARTIAL OPINION FROM A COMPETENT CRITIC.

This testimony is the more valuable, coming from one who does not give so flattering an account of the experiment as other heads of Bureaus or Divisions. He is free to say, however, that he thinks the fault is more in the material with which he has to work than with the system. He says there are too many ladies, in the technical sense of the term—ladies of decayed fortunes, who have been educated in the belief of vested rights in the female portion of the race, who lay claim to immunities and privileges in consequence thereof, and whose main object is to do a minimum amount of work for a maximum amount of pay. But, on the other hand, he says the Yankee girls who have been educated to look upon labor as something quite likely to prove incidental to their lives, who have earnest, honest views of life, make just as good clerks as men, and, in his opinion, ought to have the same pay.

## WOMAN'S WORK IN VARIOUS BUREAUS.

In the Register's Bureau there are 140 ladies. Colonel Graham, the assistant register, gives his testimony unreservedly on the side of the ladies, both as regards their efficiency and promptness:

"The work these ladies do requires a vast amount of painstaking application. The redeemed coupons, after being canceled, are sent here for registration. The work of preparing them for registration requires great care. They are arranged according to the different loans, dates, series, denomination, and also by the number of the bond which is on the coupon. They are registered in large books, and then checked, in order that perfect correctness may be insured."

In the First Comptroller's office there are six regular appointments, and the work done very similar to that in the Register's office. The gentleman having charge of the work done, says: "So precise and accurate are they in making out the schedules of bonds which have to be certified to by the head of the division, that not a mistake has been returned from the Register's office, where they are sent to be verified, in more than two years."

The Third, Fourth and Fifth Auditor's offices have lady copyists. In the Second and Sixth the same work is done by men. The former receive \$900 per annum, and the latter from \$1,200 to \$1,600. The only reason why ladies are not employed in the bureaus last named is the prejudices of their chiefs against such labor. Yet the consistency of this is illustrated by the fact that one of these gentlemen was in the habit, for a considerable time, of taking home copying for his daughters to execute.

## TOTAL EMPLOYED IN TREASURY.

The number of ladies in this Department on the 1st of March, exclusive of printing bureau, was 613, but sometimes the number goes up to near 700, according to the state of business, temporary force being enlarged or reduced to suit business; 31 are employed in the office of Comptroller of Currency.

In the printing there are about 500 on the average, but they vary as the work happens to be. Their work is mechanical, chiefly laying sheets on to the presses, working the numbering machines, etc. About 150 of them count the currency, and a few keep books and superintend.

## RELICS OF THE WAR.

There are thirty ladies employed in the War Department, in the Quartermaster General's office. They do copying exclusively. This bureau has been considered as a sort of pension office for the widows and orphans of army and navy officers. Mrs. Wainwright, the widow of Commodore Wainwright, has charge of this division, and has always received \$1,200 per year. This appointment, as well as that of Apollonia Yagello, the Polish lady who commanded a squadron of cavalry in the Polish insurrection and fled to this country after the close of the war, received an appointment of a fourteen hundred dollar clerkship under Polk's administration, as a token of appreciation of her efforts in the cause of human freedom, show conclusively the practicability of any secretary appointing a lady to any clerkship.

## COPYING AND DRAUGHTING.

In the Interior Department the law provides for sixty ladies, who do copying for the Patent Office. A portion of the drawing and tracing of models is also done by ladies.

All this was formerly done by gentlemen. The appointment of ladies, therefore, has been quite recent. There are seven ladies employed in the Pension Office. The Patent Office copyists receive \$60 per month; those engaged in drawing, \$1,000 per annum, but they have to accomplish a certain amount of work each month; the other copyists receive \$900.

## THE DEAD-LETTER OFFICE.

In the Post-office Department sixty ladies are employed; all of them in the Dead-Letter Office. There is also one translator, at a salary of \$1,200 per annum. Mrs. Peligan King Bowen formerly occupied this position. There are two ladies at the general delivery window of the City Post-office—places, until recently, occupied by gentlemen.

## GENERAL RESULTS—THEIR CHARACTER.

The testimony in regard to the efficiency and worth of the female employees, by the heads of divisions and others in positions to judge, is nearly unanimous in their favor. As the result of investigation I find the following facts well attested. Much of the work done by them could not be done by men at any price. The patient, persistent and painstaking efforts necessary to accomplish most of their work, would be too great a tax upon the nervous strength of men. All the talk about women comparing unfavorably with men as regards honest and capable endeavor is mere "bosh," and where it exists is the fault of the discipline of the office, and not the sex of the clerk. Hold women to the same accountability with men, make them amenable to the same discipline, and pay them according to the result, and there will be no complaint of this kind.

To the answer that this is impracticable, in consequence of the false idea of chivalry resting in men's minds regarding woman, I point to the Treasurer's office in proof of my position. There is no man living who has a purer or higher standard of woman's position, or the requirements of a just appreciation toward her than General Spinner. His bureau, with its 140 ladies, many of them perfect types of womanly beauty—women who have moved, and are now moving, in the first circles of society; widows of army officers, daughters of former members of Congress, Senators and Judges of the Supreme Court, whose fortunes have been swept away, and whose care-takers have gone from among the living, presents a system as perfect, and a regime as relentless as rules any department in the Government, or could be found in any private establishment.

The cheap depreciation indulged in, from time to time, in the past, in regard to this matter by writers and talkers, is happily giving way to a more enlightened sentiment. Recognition, both of the character and worth of this branch of the "civil service," has had to cleave its way through the prejudices and traditions of centuries; and, like all innovations, every step has been attended with opposition impelled by ignorance, prejudice and selfishness.

## THE NEXT STEP—EQUALITY OF POSITION AND PAY.

The next step in its elevation toward its true dignity is the wiping out of all distinctions in regard to compensation. Ho men, having the least grain of common sense, or common honesty, can object to this proposition is a matter of wonder to well-balanced minds.

When a man like Secretary Boutwell comes upon the stage—a man supposed to represent the advanced thought of the age, and to whom the Congress of the United States has, with his colleagues, given law providing for justice in this particular—refuses to do it, and instead assumes the prerogative of reducing the pay of an office when given to a lady, notwithstanding she performs the same duties and is acknowledged to do it acceptably, it only illustrates the biting satire General Spinner put into his last report, when he declared himself not to be in favor of opening the regular clerkships to women, but of grading those they now held, giving as a reason therefor that if these clerkships were so opened to women, they not being yet recognized as political citizens, would be at once assailed by mean-spirited politicians and their servitors, whose raid would probably be successful in removing all ladies from such appointments, and perhaps even from the Department itself.

Of course, though General Spinner did not say so, the deduction was that the ballot was as necessary in the protection of woman in this as in other things, as it has been found to be for man. Gov. Boutwell, perhaps unwittingly, illustrates, in his own conduct, how good men may commit the meanness which the sturdy old Treasurer suggested as possible.

## SUGGESTIVE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES.

There have been great misgivings among the more thoughtful of both sexes as to the result socially and even morally of the breaking up of a social structure the growth of centuries, and apparently guarded by the most sacred memories. Such fears are justifiable, a fact too often overlooked by our agitators and extremists. But it must be met and provided for. So industrial independence has always been regarded as the master-key to the broadening of woman's life and occupations, and the preparing of her therefore for the larger possibilities and activities which await her advent into office. The result in this city, where a larger number have found a wider field than our civilization has accorded hitherto, seem to give a reasonable and favorable response to the fears which have been entertained as to the effect which must necessarily grow from such changes in the traditional position of woman.

In spite of all calumnies there can be no doubt in the mind of an impartial observer that the personal morality and integrity of the lady employees of the Government is quite up to if not above the average of women any where holding any position in life. In intelligence, they are as a rule, superior. Socially there is nothing to complain of here. Ladies employed by the Government as clerks and copyists are recognized and esteemed, if merit and acquirements demand, with the household divinities of prominent public men or the petted ladies of fashion. There are women of high order of ability so employed; many possess rare independence of character, and the great majority are worthy types of a growing womanhood.

HELEN M. BARNARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

## 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, inclose therewith one dollar, to be used for that purpose by the committee.



## OUR INDIAN TROUBLES. THEIR CAUSES, COST AND CURE.

BY JOHN B. WOLFF.

### \$30,000,000 OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY ANNUALLY WASTED.

### THE INDIAN MILITARY SYSTEM A FAILURE AND NUISANCE.

### THE SOLUTION EASY, SIMPLE, ECONOMICAL.

The Press and Public Opinion—Congressional Incompetency and Corruption—The Peace Commission of New York—Grant's Policy, and Where He got It—The Uses and Abuses of the Military—Indian Agents—Post Contractors and Rings—How it is Done, etc., etc.

After waiting and working for years, mostly in private, to procure a fair hearing of this cause, both by Congress and the public, WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY must have the credit, and should have the practical gratitude of this tax-ridden people, for such a presentation of the facts in this case as will show that our Indian policy is one of wanton waste and useless extravagance; that a sensible policy will save at least \$30,000,000 per annum, while it will add many millions to the aggregate wealth of the country, and that this same policy is one of cruelty and injustice to the Indians, unworthy the age and its boasted civilization.

The author writes from personal observation, and through investigation running through a period of eighteen years—most of that time on the borders, the balance in Washington city—and, therefore, makes his allegations boldly, and in the fullest confidence that he can make good all that he asserts. To that part of the Press throughout the country which desires the people to act understandingly on all public and important questions, he appeals for the general circulation of so much of these articles as shall enable the wealth-producing classes to see this subject in its true light.

#### THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

The public experience of the writer in connection with this subject commenced three years ago, at a meeting in Cooper Institute, under the auspices of the N. Y. Indian Peace Commission. At that meeting Henry Ward Beecher spoke twenty minutes, this deponent about fifty. The New York papers reported the former in full, and six lines of the latter; the former did not understand the question, and the latter will trust to these papers for the final verdict. This case is cited to show that the Press of this city was afraid to give the public any practical facts on which to base a correct judgment. At that time the public mind was in a state of confusion for the want of a clear statement of the facts, and the general tendency was extermination. The New York Tribune was willing to examine and publish articles if suitable; but the articles went into the waste-basket, and if it will allow its file to be used, there will be no trouble in showing that it has since been on both sides of this question in a single editorial of less than one-third of a column. The Sun would publish short articles, with such limitations as must necessarily destroy their force. Other efforts met a similar fate; and it is doubtful to-day—while the Press pays millions for matter of no practical value—whether any considerable number will give to the public a fair synopsis or a fair exposition of this subject.

But the cloud and smoke of battle are dissipated; the public mind is calmer, and better prepared for the whole truth plainly told. As far, then, as that mind can be reached, there shall be left no excuse for a doubtful state.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Notwithstanding the appointment of the first Indian Peace Commission by Congress—the New York Indian Peace Commission—the Committee of Quakers—the present voluntary committee with instructions from the President to devise and recommend a plan—the call last summer by the N. Y. Indian Peace Society for a convention to continue its session from day to day until a plan was attained—up to this hour we have no plan predicated of the work to be done and the materials or means with which it must be done. We never did have a plan except a policy of extermination at a cost of two white persons and \$500,000 for every Indian killed. We are to-day like the man who builds without specifications or estimate of materials.

That public men in and out of Congress should be grossly ignorant of a subject involving the annual expenditure of about \$50,000,000, the safety and peace of the border settlements, and the common interests of the country, is a terrible commentary on the incompetency of public men, and may well lead us to doubt our capacity for a Republican Government. Fearlessly shall this fact come to the light. First of all then it is a fact that all legislation of the past has been fragmentary and without a solitary symptom of a comprehension of the principles on which this Indian question

should be settled. Even the peace policy of William Penn did not prevent him from taking the lands of the Indian without an equivalent, nor yet from paying in articles of no practical value.

But to come down to our work: Hon. W. T. Willey, Senator from W. Va., said: "I do not understand this subject; and I don't know any subject about which members know so little." Hon. John A. Bingham said: "I do not understand it, and have no time to post myself." Hon. B. F. Butler said, after hearing a speech of twenty minutes, throwing his arms up wildly: "Stop! for God's sake, Mr. Wolff, I am converted and will help you. I always knew there was a wrong somewhere, but only now have found where it belongs." [But he has not helped.] Hon. Charles Sumner said, after manifesting great interest and appointing an interview: "This subject belongs to the Indian Committee. It is their business. I cannot take time to look after it." [He might, as it involved treaties he had helped make and questions of international law—his hobby.] Hon. Dawes, chairman of committee on appropriations, said substantially the same as Sumner. Messrs. Wilson, Logan, Kelly and others plead guilty to the same indictment—heard courteously but still left it to the committee, to which the subject properly belonged.

Great pains were taken to post Hon. W. Lawrence of Ohio, who acknowledged the necessity and justice of the cause and agreed to introduce the bill afterward introduced by Fitch. When Red Cloud came last summer Mr. L. was notified that then was a good time to bring the whole question up and treat it exhaustively. "Are you ready and willing?" "No." "Why?" "I want to see first what the administration will do." "Is it possible that you—a sworn legislator, a member of character, after repeatedly assenting to the necessity and justice of a permanent cure of these perpetual Indian wars with all their cost and cruelty—will stand here and say that you will wait for anybody? Must this be believed?" There was no reply. Well might this man say, "When you take the stump, Mr. Wolff, spare me." But he is not spared. He did not spare Indian nor tax-payer. Why then should he pray with the price of blood on hand and soul? He had been made thoroughly acquainted with all the facts, and especially with the fact that the Indian Committees would do nothing.

The principle, or rather the want of it, on which the committees are appointed must be reserved for another occasion. It is safe to say that specific fitness is not the rule of their appointment. There are three elements in fitness—knowledge, wisdom and honesty. That these elements do not predominate in the Indian Committees is apparent from the fact that, notwithstanding the pressing necessity, no measure for three years has emanated from either worthy the name of "A Bill for the Better Regulation of our Indian Affairs." To appease the public clamor, the Senate committee asked the predecessor of Parker for a plan, which he furnished, and procured others which he indorsed; but they fell dead in the committee-room—never saw the light. In the House, since Windom left, and Clarke has been chairman, the committee has done nothing but evade the demand of the hour. But both he and Howard could find time to caucus with Joy, the great land thief, and railroad king, and his satellites. Any one who will look can see that the Indian Committees have been composed mostly of Western men; whereas the very reverse of this should be the fact. They are the very men who are interested in the abuses about to be exposed, and oppose all innovations on the present policy for reasons wholly selfish.

When before the Military Committee of the Senate, two of that committee, Howard (deceased) and Thayer, endeavored to prevent an exposure of the military abuses at the posts and forts. The question of their use was under consideration—and when asked for the reasons of the constant cry for more troops, the following dialogue occurred:

"Mr. T., do you wish this question answered?"

"I do."

"I will classify the parties: 1. Congressmen, who directly or indirectly, through their constituents, are interested in the funds expended at those posts, cry for them. 2. Officers whose positions are sinecures, who gamble, drink, commit lewdness with Indian women, and never kill Indians, want those posts. 3. Soldiers, too lazy to work for \$25 per month, enlist in the army at \$16, and loaf about those posts, and imitate their superiors. 4. Sutlers and Indian traders who speculate off soldiers, Indians and emigrants, cry for troops. 5. Rings of contractors, who have reduced public plundering to a science, are very anxious to keep the military there. 6. Camp-followers—loafers who hang round, like vultures about a dead carcass, to gather up the crumbs dropped by the others. 7. A few settlers along the streams, who have surplus produce and find a market at the posts. These are the men, and the reasons. But the real settler, who seeks a home for his family, has no occasion to quarrel with the Indians, and never cares for troops unless in desperation, with the scalped dead about him; for he well knows, in his thoughtful moods, free from excitement, that Government troops are wholly without value to him when most needed."

Red Cloud came; met the President; had frequent interviews with the Secretary of Interior, Mr. Cox. One hour before his last interview with the Secretary, Hon. W. Lawrence, Dr. Dart and the writer, interviewed the said Secretary. Mr. Cox said: "Red Cloud puts his case so strongly, clearly, that I am at fault in framing my answer."

"Why, then, don't you grant his demands?"

To this Mr. C. replied: "I am not at liberty to act my own judgment."

Of the Committee, who serve without pay, and who were instructed by the President to devise and recommend measures, we might expect better things. Let us see. As soon as they were organized, several gentlemen of large experience, impelled by a sense of justice, and knowing that the Committee were men of honest intentions, but most of them necessarily ignorant of this particular subject, endeavored to put themselves in such relation to the Committee as would render them valuable service. But to all such efforts a deaf ear was turned. And the country will demand to know why these men utterly refused to be aided, or to seek the aid, if not offered, of men who had already acquired practical knowledge.

And Mr. Welsh, in his prosecution of Parker, made a great mistake in the same direction, as parties are ready to show. A few facts in the possession of men in Washington would have made the case so plain against this man Parker, who, though an Indian, has little in common with Indians, would have gone overboard, and carried with him at least one other prominent official. By the way, this man Parker's official troubles are not yet ended.

From all this a sophist may deduce a vast deal of ignorance, indifference, rascality, unwillingness, bigotry and duplicity, on the part of those intrusted with this very important subject.

But when simmered down, we shall find that back of all this lies the chief ground of opposition to a just and humane policy, giving peace and safety to the whites and justice to the Indian; in the railroad speculators and land-grabbers, whose insatiable greed will be satisfied with nothing but a monopoly of all the sources of human support, and who stop at no means to accomplish their aims.

Here we shall find the reasons for the opposition of the Senate Committee, and the idleness of the House Committee for two years, under Clarke, of Kansas.

No better opportunity could well be for a statesman to immortalize himself than in the mastery of this Indian problem. The failure is only further proof that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

### OUR GIRLS.

Nothing, perhaps, is more fashionable than idleness. We all agree, in theory at least, that the meaning of life is found in that little word—use; that the happiness of life is found in work; that to be idle is to be miserable. Here, however, we must make a distinction. This law is supposed to apply only to men. Men must have an occupation. If a man is without one, we at once begin to suspect he must have some evil designs upon society. The law adds to the punishment, if the culprit has "no visible means of support." That alone is a strong fact against him. Not only the law, but public sentiment demands that every man shall do something. "He is an idler," disgraces a man almost beyond any other statement.

Now let us turn to the other side of the house. In America we have a million young women without the slightest pretence of occupation. They spend a portion of their time in visiting. Miss Blanche goes to New York in the winter, to spend three months with her very dear friend, Miss Nellie, who, in turn, comes to spend three months with Miss Blanche in the summer. This sort of exchange has become an immense system. Blanche and Nellie, with this arrangement, work off six months of the year, and, adding one or two other little affairs of a similar kind, they fill up the residue of the time with the dressmaker, piano practice, the theatre, working sickly-looking pink dogs in worsted, lying late in the morning, dressing three times a day, and reading a few novels. A million young women of the better (?) classes, in America, are training themselves for the future by these methods.

A single year of such life would half ruin a young man. His mind would become unsteady, his will weak and vacillating, his body soft and delicate. Add a "glove-fitting corset" to his wardrobe, and in a few years he would be utterly unfit for husband, father or citizen.

Can any one give us a physiological or metaphysical reason why girls should not suffer the same deterioration? Would you like direct proof that they do? Listen to the conversation of young women—educated young ladies!—Beaux, bows, engagements, lovely, Charley, bonnets, Gus, parties, splendid fellow, ribbons, trails, engaged, etc., etc., till midnight.

Watch them as they walk past this window. Does that look like the earnest pursuit of any object in life? If so, they certainly won't catch it. Look at their bare arms—candle-dips, No. 8.

No "right" of women is so precious, so vital to their welfare, present and future, as the right to work. Even if a girl had no other object in life than to get a husband, no investment would pay like an occupation. It would give her independence and dignity. Margaret Fuller says:

"That the hand may be given with dignity, she must be able to stand alone."—*Dr. Dio Lewis' "Our Girls."*

IN LONDON, every eight minutes, night and day, somebody dies; every five minutes a child is born. This great city contains as many people as the whole of Scotland, twice as many as Denmark, three times as many as Greece, and four hundred times as many as Georgetown, D. C. In its vast population of nearly 4,000,000 it has 140,000 habitual gin-drinkers, 100,000 abandoned women, 10,000 professional gamblers, 50,000 criminals known to the people as thieves and receivers of stolen goods, 500,000 habitual drunkards, and 90,000 street Arabs. To keep this vast multitude of disorderly characters in something like obedience to the law, 6,000 policemen are necessary. Of the population of the city, only about 500,000 attend public worship, there being a million of adult absentees from church on every Sunday.



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

BY C. B. P.

No. XIII.

"Then, said I, Oh Lord God! they say of me, Doth he not speak in parables?"

Yes, there was speaking in all sorts of figures or parables that the heaven above, the earth below, and the waters under the earth could picture to the oriental imagination in all the gorgeous imagery that seemed to make up all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. There was a marriage feast, where the maiden sat as the bride of Perseus. In the gospel story we have a marriage feast in Cana of Galilee—the wedding garment, and the woman clothed with the Sun—and all so nicely told that, Oh Lord God, doth he not speak in parables of the Sun when all is so aptly fitting to the Sun theology? The coat without seam, woven from the top throughout, was it not in its warp and woof of the sunbeams? Was not the raiment parted among them as he went out in glory of the western sky? and for his vesture of purple and scarlet-tinted clouds, did they not cast lots? Did not blood and water flow from his side? and was he not clothed with a vesture dipped in blood? and the coat clinging to him like the shirt of Nessus to the God of day, treading the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God?

It is impossible to separate the biblical mythology from the common essential groundwork of all the ancient religions. The restoration of Jesus after the "Tragedy of nature"—the woman weeping because they had taken away the Lord, and she knew not where they had laid him, is in the same mystical relation to Jesus as the restoration of Job to Herakles, of Briseis to Achilles, of Antigone to Œdipus, and Brynhild to Sigurd, and of Perseus to his maiden all forlorn; and of other heroes and heroines who were in seven cities born. Persæus bears the sharp sword with two edges—"the piercing rays of the Sun, which is invincible in its strength." Mary, weeping, looked in the sepulchre while it was yet dark—that very sepulchre which had been the tomb of so many Sun-heroes, but wherein was never man yet laid. In the twilight she does not know the Lord, but supposes him to be the gardener, for the Sun has not yet risen, or ascended to the Father, whose image is the Sun in the noonday splendor when he invites his persons of the drama to "come to dine" off the one hundred and fifty and three fishes.

We have somewhere, though we do not recollect where, seen the mystical setting forth of these 153 fishes. It was in the mode of doing the word by understanding a parable, the words of the wise and their dark sayings; but neither Leviathan nor the Water Dragon which flooded the woman were in the net.

Says Muller: "One poetical image, if poetical it can be called, which occurs very frequently in the ancient language of India, is to represent the days as the herd of the sun, so that the coming and going of each day might be likened to the stepping forth of a cow leaving its stable in the morning, crossing the heavenly meadows by its appointed path and returning to its stable in the evening. The solar herd would vary according to the number of days ascribed to each year. In Greek that simple metaphor was no longer present to the mind of Homer; but if we find in Homer that Helios had seven herds of oxen, fifty in each herd, and that their number never grows and never decreases, surely we can easily discover in these 350 oxen the 350 days of the primitive year. And if then we read again that the foolish companions of Ulysses did not return to their homes because they had killed the oxen of Helios, may we not here too recognize an old proverbial or mythological expression, too literally interpreted even by Homer, and therefore turned into mythology? We speak of days and years as perfectly intelligible objects, and we do not hesitate to say that a man has wasted a day, or that he has killed the time. To the ancient world days and nights were still more of a problem; they were strangers that came and went, brothers, or brothers and sisters who brought light and darkness, joy and sorrow, who might be called the parents of all living things, or themselves the children of heaven and earth.

"Ah, Lord God, doth he not speak in parables?" Were not the Lord's cattle of a thousand hills promiscuously scattered about? Were not Jacob's cattle ring-streaked, speckled and grizzled, continually passing over the heavenly meadows, seeking fresh fields and pastures new? Did not Joseph's bullocks push the people together to the ends of the earth with horns as potent as the seven-headed of St. John? Were not the seven fat and the seven lean kine of the herd which Homer sings in his Solar epic? Was it not in poetic vision that Joseph, in Taurus, saw the sun and moon and eleven stars, or constellations, make obeisance to him by virtue of being the angel of God when the sun was in his sign at the passover equinox? Did not Elisha plow with twelve yoke of oxen by the mode of subscribing with Mazaroth in his season, to say nothing of the much cattle fed by miracle on the bare rock of Sinai, showing how inadequate is the mathematical vision of Colenso to rise with the poetic wings of the ancients to see the much cattle on the paved work of a sapphire stone, as it were the heavens

of fresh fields and pastures new, in ample room and large enough for all the cattle of the sky—room for Daniel's rams and goats, and for the cherubim and many-headed beasts of St. John, as seen by the watchers and holy ones who came down from heaven—room for all except the swinish groundlings who, the blind followers of a blind pulpitry, run violently down a steep hill, and so perish in the waters of the underworld, or the water which the serpent cast out as a flood after the woman.

How much longer must modern groundlings continue to read old theologies literally? How long before they shall have ears to hear or eyes anointed with eye-salve, so that "whoso readeth let him understand" the wondrous tales written with the finger of God?

How aptly were Jonathan's eyes enlightened when he put forth the end of the rod that was in his hand and dipped in a honey-comb; for there was among the ancients a curious mode of causing, by the rod, the mystic land to flow with milk and honey—a curious mode of sucking honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock; of gathering butter of kine and milk of sheep, with the fat of lambs and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats with the fat of kidneys of wheat, with no lack of the pure blood of the grape—and all to be eaten and drank in the Father's kingdom. The Bashan rams were among the giants of those days, and furnished better and more abundant meat than was snuffed at, saith the Lord of Hosts in Malachi. Need we wonder then that Jeshurun went in and out and found pasture and waxed fat and kicked in excellency on the sky? Or need we wonder that the piercing Word is sharper than the edged sword in dividing the marrow and the joint among all the Lord's cattle of a thousand hills, including the Bashan rams and all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven to the supper of the great God? Nor did the fish fail to come up with tributes in month when all the world was to be taxed to supply the table of the Lord.

The Grecian mythology was often serio-comic; but the Hebrew maintained a greater gravity with the wrath of God in the tragedy of nature. Seldom did he who sitteth in the Hebrew heaven laugh; seldom did the sons of God shout for joy—still, the Lord could laugh albeit much in the choleric mood. Sarai laughed in God's face, and Abraham fell upon his face and laughed; but in the tragedy of nature the Lord was rather prone to laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh. Then the men shall cry and all the inhabitants of the land shall howl. At the noise of the stamping of the hoofs of his strong horses, at the rushing of his chariots and at the rumbling of his wheels, the fathers shall not look back to their children for feebleness of hands. Such was the stamping of the Sun horses when their snorting was heard from Dan, and when the serpent of the night—an adder in the path—bit the horses' heels at the horizon's edge.

On the basis of the natural first, and afterward the spiritual, the Sun-God is represented in person with a hundred different names, yet in every aspect we behold him toiling, suffering and derided, but always conquering the powers of night and darkness. "The idea of this person has grown out of phrases which described originally the course of the Sun in its daily or yearly round." The sunset clouds laughed him to scorn or jeered him in his dying agony as he descended into hell. They put on him a scarlet robe, and of the parting sunbeams they platted a crown of thorns for his head. As he sinks, the fiery mists embrace him, and the purple vapors rush across the sky, making the purple robe in which he is crucified like the streams of blood which gush from the hero's body. As the mediator in the midst of the heaven above, and the earth below, and the waters under the earth, he cries to the Father, or Most High, My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me! In the struggle of the Sun with the thrones, dominions, principedoms, virtues, powers of the under world, the clouds wag their heads as they watch and mock him shrinking at his setting, and, like mortal enemies, they gather round him. No longer Samson with his hair on, as beam after beam is shorn, but rather like Elisha whom the little children mocked for having no hair on the top of his head, and looking back he cursed them in the name of the Lord, instead of saying, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." Two she bears from out the wood tear forty and two children and make mince meat of them. These were the same as the "children of the mist devoured by the Minotauros"—the Bull of the morning Sun when he pawed the earth in his strength, and thundered marvelously with his voice—the two she bears betaking themselves to the wood, as they hear attentively the noise of his voice and the sound that goeth out of his mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth, thundering with the voice of his excellency. Woe betide the she bears in the path of the firebreathing Bulls—Bulls of the breed of Bashan, which made a good deal of noise in heaven like the rumbling of the chariot wheels and snorting of Dan's horses.

"The name of the Lord cometh from far, having a tongue of devouring fire." In, the song that pipes to the mighty One of Israel, "the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle Tophet as ordained of old." Need we wonder, then, that He was fond of burnt-offerings, or that He ruled the roast, even scorching Aaron's sons for cooking with strange fire from the Lord. Lambs were sacrificed to the sun-god Apollo, nor less was the old ram of consecration sacrificed by Abraham to Jehovah as the sacrificial offering, or ram of atonement; or, in other name, to

Saturn, the mystical devourer of his children. That same old ram is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and is mystically transformed into Jesus, an angel of light, or bright and morning star.

Of the "Jesus of History" a late writer says: "It is idle to look upon the New Testament as, in any sense, an historical work." De Oliver proves by Freemasonry the identity of all the ancient religions. "The very same symbols," he says, "have been used for a similar purpose by every nation and people, and in all the secret institutions which have existed from the creation to the present time." From this it would seem difficult to make out a case of difference between the "genuine" and "spurious" root of the matter. All this must be borne in mind when penetrating into dark corners and disemboweling the sacred mysteries of the Bible, otherwise we may be very foolishly stranded, like many literalists of the past and the present. "Of this common identity and purpose," says Oliver, "it is scarcely necessary to enlarge on this point, because the fact is universally notorious; nor shall I discuss the one essential difference in each of these mysteries, as that would involve many useless repetitions, for their nature and object were universally the same . . . always understood to have a distinct reference to the worship of God and the moral culture of man, whether received under the appellation of Phos, Lux, Synagogue, Mystery, Philosophy, Mesoraneo or Masonry; whether practiced by the antediluvians, the patriarchs, the deocalaters, the Jews, the Essenes or the Christians."

Thus are all the old theologies put upon the square by De Oliver, the learned Freemason and teacher of divinity; whence we may see why so much of the ancient way of God and his word in its history or mythology is a stone of stumbling and rock of offence, whether the stone of Israel or the rock of the Christian Church. True, the blind leaders of the blind have fallen into the ditch together; nevertheless the gates of hell have never prevailed against the temple whose foundations were laid in the physical or natural, and the superstructure in the moral and spiritual, each answering to the other in fitting relations of parable and allegory. The Mosaic work and Gentile ditto were so wrought with regular bricks as to speak with most significant organ to such as had ears to hear. Whatever the apparent distinction of ceremonials, "the great essentials broadly struck out by the Cabiric priests did never vary." Any "god newly up," and not rooted and grounded to the landmarks, was a false god, and only by special grace could Jehovah take the place of old Thaddais. We know how emphatic and intolerant is bible language to those who went after other gods not having the orthodox mark of all Israel and the sun. Yet Jew and Gentile "equally used ambrosia Petre as vehicles of regeneration." This ambrosia petre was but another name for the stone of Israel and rock of our salvation, producing that kind of food which was the strong meat imbedded in the stone or innermost. It was by this ambrosia petre that so many of Israel could be supported on the bare rock of Sinai; for whoever had the key to the labyrinth of the rock might go in and out and find pasture. Colenso, not initiated, failed to suck honey out of the rock, and to "strike ile" out of the flinty rock. Many besides Colenso, in asking for bread, do not know how to receive the stone, or if they ask an egg they do not know how it may hatch the harmless dove or bring forth the varied wisdom of the serpent. "And with many such parables spake he the word to them as they were able to bear; but without a parable spake he not unto them." He that hath ears to hear let him in extenso, and find the word in clouds much beyond Colenso.

"Ah, Lord God, doth he not speak in parables?" The ambrosia petre or strong meats eaten only in the wisdom as spoken among the perfect. To eat the passover from one degree or sphere to another, one must understand the parable and the interpretation thereof, the words of the wise and their dark sayings in all the fullness of the godhead bodily, and how the ambrosia petre, in the mystic sense, might be the vehicle of generation and regeneration, may be learned from Deutonomy with its conditions, precedent to the entering into the congregation of the Lord, and so become a dear brother in the same, or a free and accepted mason to build the temple of the Holy Ghost.

As per Mr. Punch, the mysteries of Ceres or Eleusinian Mysteries were held in high veneration, and he who, not being a Freemason, ventured to take a sight at them was instantly put to death. Socrates was accused of having disparagingly spoken of them as humbug, for which irreverent revelation he was very properly poisoned. What business have philosophers to go letting out truths; why cannot they keep still? Neither would the worshipers and they who had charge of these mysteries suffer a witch to live, but these and the wizzards were put out of the land lest they should peep about and mutter. So, in old Jewry, those who peeped into the ark, not being Freemasons, were smote hip and thigh at Bethshemesh by the holy Lord God of Israel.

In the Grecian mysteries, Proserpine, like Eve, ate an apple or pomegranate. For doing this she lost the Elysian fields and became housekeeper for Pluto or Satan in the under world. Doubtless she there became acquainted with Korah, Dathan and Abram, and fulfilled the scriptures by being the Canaan woman to keep house, and at the same time be the joyful mother of children, praise ye the Lord, or, like the barren Elizabeth, hid herself five months.

Baring Gould's "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," exhibits a good many of the ancient lively stones which were built into the temple of God.



FRANK CLAY;  
OR,  
HUMAN NATURE IN A NUTSHELL.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

[CONTINUED.]

CCCCXXXI.

And trusting more his judgment than his purity,  
He rather shuns than braves a great temptation;  
And such a mind has ten-fold more security  
From evil than who courts contamination,  
Believing in his virtue's full maturity;  
He tempts himself, falls, seals his own damnation;  
Then those who praised his honest zeal at first,  
Revere him as of renegades the worst.

CCCCXXXII.

"The proper study of mankind is man,"  
Said Pope, for which he has been much reviled;  
'Tis nevertheless a truth, if we but scan  
Mankind, and see how much he is beguiled  
By prejudice, which places neath a ban,  
The very failing he is reconciled  
To in himself, because God does not "give us"  
The gift to "see ourselves as others see us."

CCCCXXXIII.

That there is but one right, we must admit:  
That there is but one wrong we all opine;  
But how discern the two—ah, that is it,  
We can't agree on a dividing line.  
We first remonstrate; finally we split—  
Each thinking thus: "The right idea is mine.  
He must know better; why is he so mulish?  
I cannot think why people are so foolish.

CCCCXXXIV.

"The thing's as plain as daylight; but, dear me!  
How can men be so obdurate and blind?  
So prejudiced—I'm confident if he  
Would only reason calmly in his mind  
For just five minutes, we would quite agree  
That I am right—he could not help but find  
Himself mistaken; why, then, such devotion  
To what he must know is a foolish notion?"

CCCCXXXV.

I, like the rest, possess my own convictions.  
You'd like to hear them; well, sir, here they are:  
I give you as the whole and sole restrictions  
From right—pride, envy, malice, falsehood, war  
'Gainst other's rights. I tell you these inflictions  
Form all the wrong I know of, I declare:  
All thoughts or actions void of taint of these  
Are right. You differ; then think as you please.

CCCCXXXVI.

If any case arose wherein I found  
Myself opposed to every one, I would  
Discard my first idea, go o'er the ground  
Again, and see if I, in justice, could  
Not find that my position was not sound.  
If, after all, in doubt, of course I should  
Accept their views, thus giving a priority  
Of wisdom, in such case, to the majority.

CCCCXXXVII.

Some, even when they find they're wrong, defend  
An argument, through thick and thin—'tis wrong;  
The greatest victory is, in the end,  
To him whose sense of honor is so strong  
That he can yield the palm; nor fears to rend  
Himself from cherished notions, how'er long  
He may have held them, gracefully receding,  
Marks a great mind and also shows good breeding.

CCCCXXXVIII.

But when a person says to you: "I know  
That I'm right; who differs is a fool.  
What do you think?" you say, of course, "Just so,"  
Not caring to be numbered in the school  
Of those who differ; for, if you said: "No,  
I don't agree with you," then, by his rule,  
Your wisdom is impeached; no end is served,  
For his opinion never can be swerved.

CCCCXXXIX.

And it is sometimes wise to seem to lean  
To other people's pet ideas, because  
They'll thereby think you wise; then in between  
You wrap up an idea or two of yours;  
But hide it well, so that it is not seen—  
And having gained your point, then you may pause;  
They'll think you quite agree with them—this will  
Make them digest your sugar-coated pill.

CCCCXL.

Pete's fellow-clerk, at night, was usher at  
A theatre and gave Pete passes when  
The audience grew thin or play was flat.  
Pete often went, enjoyed it much, and then,  
In some saloon they both for hours sat.  
Pray, wait a moment while I charge this pen;  
It seems to know that it came to my hands—  
A gift unknown to him—of Uncle Sam's.

CCCCXLI.

'Twas thus Pete formed new acquaintance with  
A set of fellows who, one night, proposed  
That they should not go to their homes just yet.  
Though Pete demurred, 'twas not that he supposed  
That it would cause him one pang of regret;  
He did not know, for they had not disclosed  
That they were going to a faro-bank,  
And when he saw the gambling he looked blank.

CCCCXLII.

They noticed his confusion, guessed the reason;  
He saw they had discerned it and recovered  
His usual self-possession in due season,  
Became absorbed, and all compunction smothered.  
They laughed and jested, drew him by degrees on,  
Until he found his caution only bothered.  
He caught th' infection and was soon found betting—  
All resolutions, promises, forgetting.

CCCCXLIII.

Ah! when a young man thinks it to be smart  
To chew, to smoke, to use slang terms and drink,  
Is proud to take a base, degraded part,  
And, in his stupid ignorance, will think  
His vain excesses are a manly art,  
And cannot see the depth to which they sink  
His moral nature by such vile pollution;  
His sense is gone beyond all restitution.

CCCCXLIV.

Go down to Coney Island on the beach,  
And see the monte-tables in a row,  
And note the gust with which the varlets preach,  
Then turn their heads while their confederates show  
The winning card, then turn round and beseech  
That you will go them shares, because they know  
That, having seen the card, you're sure to win  
The watch, the loser's pleasant smile (a grin).

CCCCXLV.

But Coney Island is a lovely spot  
Upon a moonlight night, where one can roam  
In solitude, for not a tree or cot  
Breaks on the view, and one can feel alone,  
And let the world in silence be forgot,  
And listen to the ocean's murmuring moan,  
And watch the mighty waves break on the strand,  
Their curling crests leap madly to the sand.

CCCCXLVI.

Then spread themselves and sparkle at your feet,  
Recede and mingle in the coming surge,  
And check its landward progress as they meet,  
Then watch the rolling breakers swell and urge:  
Then backward to the shore they dive, and beat  
The shells and sand, and then they slowly merge  
To swelling smoothness on the slanting shore,  
Then ripple back to ocean as before.

CCCCXLVII.

The ocean voices speak of ages gone,  
And centuries yet to come when all on earth  
Will cease to be, and myriads yet unborn  
Shall pass away, the age that gave them birth  
Succeeded, as dawn ever follows dawn—  
Their youth, their manhood, sorrow or their mirth,  
Swept into nothing but the memory  
Of what they were and others yet shall be.

CCCCXLVIII.

Oh, mighty waters, never ceasing waves,  
Thou element defiant to decay,  
Couldst thou record the millions in their graves,  
Of when they came and how they rolled away  
Into the past, as each new era paves  
The way for generations holding sway,  
Till they, in turn, fade from the earth at last,  
And swell the volume of the unknown past!

CCCCXLIX.

The primitive creation when the sod  
The footprints of mammalia only saw,  
The era when nomadic tribes once trod  
Upon thy shore in solitary awe,  
Went as a flash, then giant cities stood,  
And sages gave the wisdom of the law—  
Thine eye hath seen them rise and saw them fall,  
Unchanged, unmoved, survivor of them all.

CCCC.

And thou didst burst thy bounds and onward rolled  
In mighty mountains when thy Maker bade  
That thou shouldst all the face of earth enfold  
An orb of ocean; thy great voices made  
A murmur that to other planets told  
That God the hand of punishment had laid  
On man who disobeyed his God's command,  
And met his judgment at thy mighty hand.

CCCCI.

Thine eye saw their dismay, and saw them fly  
In safety to the mountain-tops; thine ear  
Rang with the frenzied madness of the cry  
They uttered in their agony and fear,  
And as all the waters leaped down from the sky,  
And made the valleys but a flooded bier,  
The mother's pleadings, children's prayers, were drowned  
Beneath the surges of thy deep-toned sound.

CCCCII.

These thoughts pervade the contemplative mind,  
When sitting, musing, on the slanting beach,  
When the majestic ocean seems to bind  
The thoughts to times and scenes beyond the reach  
Of human knowledge, and 'tis then we find  
How little sciences and history teach:  
We lose ourselves at length in meditation,  
Then realize our lonely situation,

CCCCIII.

And wish we had a dear, a bosom friend,  
To join us in our walk, and take our hand;  
We feel that such companionship would lend  
A charm, a beauty, to the moonlit strand,  
And think how sweet 'twould be, and in the end  
Each look and word, each tone and sigh, is planned,  
And weaves a pleasant dream of fancied bliss,  
All pictured to the very parting kiss.

CCCCIV.

There's Hastings, Bath and Scarborough, Margate, Brighton,  
Ramsgate, Dover, Dieppe and Boulogne,  
And other watering-places we could write on,  
And sing their praises in a lengthy song,  
But then 'tis hardly worth while to indite on  
The various merits which to each belong,  
For beach to Scarborough go, for cliffs to Dover,  
For fun Long Branch beats all a head and shoulder.

CCCCV.

But if you want amusement just for one day,  
At London Bridge take an excursion train  
(They run five "specials" from there every Sunday—  
Fare half a crown for there and back again).  
And after being duly seated, one may,  
If he is in a ruminating vein,  
Pick out young Bob, the barber, or Miss Sally,  
The servant at the butcher's in the alley.

CCCCVI.

Arrived at length on Ramsgate beach, they pluck  
The weeds and wrinkles from the slippery rocks,  
Then in their hats the weeds are promptly stuck;  
The girls, of course, pin up their skirts and frocks,  
And paddle round the boulders just like ducks;  
The youths at once take off their shoes and socks,  
And tuck their "trousers" up (I've seen it done,  
And heard the damsels scream again with fun).

CCCCVII.

And some will wander far into the distance,  
Out to the very limits of the bay,  
Because they can't afford to spare the sixpence  
That one has for a bathing-suit to pay.  
Spectators on the cliffs, with the assistance  
Of opera-glasses, leisurely survey  
Their gambols, as they stumble, sport and splurge,  
And turn their backs to meet the coming surge.

CCCCVIII.

At eve they hurry back to take the train,  
Their kerchiefs full of seaweeds, shells and winkles;  
Some lose their escorts, and there they remain  
Upon the platform till the last bell tinkles,  
Then, at the latest moment, they regain  
The cars; while others rub the spots, the sprinkles  
Of sea upon their flimsy dresses made,  
Which cause the gaudy colors much to fade.

CCCCIX.

Returning home, they sing "The Open Sea,"  
"We won't go Home till Morning," "Home Again;"  
Some fall asleep to finish the day's spree,  
Then their companions shake them might and main;  
The sound sleep they are in shows them to be  
In beer—that is, I mean to say, champagne;  
I would not for the world insinuate  
'Twas common beer made them inebriate.

CCCCX.

Pete went from step to step till he was lost;  
His sense of shame at length entirely gone,  
He learned of midnight drinking bouts to boast,  
And how he staggered home at early dawn,  
He bought a pistol at five dollars cost;  
His private reputation being gone,  
He felt his present tastes and new condition  
Had qualified him for a politician.

CCCCXI.

He joined a Fourth-Ward gang 'mid much "eclat,"  
Obtained illegal papers ere election  
Came off, and voted often, near and far;  
And he, like others, quite escaped detection,  
Because to challenge him meant instant war,  
Which knowledge held objectors in subjection.  
Such proofs of patriotism and devotion  
Of course secured the usual promotion.

CCCCXII.

And when the next election-time came round,  
He made the routine blood-and-thunder speech;  
The laws and those in place were all unsound;  
He railed at those within and out of reach;  
He, as a virtuous man, took open ground  
'Gainst evil-doers, and he meant to teach  
Them that an outraged public would condemn  
Them all; but there his speech in rhyme I'll pen:

CCCCXIII.

"Oh, Uncle Sam, you're in a sad condition,  
Led to the slaughter as a bleating lamb;  
Your Government, like some vile quack physician,  
A hungry leech sticks to you, Uncle Sam;  
Or say, perhaps, more like a parasite,  
Which nearly kills its victim, but not quite.

CCCCXIV.

"It drives the South to secret revolution,  
It fattens on our present tribulation,  
It laughs to scorn our ancient Constitution,  
And threatens us with utter degradation,  
And now we look with shame upon the hour  
That placed a pack of robbers into power.

CCCCXV.

"We have no business with a national debt;  
They found a people happy and contented,  
And from the day they rose our sun has set,  
Through foulest perfidy man e'er invented.  
Avant! we hurl you back from South to North,  
And drive you from the nation's council forth.

CCCCXVI.

"It dares not face the questions of to-day,  
Or meet the people on a proper issue,  
But carps at questions long since passed away;  
And its whole course is but a paltry tissue  
Of fog and smoke, to hide the degradation  
With which it would enthrall our glorious nation.

CCCCXVII.

"The people know you for a canting crew,  
They know there's subtlety in all you say,  
And knavery in everything you do;  
Aye, you would steal their very teeth away,  
Though you gained nothing by it; notwithstanding,  
They know you'd rob if but to keep your hand in.

CCCCXVIII.

"You gagged the press that wouldn't take your bribes,  
And gave fat jobs to all of them who did;  
Yes, fawned upon the hireling pack of scribes  
Who daily wrote as their employers bid,  
And filled with glaring lies their nauseous sheets,  
A worthless set of scoundrel counterfeits.

CCCCXIX.

"Yes, place your Dow and Brownlow in the ban,  
With forty thousand Forney by their side,  
Or from the three pick out the vilest man  
As representative of all the tribe;  
Of the two first 'tis hard, to say the least,  
Which is the greatest vagabond and beast.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



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## OPPORTUNITY & RECIPROCITY.

### A CONVENTION

WILL BE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

NEW ENGLAND LABOR REFORM LEAGUE, IN NEW YORK CITY,

MAY 6TH, 7TH AND 8TH, COMMENCING WITH A

DISCUSSION ON TRADES UNIONS,

IN COOPER INSTITUTE, FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 5.

Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley, Mrs. E. C. Stanton, Thomas J. Durant, M. M. Pomroy, Josiah Warren, S. P. Andrews, Mrs. V. C. Woodhull, John Orvis, J. W. Browning, S. S. Foster, Mrs. E. L. Daniels, L. K. Joslin, Edward Palmer, M. Drury, Susan B. Anthony, Charles Moran, E. H. Heywood, Wm. West, John Siney, Wm. Hanson, Paulina W. Davis and other speakers are expected.

ADMISSION TO ALL THE SESSIONS FREE.

The Convention will meet at 2½ and 7½ o'clock, P. M. Saturday the 6th, and at 10½ A. M., 2½ and 7½ P. M. Monday the 8th, in Cooper Institute; at 10½ A. M. and 2½ and 7½ P. M. Sunday the 7th, in Tammany Hall Opera House.

It is desired to give free utterance to all phases of Labor Reform, and a national impulse to movement in the right direction. Contributions toward expenses of continuing these discussions, and communications of opinion, may be sent to E. H. HEYWOOD, Princeton, Mass.

### 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.

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.

## THE PARIS COMMUNISTS.

We Americans, and especially we American journalists, love to row with the tide. We all worship republican institutions. A republic is the best form of government. Universal suffrage—no, not that, manhood citizenship, and all that sort of thing, is true freedom—that is, for America. The emigrants, except those who left their country for their country's good—we have only a few of them—have all left because they would not have their faces ground to powder under the heel of the aristocrat or the monarch or the millocrat, or some other form of political and social tyranny. So far so good. We rage furiously and imagine vain things against the kings generally; but we are on the most fraternal relations with the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey, and with Louis Napoleon so long as he was the king-pin. But when he got knocked over, he was quite another person; and some of us before his fall, and all of us since, know no bounds to our love for Kaiser William and Bismarck, the "thorough." Since the German evacuation we don't care much about France. The workmen of Paris, the *prolétaires*, had no share or participation in the war fever of the French Chambers or the dynastic fever of the French Court; but they had to pay the taxes and to go to the front.

Frenchmen generally tore their hair with rage at the disgrace of France. It was not the fault of the nation; it was the fault of the ruler and the officials. And the new so-called Republican Assembly and Government are mainly composed of the same old hacks who had brought France to her terrible day of shame and confusion. This same Assembly is saturated with Bourbonism and Imperialism and red-tapeism and corruption. Now, the workmen, the *prolétaires*, the masses, throw down the tricolor, the flag of the empire, and hoist the flag of the people—the red flag. They take up arms and fight. But they ought not to fight; they ought to protest. Being short of supplies, they confiscate public property. They ought to respect all property—and starve. They commit excesses. They should not commit excesses; they should make war discreetly, and thank God, as Kaiser William used to do. They are officered by tailors and cobblers, and such small men, chosen from among themselves. It is ridiculous; it is contemptible. What if these hard-handed fellows do keep the professionals at bay; it is contrary to the rules of war. What right, anyhow, have the Reds to protest, to rise, to fight? Are not the respectable *bourgeoisie*, the heavy men and the aristocrats all on one side, and the *canaille* all on the other. We Americans do not sympathize with the crowd. We do sympathize with the respectable. Meanwhile the Duc d'Aumale enters France in disguise, and is about to be proclaimed King or Emperor. *Vive le Roi! A bas la République!* will be the next cry of the *Tribune* and other republican Americans.

### MY POLICY.

The Custom-house officials are satisfied that not to praise the administration—not to vote for the party, is not to draw pay. The Government of this country is reduced to the support of San Domingo annexation, or insisting that Sumner shall eat duck, or whatever other little kink or notion may get in or under the Executive wool. Of course President Grant is a tyrant or a military despot. Not a bit of it. He is as bad, but no whit worse than his democratic predecessors. Andrew Jackson, of glorious memory, first introduced the principle of rotation in office. Marcy, hard-headed Marcy, thought that to the victors belonged the spoils. True that Jackson had a policy, and that old Marcy was so sworn to thrift, and was so poor when he handled the nation's credit that he had his pants patched, because he could not afford to buy a new pair. Our present Executive's glorious career does not run in either of those grooves. But Grant belongs to the party of moral ideas. It is not enough that he should be worse than his predecessors. The world moves; we live in an age of progress. My policy ought not to be a policy of party prejudice, or personal preference, or next nomination. No wonder the public service is but a lay stall for fattening the public servants. The *Kansas Tribune* tells a story; if it is not true it is very much to the purpose:

Two wags passing out of town on the Galveston road were struck with the beauties of Lawrence. "Whose place is that?" asked one of them. "That is the lordly residence of Major George A. Reynolds. Cost \$30,000." "What is his business?" "Indian Agent." "What is his salary, and how long has he held the office?" "Two years, at \$1,500 a year." "Lord! what did the honest fellow do with the rest of his salary?" "Started his brother and two other men in the newspaper business to denounce corruption."

My policy is to provide for myself and my family and all my relations and friends. This is the creed of the chiefs. Morning, noon and night, three times a day, the subs repeat it, their faces turned to the Mecca of political promotion and public plunder. And the Democrats of New York wag the head and shoot out the tongue at the Radicals in Washington, and then go and buy up Winans.

CAN A MAN HAVE TOO MUCH OF A GOOD THING?—The Albany Legislature, in their last session, passed over four hundred bills. Multiply that by thirty-six, and we have fourteen thousand four hundred State statutes, besides Ku-Klux and San Domingo legislation. This for one year's crop. How happy we ought to be!

## THE NEXT PRESIDENCY AND THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

No. IV.

### PRESIDENTIAL LIMITATIONS AND AFTER-PURSUITS.

If there is one decision more important than any other at which the people of this country should arrive, it is that the Presidency should be absolutely limited to one term. Perhaps there is no single fact connected with our system of government about which so much of prophetic conjecture lingers as there is about that of the possibility of a person occupying the highest office in the gift of the people the second term. In these days when politicians run the Government in their own interests, instead of in the interests of the people, as it was designed it should be run by those who constructed the Constitution, it is the most impossible of things that a person elevated to this high position should not desire to remain in it as long as the laws of the country will permit.

An incumbent knows that as soon as he is installed as President there are schemes set afloat regarding his successor, and that unless he too scheme, he will stand no chance to repeat his term. Hence from the very first, let his Inaugural be what it may, promise what it will, his conduct is guided by the rule of popularity, power and self-interest, under the fraudulent name of party interest, rather than by a stern determination to administer the Government so that the whole people shall be the gainers.

It was plainly the intent of the framers of the Constitution that all executive officers should, from the moment they became installed in office, lose all self and party interests in the greater interests of the people. And more especially was it the intent that the President should be, not merely the head of the party which elected him, but the head of all the political parties which the nation contains. Such a position can be maintained only by a superior mind, which can rise entirely above self and lose itself in the good of humanity. Few people there are now living who, under any circumstances, could rise to the sublime patriotism of a Regulus, or who could visit the extreme penalty of the law upon a son for disobeying a law made for the public good. For such evidences of devotion to country we must look to ages when individual liberty first began to find a place within the hearts of men—when the idea of a country's freedom found expression only in dream-hope for the future.

Constitutional government, with an executive head changing with regular periods of time, is the legitimate offspring of the same with a hereditary head. With a continuous executive, whom the people can only remove by revolution, in which the government, of course, always has the advantage of organization and efficiency, it is possible for the entire interests of the country to be turned to the personal benefit of whomsoever the executive may determine upon as the recipient—who may be himself, or some friend, or body of friends. It was, undoubtedly, the knowledge of this power which induced our fathers to make the Presidency of the country of short term, so that the incumbent, if so disposed, could not materially turn the interests of the country to selfish or mercenary ends.

In the supposed necessity of a short term, however, they overlooked a point possible of being perverted to much greater and grosser abuses which recent practices have rendered apparent. To us it appears that the system would have been open to much less abuse had the term been made of double length without the possibility of a re-election. The architects who framed our governmental structure were persons whose minds were completely imbued with a love of freedom which alone could animate the glorious basis of a true republican form of government—the consent of the governed—and that they are born free and equal and entitled to certain inalienable rights.

There have never been so good representatives of these principles as were our Revolutionary fathers, who were great and good men in the best senses of these terms. They were the beacon-lights of liberty set up hundred of years in advance of the general mind of the country for all to grasp and attain, but each in their own individual time and place. The tyrant's sway had made everything but liberty odious to their souls. To escape its oppression they left their native land, and in this, far-removed and ocean-separated from that where freedom could not lift its head, they found an asylum where their noble souls might expand without fear of being blighted.

But even across the mighty deep the tyrant's hand reached after them and sought anew to enslave these sons of freedom. The distance, however, was too great. A resistance born of determination and carried on under every conceivable disadvantage at last triumphed over the crowned tyrant, and freedom, unloosed from all bonds, reigned supreme.

It is not to be wondered that souls rising from such a conflict, triumphant, should have fashioned a government upon so broad principles as did they. Neither, that they should have overlooked the possibility that those who should come after them might not be so thoroughly imbued with the love of country as were they. So fully did they appre-



ciate the blessing of liberty that they did not conceive it possible that others—their sons—could ever be less appreciative. They knew nothing outside of the good of their country, and were fully justified in believing that all their descendants would protect their birthright of freedom which they had gained to transmit to them. It was fully in their hands to have erected an Empire instead of a Republic. They had all the power and they also had the full confidence of the people. Voluntarily, however, they resigned into the keeping of the people their own liberties, and retired among and constituted a part of them.

Compare "the Father of his Country," as President, with the Presidents of the last forty years, and draw the line which distinguishes them from him. Did he turn all his genius and position in the hearts of his countrymen into the means of perpetuating his power? Who, on retiring from the Presidency of late years, could have conscientiously repeated the farewell of Washington.

It is from the observance of the great difference between the public men of the early days of the Republic and those of to-day that we realize how fearfully the public mind is demoralized, and how great the danger is, that those who are in power and position may attempt to do what the early fathers never even thought possible, and which, probably, never entered their hearts.

In the career of each of the chief executives of the nation for a long time past one of three things is discovered if a sufficiently strict analysis is pursued: That they, as the head of the party who elected them, administered the Government to perpetuate the party, with themselves as the representatives; that they, being ignored by the party as their representatives, administered the Government to form a new party, with themselves at the head; or that, finding the last impossible, that a compromise was effected between the executive and the party leaders, the result of which was made dependent upon contingencies. The first of these propositions was well illustrated by the first administration of Mr. Lincoln; the second by that of Mr. Tyler and Johnson, and the last seems to be on the point of being well illustrated by the present incumbent.

All of these things are not only wrong in practice, but contrary to the principles upon which our Government is erected; but what is worse than either, are also, so far demoralizing to the public sentiment as to practically make all schemes legitimate which are to be carried out at the expense of the public instead of that of individuals. So far has this demoralization already progressed, that to steal a million or more from the public is not considered a sufficient crime to warrant prosecution, conviction and consequent punishment; but, at the same time, a poor unfortunate, who, perhaps, has been robbed by this person who is above law, is cast into prison for a term of years because he stole a hundred dollars with which to keep his family from starving. Such is justice and such its exemplification under the demoralization consequent upon official practice, of which the Presidency of the United States is the pattern, the head and front.

The broad assertions made above may be questioned by those who have never given the question consideration. Such have only to be referred to the general practice of an entire change of officers with the incoming of every new administration to find the basis for all we have said. It is generally admitted by the Republican party that our present administration, so far as appointments are concerned, has been a failure. And to-day the party is not, by a very great deal, so strong as it was the 4th of March, 1869. Though this may be, in part, attributed to the course pursued by the President as to his appointments, it cannot be wholly charged thereto. The mistakes he made at first, in endeavoring to carry out what there is but little doubt he had fully made up his mind to do, and which weakened him with the party which elected him, he has, in a measure, endeavored to retrieve, but only with partial success. The reasons for doing many things which have been done were so apparent, that they were thereby robbed of the power to produce the desired effect.

Doubtless General Grant entered upon the duties of his office sternly determined to be the President of the United States, instead of President of the Republican party, as they expected him to be. At the very outset he found that such a course was not only impracticable, but absolutely impossible, for to be what it was originally intended the President should be was to make himself utterly powerless and at the mercy of the Republican leaders.

Had General Grant been an accomplished politician, with the determination he had, it may be seriously questioned whether he would not have held out, and arrayed the whole Republican party against himself, and ultimately have thrown himself into the arms of the Democracy, as did Andrew Johnson. Such a consummation would doubtless have been disastrous to the country, and it is well that it did not occur. But General Grant and President Grant necessarily become two quite distinct personages, and he is now so regarded. As a general, he knew no such thing as to yield to his inferiors. He heard them fully, and then acted his own judgment. As President he endeavored to do as did the general, but here he failed. He found himself obliged to bow to his inferiors in position. The Republican leaders were quite another set of people from what the generals of the army were, which distinction he soon was obliged to acknowledge.

And although the President has yielded to party influence,

it has been quite plain, all the time, that he has done it under protest, and one of the latest exemplifications of this was the Santo Domingo matter. It is said by the enemies of the President that his reasons for persisting in his scheme arose entirely from motives of personal aggrandizement, but we must confess this view is not in keeping with the evident intention with which he entered upon the Presidency.

The leaders of the Republican party have required of General Grant many things which he would not have done had he been left to his own course. Whenever there has been any disaffection arising from any cause whatever, over which the President had control, he has been obliged to remove the cause. The endeavor to unite the Republican party of New York by the removal of irritating causes, and the substitution of supposed healing balm, has been remarkably inefficient. The central Republican idea has culminated, and the party does not seem to realize that they must always keep in advance of the people in order to remain the people's party. The age is too progressive ever to live, in theories consummated in practice. It requires something new, something better all the while. As soon as one principle is demonstrated another must be set up as an advance, to be attained as the last was attained. And this process constitutes the world's progress.

We began with the assertion that one of the most important matters to be considered is the limitation of the Presidency to one term. We think we have given sufficient illustrations of the practices which obtain under the present possibilities to make this plain to all. Had General Grant, when inaugurated as President, known that he could never be so inaugurated again, do any suppose that all his actions would have been just what they have? Grant is not more than human. Having resigned the very important position of General of the army, which he could have retained during his material life, for the honor of becoming President, it is to count him more than human to say that he would not modify any action whatever to be made twice President. As his ambition led him to cease to be general that he might be President, it is justifiable to suppose that he would use every possible means at his command to secure a re-election.

In consideration of all these things in connection with the fact of human frailty, it is the duty of the people of this country to remove, as nearly as may be possible, every inducement which can tempt a person occupying the high office of President to depart from his convictions of duty and right in the administration of the supreme law of the land. Circumstances should be so arranged that when a person is once installed as President he will be entirely above the influence of party, and so completely untrammelled by the leaders as to be just as faithfully the servant of the defeated party as of the successful party. In other words, that he may be the President of the United States.

One great step toward such a position will be gained by limiting the Presidency to one term, which it is quite probable might with great advantage be extended two or more years.

It cannot be gainsaid that a person having had the experience of a President, and having served his country in so high a capacity, ought to be the recipient of some distinguished consideration which should place him during life beyond the contingencies of mere pecuniary trouble, and also in position to give the people the benefit of his experience. It is a disgrace to the country that a person once President, or his family in case of his decease, should ever be indigent or in helpless poverty. A sufficient income should in some way be secured to him so as to place him beyond want. To reach both these points let the President upon the expiration of his term of office be entitled to a permanent seat in the Federal Senate, with the right of debate, and with or without a vote, as may be deemed best after mature deliberation. We therefore propose, as the third plank of the platform of the

#### COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

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

VICTORIA. C. WOODHULL.

MIKE NORTON, returning from Albany, a victorious general, fresh from expelling the enemies of his country, has been awarded a triumph. All the roughs of his district, with the leaders in broadcloth and fine linen, went forth to meet him. Their orgies alarmed even the police; and the daily press denounced the turnout as an outrage on public decency. Not at all. It is the system. The dangerous classes are the rulers of the city. It is well that their leaders should know and should show their strength. We like to see these things. The loose-ended, loose-jointed, respectable part of the community have abdicated their powers, and in due season their policy or no-policy of ease and cowardice will give us all into the hands of the wire-pullers. Mike Norton and his friends are a success. They are in earnest.

#### LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Whatever may be the *animus* of those who recently combined and denominated themselves "Revenue Reformers," they attempted to effect a change which looked in the direction of the interests of the people. These well-meant efforts, however, did not accomplish much when brought to bear against the administration which seems determined to filch the last possible dollar of the people's money. In Congress they made a desperate sortie against certain weak points of the common enemy of the people; and though successful in storming their outer line, manned by the immediate representatives of the people, were repulsed when they reached the strong conservative citadel of the Senate. And the people still burn coal, savor their food with salt and sugar, and drink coffee and tea.

It is said, with apparent truth, that these "Revenue Reformers" have proved that a very great portion of the system of levying duties upon imported goods is in the direct interest of foreign manufacturers; and they cite numerous facts and a somewhat astonishing array of figures to prove their positions. Notwithstanding Congress has ignored these reformers, undoubtedly in the interests of the party in power who wish to keep immense sums in the vaults of the Treasury while it is under their control, for purposes which the people do not begin to suspect, nevertheless the people have caught up the idea, and are transmitting it from village to hamlet, to town, to city, and countrywide.

Not only in the West, where agricultural industries naturally demand unrestricted commerce, does the agitation extend, but even among the protected Eastern men it is beginning to be questioned whether they are not placed at the mercy of the foreigner by protection, rather than protected against him; and except in special departments of protected industries, whether protection does not operate disastrously to all concerned.

The basal fact to be overcome, and which is utterly overlooked by those who argue for protection, is, that it is not the foreigner against whom industries require to be protected. There was never a duty levied which was paid by a foreigner to our people. Whatever "impositions" may be laid on imported goods they are paid by our people who consume them. Therefore the protest set up by protectionists that it is the foreigner against whom they want to protect our industries is a fraud upon the people. It is no such thing. The real state of the case is this: certain interests cannot exist upon equal terms with other interests, and they are, therefore, driven to this pretext in order to be able to compel the interests, naturally favored by the condition of the country, to pay them certain premiums to enable them to exist. In other and plainer words, one interest is made to pay the expense of keeping another interest in existence.

Whatever the policy of a Government may be, unless it is founded in principles of equality and exact justice to all the people, it will fail to meet the ultimate demands of the people. It is an utter impossibility for equality to exist under a system of special protection. As we have said before, we repeat, that if protection is the proper principle, let it be applied to its fullest extent. There can be no legitimate halting place between free trade and the absolute prohibition of the introduction from abroad of articles which can be produced at home. In either, fully practiced, equality would prevail, but in "straddling the fence," in pampering this at the expense of that, it is utterly impossible, and the sooner the people come to understand this, the more quickly will they demand the right.

It would be disastrous to "jump" from the present practice to free trade, because there would be no time allowed for the protected interests to prepare for the change, and they would be ruined in it. But a policy should be adopted looking in the direction of the attainment of equality among all the people, and the placing of all industrial pursuits upon an equal basis.

It is also true that Government could not at once do without the revenue obtained from duties on imports, though the manner of its levying is in the extreme iniquitous. The Government should levy its taxes upon those who are entitled to pay them and not upon the widow and the orphan, who must have their sugar, tea, coffee and salt, and who must toil the live-long day for the few shillings with which to purchase them for supper. What right has Government to demand of the daily laborer, who, by his hard-earned two dollars is just able to feed and badly clothe his family, ten, twenty, fifty or a hundred dollars every year, when no more is required of his neighbor for whom he labors and who commands his thousands? A fouler system of injustice was never practiced upon a free people than this fraudulent one of protection, which all the time makes "the rich richer and the poor poorer," and sentences the poor to lives of toil and oppression.

If the Government must levy duties to raise a revenue let them do it upon articles of luxury, which are consumed by that class who are justly the tax-paying class. But even in this there is no equality, and therefore it is that the tariff is not only false as a principle but universally ruinous as a policy.

Read about the women clerks at Washington, and then say whether women earn their pay.



## THE METROPOLITAN SYSTEM OF RAILWAYS.

## THE POINTS LACKING IN THE VIADUCT SCHEME.

Of all the metropolitan systems of railways hitherto published, the Viaduct, christened "THE NEW YORK RAILWAY," in the bill of incorporation just signed, not only ignores a greater number of prime points than any other, but breaches more seriously than any rival the points which it actually embraces.

Without here entering in detail upon the dissection of this gigantic fraud, we content ourselves with drawing up a preliminary indictment against the Viaduct scheme, and so prepare the way for its trial by the public.

Our first count is, that the New York Railway wholly disregards the (1) fundamental point laid down in our former articles—(in our issue of the 15th inst.) viz.: "That no block, building, yard, garden, park, etc., should be endangered, damaged or destroyed in the construction and operation of the system of roads established. Instead of observing it, the Viaduct proposes, on the contrary, to crash through our blocks and buildings, and to plow over private and public grounds. It calculates, also, to effect this immense destruction of property, quite on its own terms, and to run its tracks, in the paths of ruin so made, with supreme impunity.

Who can estimate the millions thus to be destroyed—lost irrevocably and absolutely to the fixed capital of the citizens and the city? A scheme which coolly contemplates the annihilation of an amount of property so prodigious; the laying of its rails on ruins so wide-spread, and the exaction in perpetuity of an inexorable tribute from the people to pay the annual interest on the capital sunk, may well excite attention at our hands, and alarm the boldest in our midst.

Property destroyed may be replaced, but can never be recovered. It is an extraction of value—a subtraction of so much from the means of a community and forever withheld from it.

Our second count is, that the New York Railroad equally disregards the (2) fundamental point, viz.: That no block, building, yard, garden, park, etc., should be supplanted, infringed on its use or impaired in its value by the system. Instead, again, of respecting it, the Viaduct project proposes not only to supplant, but to infringe and impair to an unlimited extent and in a disastrous manner.

Our third count is, that the New York Railway casts aside, without scruple, the (3) fundamental point, viz.: That the lines of the road should be kept within the streets and avenues as they are laid out, and may be hereafter laid out, and that they adapt themselves to them, not only in the matter of route, but in that of grade also. The Viaduct proposes neither to follow the streets and avenues, nor to conform its grades to those of the same. On the contrary, it announces its purpose to locate its trunks and branches without respect to existing courses of travel and transportation, and to create new grades non-conformable to those now established. Its plans of construction necessitate these departures, and the vultures which have attended their birth and await their execution will see that they are neither changed nor abandoned, unless in the interest of spoliation and corruption.

Our fourth count is, "That the New York Railway" disembowels the (10) fundamental point, viz.: That the lines of road should be owned by the city and capitalists in equal interests, and be managed by them jointly. The Viaduct does this.

(1.)—By allowing the metropolis to subscribe \$5,000,000 only, instead of one-half the capital stock, and compelling it to do so whether a dollar is subscribed or not by the citizens.

(2.)—By excluding it from all participation in the management; denying it even a voice in location and construction.

Its charter authorizes and enjoins the city to consent to the robbery of its own nest, and then to foul it with the rotten egg of the concern.

The fifth count is, that the New York Railway smothers the (11) fundamental point, viz.: That the roads should be built and equipped; cars, car-houses, stations, machine-shops, offices, etc., complete, at an average cost per mile—

(a) of \$500,000 on trunk lines;

(b) of \$250,000 on branch lines.

The viaduct boldly proposes:

(1.)—To expend from two to four times these sums in obtaining the right of way, by driving its trains through our blocks, etc., and over them.

(2.)—To expend, besides, \$2,000,000 a mile on construction, rolling stock, etc.

In other words, the company complacently intends to make its scheme cost us \$2,500,000 a mile more than a true one should, and then to force us by exorbitant fares and rates to pay its dividends on the whole.

The sixth count is, that the New York Railway flouts the (12) fundamental point, viz.: That the roads should be so divided as to admit of being constructed, either in part or wholly as advisable, not in six years, but in six months from the date of contract, and without obstructing or interfering with wagons, carts, busses, cars, etc., in the streets, or with travel on the walks.

The Viaduct, not satisfied with the sacrifice of \$25,000,000 or \$50,000,000 of your property and mine, nor with coursing its iron horses over tracks of desolation so caused; not satisfied even with exacting fares and rates 300 per cent. above a fair scale, and with "plundering Peter to pay Paul," finally proposes, during the period of construction, to take possession of the streets and avenues on its lines; drive away, curtail, impoverish or destroy, as its sovereign caprice dictates, the business thereof for months, if not entire seasons, at a time, and so "pile on the agony" to the tune of \$25,000,000 or \$50,000,000 additional!

Instead of giving us the facilities of transit sought, within a few months, and without detriment to business along our thoroughfares, the Viaduct concern demands half a decade, and the depletion and paralysis of every artery of trade and manufactures over which it drags its leprous folds, or over which it stretches its hydra form.

The seventh count is, that the New York Railway ignores another fundamental point, viz.: That no cars or trains be moved by locomotives, horses or other nuisances, but that their transit be made with the quiet of a private carriage.

The Viaduct proposes to force these nuisances upon our notice, and to give us the benefit of their "lingering sweetness long drawn out."

The eighth count is, that the New York Railway ousts still another fundamental point, viz.: That the Roads do not exclude light, air and view from the streets, walks and buildings, or obstruct them with obstacles of any kind.

The Viaduct, where it abandons blocks, and takes to the

highways, looms up and overshadows everything in its path. Vehicles as well as pedestrians, may, by its grace, crawl between its huge legs, or creep under its huge belly, but beyond this liberty and that of playing hide-and-seek through its dark colonnades, nothing further is permissible or possible. The people who may happen to live in its shadows are to have no rights which the colossus is bound to respect, and expected to bear the privations of light, air and sight with heroic gratitude, and as an adequate return for the brightness of the blessings as they take their flight.

The ninth count is, that the New York Railway tosses aside, as a childish bubble, the last fundamental point, viz.: That the operating expenses of the road, on any scale of business practicable, do not exceed half those now incurred and unavoidable.

The Viaduct, in spite of the vast destruction of property contemplated, the vast outlays for the right of way, the vast cost of construction, and the vast tribute to be forever exacted of passengers and people, seek to make its running expenses rival in magnitude the expenditures of its inauguration.

These are the nine counts of our preliminary indictment against the New York Railway, and on these let its first trial be had.

April 18, 1871.

ENGINEER.

## STRICTURES ON RUSKIN'S RECENT ART LECTURES.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

No. III.

Here is a painting of the Crucifixion itself, not conceived in the creative chambers of the soul, with its physical horrors veiled from mortal sight, but paraded to their fullest horror, for the purpose of evoking an infinite pity and compassion, especially in womanly hearts, for the Saviour of all the worlds, in the last moments of his agony. He calls this the ministry of art to idolatry—"the serving, with the best of our hearts and minds, a dear, sad fantasy which we have made for ourselves; while we disobey the present call of the Master, who is not dead, and who is not now fainting under his cross, but requiring us to take up ours."

There is truth in all this, but, as it seems to us, truth greatly exaggerated. How, otherwise than by a physical representation of physical suffering, could the Crucifixion of the Saviour have been manifested in painting so as to have been understood by the dark age people, and have absorbed all the sympathy of their hearts and souls? If, by too exclusive a dwelling upon the mere pain of Christ's body, the sublime sorrow and immeasurable love, and infinite compassion of the God that inhabited it were lost, of what avail is Mr. Ruskin's threnody over it! If these outer sufferings appeal to mere human feelings, and read no higher metres stopping short of spiritual appreciation, unsuggestive, and without any exaltation of the soul to comprehend the height and depths, the lengths and breadths of this infinite sacrifice for man's salvation, 'tis a pity, and a vast loss to the beholder of the picture, and the picture itself is undoubtedly bad as art, and demoralizing to the extent of the power and influence over common minds. But it is better than no picture at all; for, bad as it is, and vulgarizing to the mind and the imagination, it is still a stepping-stone to higher art, and, as such, of inestimable value.

Nor do we think that Mr. Ruskin's criticism upon the influence of such representations over the minds of Christian women is just to the necessities which underlie the history of art. These women were trained in the schools of the Church to weep, as it were, great drops of blood over the sufferings of the Saviour, as if they were now being enacted within the dread chambers of his own human nature; they were taught to compassionate Him through all his long hours of agony—to pray to Him that they might have more love and reverence for Him. And he asks us to try and conceive the quantity of time, and of excited and thrilling emotion, which have been wasted by these tender and delicate women of Christendom during these last six hundred years, in thus picturing to themselves, under the influence of such imagery, the bodily pain, long since passed away, of one person, etc. And then try to estimate what might have been the better result for the righteousness and felicity of mankind, if these same women had been taught the deep meaning of the last words that were ever spoken by their Master to those who had ministered to Him of their substance: "Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." Now, the necessities of history were precisely these instructions of the women of Christendom, which Mr. Ruskin condemns. They could not have been otherwise; and he seems all along to forget that both art and history deal with matters of fact and reality, and must do so, and that in obedience to the laws of artistic profession in its connection with Christianity. Thus art could not have risen to higher exaltations, nor could these women, predestined as actors in the mighty drama, have played their parts otherwise than they did. Assuredly, too, it is anything but philosophical to invite people, at this late time of the day, to consider what might have been if this history aforesaid had not been so and so enacted. If the blessed Lord had not made his appearance upon this earth eighteen hundred years ago, many very remarkable events would most likely have happened, which, under the facts of the example, have not happened. But what wise, sage and learned man would think of asking us to consider what these events might possibly have been, and who would care, if they accepted the invitation and duly considered the speculative events.

No doubt, as Christians, the exclusive devotion of woman or man to Christ's infinite passion on the cross is a waste of very precious time, and, according to this theory and Mr. Ruskin's declaration, the Christian woman, as idolized in history, has lost six hundred years of her life.

For during all that time they might, had they been wisely and religiously instructed, have devoted themselves—good Mr. Ruskin—to the uses, charities and benevolences of life; and, instead of weeping, wailing and moaning over the agonies of the cross and a dead Christ—with which we have nothing at all to do—they might have devoted themselves to the succor of the distressed, the fallen and the wounded—to the relief of the houseless and the homeless—to the feeding of the hungry and the clothing of the naked. This, according to Mr. Ruskin's theory, is the proper mission of man and women in this day, and in all days, so long as these miseries exist. And, moreover, he insists that art can never again be glorious or glorified until man shall have regenerated his spiritual nature by these holy deeds of love

and compassion. With him art is no toy, no plaything, to be taken up for amusement, but a serious, beautiful and sublime employment for the furtherance of the human weal and the progress of the human race. It is to enter into all the principles and forms of life, not into those of religion only, but into man's manners and behavior—the creator of the highest.

In his subsequent lectures he shows the relation of art to morals, society and the uses of trade and commerce. Art is to pervade every region of human enterprise. It is to become manifest as a savior and redeemer of man from barbarism in everything that relates to man. It is to be present in the woodlands around his house. These are to be illuminated by beautiful window-openings which shall reveal the brightest scenes and the glories most brilliant and most poetical in the outlying landscape. It is to show itself in the design and adornment of his grounds and gardens and orchards—in the arrangement of its flower-beds and shrub-groups and clusters of far shading trees. It is to make itself manifest in the architecture of his house—in the flowers, vines and rose-trees which climb about the porch of his door and smother in beauty the grateful window-panes. It is to be ubiquitous in the interior of his dwelling; in the panels of the wainscoting and the designs emblazoned upon them; in the wooden mosaic work of the floors which is now so cheap that the humblest mechanic can afford to use it for this and endless other purposes. And as wardrobes, drawers, bed-fronts and backs, doors, casements, stairs, etc. It is to make beautiful the walls of every room through the last-named examples, and the exquisite groups of flowers, the delightful landscapes, the game pictures, the historic scenes, which are burned into the commonest pine wood by means of heated cylinders, and are sold at three cents per square foot—thus placing it within the reach of all. It is to reflect the highest genius of men through imaginative and realistic paintings, and to be present with us everywhere, in all places and in all things, in the daintiest dinner services and in the humblest kitchen utensils, thus proclaiming the universal reign of art and beauty in man's life, circumstances and habitation. Cities are to be shorn of all deformity, rivulets are to flow down all streets; trees, shrubs and flower-beds are to adorn all sidewalks, and every district is to have its park, gardens and statuary. But as Mr. Ruskin admonishes us these moral and civil blessings can only show themselves in objective form when man is subjectively pure and good. Until this fact transpires all our shows of piety and goodness, in churches and cathedrals, in prayers and praises, will be of no avail—will be mere shams and semblances of the spiritual reality. Everywhere he denounces hypocrisy and especially in its relations to art whatsoever outward forms betrays falsehood in the soul he comes down upon with a huge Thor hammer of wrath and indignation. Your sacred temples, he says, your holy of holies inclosed within high walls and under arched roofs, in so far as they beget the superstition in you or me then they are specially sacred to God as his peculiar dwelling-place to the exclusion of the idea of sacredness in any other parts of the creation that are not so enclosed. These temples, he says, are frauds, mockeries and falsehoods. The everlasting love of God has consecrated the whole earth and all the pied and painted firmament, and we put an affront upon the creative mind when we proclaim the contrary.

We have merely touched upon the topics and moralities of these lectures in this rapid review. Many readers will find, as he says, startling things in them which may perhaps scare them at first sight, and prevent their giving to them the consideration which they deserve. But it will be found upon a careful study of them that they oppose nothing but errant unreason and superstition; that they are so far from being opposed to religious truth, to reverence and to worship that these are the very things he is combating for, and these alone. He aims at the union of art and the human intellect with religion and with God once more. He mourns over their lonely and barren divorce as over something unnatural and to the last degree profane and ignominious, and he tells us unmistakably that when they are again united in obedience to law and reason the reign of brutality and barbarism will have passed away and the reign of intelligence, righteousness and divine art will have commenced.

## NOTES FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

P. remarks that the want of decent water-closets in stores and other places frequented by women is a cause of great inconvenience and oftentimes loss of health. The subject is worthy the consideration of the Board of Health.

G. H. S. H. argues that to be a good writer or a great artist it is not necessary to be a bad mother or a neglectful wife. She satirizes the shiftless life of women, and asks "What female heart can gold despise? What cat's avers to fish?"

Nisbett, in a witty letter, quotes a Persian proverb which says, "You cannot prevent the birds flying over your head, but you can hinder them building their nests in your hair. Social prejudice and early training had run his thoughts into a groove, but the earnest teachings of WOODHULL & CLAF-LIN's have found their way under the hair and lifted him out of the rut.

S. N. Wood, of Texas, says: Thanks for a copy of your WEEKLY, the first I had seen. I have just read the reports of Judiciary Committee on Mrs. Woodhull's memorial. The arguments of the minority are unanswerable. Mr. Bingham seems to forget that we have a kind of common law in this country, to wit: "that all just powers of government comes from the consent of the governed;" that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Negroes as well as women were "inhabitants" of the United States—citizens, either native or naturalized in that general sense, without the Fourteenth Amendment, hence I conclude with you that the Fourteenth Amendment, to convey or establish a higher grade of citizenship, meant to confer upon all capable of rational choice a voice (vote) in the Government.

This is a new question out here, and we have to meet all the old arguments met and answered years ago. Court was in session when I received your WEEKLY. It was laughable to hear the legal expressions of learned lawyers on the woman question. I send you a few names to whom you will please send your WEEKLY.



## WOMEN'S CLUB IN HAMMONTON, N.J.

## SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

At the last meeting of The Women's Club of Hammonton, after the preliminary business was finished, we discussed, section by section, an able argument by J. F. Byrnes in *WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY* for April 8. As it embodies our views on the political rights of women under the Constitution of the United States, and is very tersely and nervously expressed, we would very respectfully request our late judge of election to examine it. If he will read the argument of this lawyer carefully we think he will see that however well preceded, his act of refusing our votes on election day was illegal. Moreover had he received them he would to-day have been the cynosure of a million admiring eyes. Personally, I feel that fortune did him a great wrong in placing a crown of bays too closely before his eyes—so closely indeed that it was "out of focus" as the photographers say, and he could not distinguish the object; but fortune is a woman, and as he is a gallant man he doubtless will be the first to forgive her.

In the Vineland election of March 14, it appears that the officers behaved less reasonably than ours. They told a lady who offered to vote that as good a husband as lived represented her in the law.

"He does not represent me," she replied, "as he is not taxed for me," and she showed them her tax-bill of forty dollars—a telling argument against illegal taxation.

"You are working wrong," they said. "If you want representation with your taxation, refuse to pay and ask the courts for redress."

This was a cruel retort, for they well know that the women who have tried that method have gained little more than *quasi* martyrdom. No, this is *not* the way; and we would inform the Vineland gentlemen who so selfishly told the ladies whose votes they refused, to "fight their own battles," that we have found a better and more direct road to redress—and that is to prosecute the judges of elections for refusing us the exercise of our rights as citizens. We regret to do so in our own case, because we respect the man; but "let justice be done though the heavens fall."

We hope the women of Vineland will also prosecute their judge of election for his illegal act, and we will help them with our earnest sympathy, and as far as possible with our purses, though our own lawsuit will tax these poor purses rather severely. We do not stand alone, however. One of the most distinguished women in the cause has offered to speak for us in the principal towns of the State, and help us raise the money; and Thomas J. Durant, of the United States Supreme Court at Washington, has offered to give us his services when our case is appealed to that court.

Our Club will send a delegate to the Woman Suffrage Convention in New York, May 11 and 12, and we hope Vineland will also be represented there. Let us meet there and see what the friends of the cause think of our step, and what support they are willing to give us.

## THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

Dr. R. T. Trail has given expression to the following ideas:

Every child that is born into the world is entitled to receive, of its earthly parents, the inheritance of a sound organization. Yet, in the present state of society, this is the rare exception instead of the rule. There is no greater sin, there can be no greater crime in all of God's universe, judged by the principle of eternal justice, than for parents to transmit to their children depraved and diseased bodies. Yet, how nearly the whole world, the learned and illiterate alike, high and low, rich and poor, with few exceptions, are wholly thoughtless, improvident, ignorant and reckless.

As a general rule this first and most sacred duty of human society is totally disregarded. The great majority of children are the offspring of chance. So far as any intelligent exercise of reason, on the part of parents is concerned, they come into the world at hap-hazard. Very frequently they are the most unwelcome guest that could be introduced into the family circle.

A child has the right to the inheritance of absolute health, perfect beauty and complete goodness of disposition. If it receive not these it is defrauded of its birthright. And think you it will not have its revenge? It certainly will. There is a law of compensation, "pervading all the universe," which harmonizes all apparent discrepancies; which eventually rights all wrongs; which insures, in the end, penalty for anything done amiss and reward to every good work; and which secures, ultimately, perfect justice to all. If a parent, through ignorance or viciousness, rob his child of a proper bodily structure, and if society, through heedlessness or selfishness, deprive it of opportunity for normal growth and education, so surely as there is a law in nature and God in heaven, it will punish that parent, and afflict that society precisely to the extent that it has been wronged.

The true physiologist needs but glance at the swarming vagrant children of our cities, and the frail and puny little ones of the country, to see the operation of this law. If the people could see this in its true light, and if men in authority and in influential positions in society, could clearly understand this principle; if ministers of the Gospel, whose business it is to point the way to a higher and purer life; if physicians who claim to be the conservators of the public health; and if teachers who strive to develop harmoniously all the powers of body and mind, would comprehend this great truth in all of its bearings, our land would not teem with diseased, deformed, ill-born and ill-bred children, educated to all manner of profligacy, and sure almost to become youthful rowdies and adult vagabonds. But they would see how better and cheaper it would be to train them all to virtue and educate them to usefulness, than it is to nurture them in evil and then provide them with penitentiaries and prisons.—*The Medical Repository*.

RIPON, WIS., March 23, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

In an article by Rev. C. Caverno, read before the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences, Madison, February 15, 1871, he says: "Can woman, considered as freighted and potential maternity, assume any more burdens and occasions of mental and nervous excitement with safety to herself and offspring than are already upon her?"

In reply I would say that very few men reach the period of real usefulness before they are forty years of age, at which time women have ceased to raise children. Again, it would not be assuming more burdens, but would be an avenue of escape from those already borne to have a voice in making the laws that govern them and their offspring. It would give them a spirit of self-reliance and independence which would have an ennobling effect on themselves and children.

Let the light of science shine with its fullest splendor on this subject, and it will reveal facts hitherto unthought of both scientifically and physiologically.

What scientific person does not know that the more intelligent the mother, the more intellectual the child?

How often it has been asserted that it will take generations to bring the ignorant negro up to the standard of the educated white man in brain-power!

It is not the active brain that becomes insane; but three-fourths of the inmates of our lunatic asylums come from the more unthinking or laboring class.

If, as the reverend gentleman assumes, the burden of social life comes on the woman, how much more pleasing it would be to her to assist in the business part of her husband's life, and he assist in the social life of hers, and reciprocity be the rule; and thus lighten the burdens of each. He further says: "What the franchise will do for the frivolous is no matter." Would the reverend divine try to redeem the frivolous of his own sex? or is his indifference of the elevation of the young and giddy confined to the sex to which his mother, wife or daughters belong? Would it not be more humanitarian to say: "Give them work, responsibility; they must have it, for their own and the world's better life?"

It seems to me as though many men had set themselves on an imaginary throne to prejudice this matter, and they seem to think that from their judgment there can be no appeal. The gentleman "thinks the effort now being put forth on this subject had better be expended in forcing upon the minds of men further ways in which they might relieve their already overburdened wives." I will say the minds of most men can only be reached through force of laws. No matter how much overburdened his wife may be, the husband will be the last of any to see it, or, seeing, to acknowledge it; but let the law, with its iron hand of justice, be equally on her side, and, in nine cases out of ten, there will be no need of recourse to it, and many burdens under which women now labor will fall off as easily as did the chain of slavery from the negro after the Proclamation of Emancipation.

H. E. C.

VINELAND, N. J., April 20, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

Perhaps you could have done no better service to womanhood than altering, through the *WEEKLY*, the opinions in regard to licensing the sad evil called "social," which calls forth protests and denunciations, and rouses the souls of many sisters to expression. God grant the depths of true womanhood may be sufficiently agitated to lead to vigorous thought in search of the causes which are fomenting in such terrible forms of vice, and persistent effort in diffusing such knowledge as may be elicited.

Diseased imagination is one of the most prolific causes of this and like conditions. And the literature which is constantly feeding and producing an unhealthy imagination swarms over the land like a plague of vermin. The ravages of this fearful tide of corruption have been concealed, and a silence tacitly enjoined by the usages of good society, and as though it was a moral leprosy, which must defile whosoever looked at it. This monstrous cancer has been practically ignored. These deplorable conditions are the legitimate results of causes. These causes can be ascertained. What woman, who is already a mother, can content herself while this terrible poison lurks in the social fabric and endangers the health, morally and physically, of her sons and daughters?

What woman, who expects to fill the position of mother, should wait till, mayhap, some ominous sign of danger shall thrill her soul with anguish? What woman of any name, position or relation to society should rest till the interest of all who desire the purest and most ennobling social state shall be thoroughly enlisted in efforts to discover by what means we shall best secure it? Never till woman understands the causes of such diseased conditions, and through her power over offspring before birth, and wise management and teaching after, will this terrible curse be removed. The false standard of delicacy and refinement which prevents proper discussion and teaching, the servitude of woman in marriage, the diseased imagination resulting from ignorance of what should be revealed, and knowledge of what should be unrevealed, the lack of as high standard of purity for man as woman, and the results of civil inequality between man and woman, all operate to produce this lawlessness and riot of passion. Pity that a portion of the immense thought bestowed upon the results of past civilization should not serve to enlighten the elements of this; and while we boast of increase of knowledge we have not begun to learn how to preserve ourselves from the most fatal ignorance in regard to the fundamental principles of righteous social life.

Every woman and every mother should look upon every child in the land as an integer of the future state, which will be an element of strength or weakness, according as its habits are those of virtue or vice, and the first most earnest and unremitting effort should be to make these elements such as will conserve the integrity of the individual and the State.

Let us seek that knowledge which is power, because it secures the righteous beginning of all life. Human nature, as all nature, is pure, and sickly conditions come of unnatural and distorted habits. Reason is first subordinated to appetite and self-gratification, and the derangement which ensues is not nature.

L. B. C.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

In perusing the many excellent articles in your *WEEKLY* of February 25, my particular attention was called to your correspondent from St. Louis. I wish to notice what he says about the "social evil in St. Louis under the new law." He says: "Having given considerable attention to the result of the new law lately enacted by this city for the regulation of the social evil, we are convinced that it is a move in the right direction." When men in high places—legislators in almost every State—are using up the people's money in an effort to pass such unjust laws, to punish and

drag down, if possible, into deeper misery, a class of human beings who have been made what they are by men, seducers (for there never was a prostitute without a seducer, as it is not in the nature of pure, innocent girlhood, or womanhood, to become depraved), every woman in the land should raise her voice in thunder-tones against such laws.

Why should bawdy houses pay a fine of ten dollars per month and every inmate one dollar and fifty cents per week, and men who visit these houses go "scot free?" If the same laws were applicable to men, in St. Louis, as to women, and every man's name registered who visited these houses, and the same sum paid to the Board of Health that is required of prostitutes, who earn their money by the sacrifice of body and soul, and that money applied to the better education of girls, in a few years these detestable houses would be only known as a great evil that had passed away. Again, your correspondent says: "We shall doubtless shock the tender sensibilities of many of our readers when we assert that the total extinction of prostitution at the present time would be one of the greatest evils which could befall us. Seductions would increase to an alarming extent. Our homes would be invaded, and our wives and daughters exposed to temptations not before dreamed of." What a horrid picture! How vile and wicked he makes men! The "lords of creation" the "protectors of women!" Husbands, fathers and brothers, insulting women in their homes, setting temptation before women more horrible than has ever been imagined, waking or sleeping!

Women, how do you like the picture? Do you not think you could defend yourselves against such intruders? I think I would resort to the weapon I knew a poor woman to use during the war. She was living in a barn with her eight small children, working at every honorable employment to support them, when one of the great men, a member of Congress, met her one day on the street and asked her where she lived. (She was good-looking, neat and bright.) She told him. The next morning he called at the barn, under the pretence of warming. The widow treated him politely, made her children stand one side until the gentleman should warm at her small stove. He was very polite, and said, when leaving: "Madam, I would like to see you in a more comfortable place than this. My house is vacant, my wife being away on a visit East. You can bring your children there and remain until she returns." He did not wait for her answer, but bowed and left. At night he called again, and, after some conversation, attempted undue liberties with her. She had an iron poker in her hand with which she had been stirring the fire; she raised it over his head, he dodged and made his escape out of the door. She called after him, "If you come here again, sir, I will break your head with this poker!"

Predictions were made all over the South that if the negroes were freed masters would be massacred, mistresses would be subjected to the most degraded lives, young and beautiful girls and women would have to become wives to negroes. Not a slave-owner believed what was predicted. They thought by this horrible picture to work upon the sympathies of the Northern people, stimulate and incite to action the opposition of the Southern people, and thereby hold on to their dearly-beloved institution—slavery. Slavery was abolished, and not in one instance, in any State, have the predictions been fulfilled.

So it would be in the other case. If every house of prostitution in the land were closed to-day, there would be no more danger to our sex than there has been in the emancipation of the negroes. But the slave-holders of this terrible sin, like those of the South, fear the invasion of the mighty arm of justice and freedom against their peculiar institutions, and not only seek to make the sin appear plausible and right among the people, but are making still further attempts to legalize and sustain such institutions, when, in every instance, the effect has been to increase the crime, and in many instances to insult and injure the innocent. Must such things continue in a civilized nation and among civilized (?) people? And will the women of our country sit quietly down, and be contented, while such laws are being made to render crime secure for their husbands, brothers and sons?

And these are our "protectors"—our law-makers; and so long as we have such to protect and care for us, what need have we for suffrage? God grant the day, and that ere long, when women will have a voice in the laws, for never would she give her consent to such unjust, one-sided, and soul-destroying enactments as these.

MARY PHELPS.

A CONVENTION under the auspices of the New England Labor Reform League will be held in New York City, May 6th, 7th and 8th, commencing with a discussion on Trade Unions in Cooper Institute. Friday evening, May 6th, Saturday, May 6th, and Monday, the 8th, the Convention will be held in the Cooper Institute; Sunday, the 7th, in Tammany Hall Opera House. Distinguished speakers from various portions of the country will be present.

## ONLY TO LOVE.

Only to love her—nothing more,  
No larger boon I ask;  
Only to bless her o'er and o'er,  
And in her smile to bask!  
Only to catch the light that lies  
Within her glance divine;  
Only to see her—tho' her eyes  
May wander not to mine.

Only to hear her, tho' her words  
Be not to me addressed;  
Their sounds can thrill the fondest chords  
That tremble in my breast!  
Only to love her—tho' her love  
Be not bestowed on me—  
Only to breathe her name above,  
Through all eternity!

## STAND BY YOUR COLORS! THE DECISIVE TIME HAS COME.

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



## THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

Whatever may be said of the parties of the past in this country, nothing is truer than that no form of government has fulfilled its promises to the people or accomplished the legitimate purposes of civil government. If the early history of this Government, under the old parties, presents us something better than the Old World, it was only because the conditions were more favorable to an honest and judicious administration of public affairs. On neither party can we charge specifically the cause which ultimated in the late war, developed all the latent corruption of public and private life, and threw upon the surface the scum of the very worst class of men in the whole land.

It is very apparent that had slavery been kept out of the colonies and the Government that it could never have caused the late war. To the introduction of slavery then, and the purchase and prostitution of territory to this institution, are we to look for the proximate cause of the division of sentiment and interest which well-nigh brought political death and inestimable evils.

Notwithstanding this fact, it would be unsafe to say that but for slavery we should have gone on peacefully and prosperously without serious impediment. Convulsions more disastrous than ours have shaken other forms of government and obliterated them entirely. It is, therefore, true that slavery was but an incident—the external expression of the real cause. To that condition of human depravity (undevelopment) and those passions which, tolerated, practiced and profited by slavery, we must look for the genuine causes and the Pandora's box let loose on society. Those causes did not perish with black slavery; they still exist, and, like an irresistible flood, are sweeping us onward to still greater disasters.

The act which robs the white man of his full complement of the products of his toil is precisely the same as that which robbed the black man, though the one is by statute law and the other by the law of commerce.

The entire wealth-producing classes, black and white, male and female, are as completely enslaved, as effectually robbed as were the blacks who produced nearly all the wealth of the South, and much of the North, and yet were left penniless. What, then, have we gained by the war and the abolition of slavery? Is the moral atmosphere any purer? Are our legislators statesmen or politicians? Are the purposes of government any better accomplished? Are the people more prosperous, contented, happy, harmonious? Nay! nay! We have only uncovered the universal rottenness and incompetency, while the same principles, conditions and laws are pushing us forward, with fearful, fatal strides, toward the full fruition of the wide-spread, deep-seated, almost constitutional diseases of which slavery was an incidental and limited expression.

Will we heed and forbear, or have we acquired such momentum that only a universal baptism of blood and uprooting of the very foundations of the civil and social fabrics will atone for and cure us of our folly, madness, wickedness? To devise a remedy for this disease, to avert the impending calamity, which must come if the causes are not removed, is worthy the effort of men, angels, gods. For this purpose this paper was started; for this purpose are we calling to our aid the most advanced minds of the age; for this purpose have we reduced its price, that it may reach all; for this purpose do we announce a new party, the name of which is the synonym of the purposes of legitimate government, the principles of which comprehend all of human rights, and therefore the *ne plus ultra* of all political effort.

The old parties have had their day and performed their work—sometimes positively, sometimes negatively. The Democratic party never was truly democratic; the Radical party never was truly radical, because they were not and are not so; they are doomed to follow in the wake of their predecessors. In their present struggle for the mastery they are led by the same classes, of the same mentality and morality as those who brought us into this crisis—politicians, not statesmen.

The Democratic party, with its protracted and boasted possession of the Government, failed to avert, rather precipitated us into our calamity. The Radical party succeeded to the responsibilities of the results, and has failed in everything except a debt twice what it should have been, and a corrupt and inefficient administration of the finances of the country. In the impeachment, in reconstruction, on the currency, in the Alaska purchase, on the Indian questions—on all of these it has utterly failed to meet the legitimate demands of the hour and the country. To this we must add the wanton squandering of hundreds of millions of acres of public lands, for the benefit of a class of men who have no appetite for anything but plunder. And in future we shall show wherein and why they have failed.

Both these parties, as well as the Labor party, have issued their preliminary pronouncements; but neither of them are broad, comprehensive, humanitarian, cosmopolitan. And, as things appear on the surface now, we cannot see that the Labor party is a great improvement on the others. It seems to be the representative of force and selfishness; while the others still inscribe on their banners "To the victors belong the spoils." Give to them the greatest credit we can, they are all on the mere material plane, with material motives, purposes, plans. Principles and rights, in their fullest, most profound and most important sense, they wholly omit. Until they understand, incorporate and practically apply

those principles, we shall look in vain for peace, prosperity, progress. Sooner or later we must come to this. And now that the political caldron is boiling, in a state of unrest, the clouds boding evil, this is the time for all souls who are true to truth, righteous to right, to unite on a platform broad enough to embrace all of human rights.

## THE NEW YORK RAILWAY COMPANY'S SCHEME.

## How \$178,000,000 Can Be Saved to the City!

THE PEOPLE MOST NEEDING ACCOMMODATION CANNOT BE BENEFITED BY ITS CONSTRUCTION.

## SHALL THE CITY BE DESOLATED?

On page 10 will be found a communication signed "Engineer," meriting the consideration of all who have an interest in the welfare of the city, the protection of the rights of its people, the rights of property owners, and the exercise of their functions as citizens to check the development of this fraud and others of a kindred ones that are to absorb their natural rights as citizens.

How it has come to pass that men, whose eyes are generally so widely open to anything that affect their interests, have allowed the New York Railway Bill to pass the Legislature at Albany, and also how Governor Hoffman could indorse a bill that threatens to desolate the city, and confide a power so boundless as that embraced in the charter, is a question that suggests itself to every reflecting mind that feels any interest in the prosperity and the beauty of our metropolis.

A quick mode of transit is an absolute necessity, and must be had for the accommodation of a fast-increasing population, seeking residences at moderate distances within the Island limit. And it must be had at a moderate rate of fare, and without disturbing or interfering with the present system of city transit, or disturbing private property, or paying enormous sums for right of way, or costly structures and equipment; without calling upon the city to pay for it all without power of redress. The charter authorizes the city to consent to be robbed, and this is sound theory in these days of corruption and spoliation.

The nine counts in the indictment drawn up by "Engineer" against the "New York Railway," are clear, concise and to the point. And it is equally manifest that any departure from the fundamental points already stated by him in our issue of the 15th ult. and republished in this number, will be fatal, not alone to general business, but to private individuals holding property on the line proposed by the company.

No property holder on the route of the "New York Railway" should lose sight for a moment of the fact that they will be deprived of valuable property, not at their own valuation of it, nor at current prices, but by an arbitrary rule, perhaps under a packed jury, should they remonstrate to yield to the wishes of "the Boss" and his associates. That their property will be irrevocably and absolutely lost to the fixed capital of the city, and an exaction in perpetuity of an inexorable tribute on the people to pay the annual interest on the capital so sunk, the charter has amply provided in its clauses.

We agree with "Engineer," and say, with him, these things merit attention at our hands, and should alarm the boldest in our midst. The fundamental points that should be embraced in a mode of transit should be adhered to, and no other permitted to be built. They embrace cheapness and facility of construction, as well as economy of time of erection. All points desired by the public can thus be secured without interference, stoppage, or hindrance either to the present means of transit, or stopping, for an unlimited period, whole streets, to the detriment of trade and depreciation of the value of property.

The framers seem to have possessed but one aim in framing the bill, viz.: to make a pile out of the "job"—to feather their nests by plundering the public and increasing the value of THEIR PROPERTY UP TOWN, perhaps by exacting three or four times what they paid for it, or promised to pay when the job got started. They mean to ignore public comfort and convenience in their avidity for gain.

How is the "New York Railway" to pay dividends? Let us see. Not by fares at a just rate, certainly; that must not for an instant be entertained. It will be done by "loading" the tax-payers with the burden in perpetuity; that is the manner in which it will be done. For this the charter provides, in its clauses artfully woven into the body of the bill. Few bills have been prepared with more care than this, to deceive and entangle in its meshes the unwary.

The Third Avenue Railroad averages 20,000,000 passengers annually; the Eighth Avenue averages the same number—making a total, for two roads, of 40,000,000, and, at five cents fare, give an income of \$2,000,000, equal to two per cent. on the capital, estimated at \$40,000,000 for "The New York Railway." Vide last Sunday's *World*.

But the cost of right of way, construction and equipment, etc., etc., may be fairly estimated at \$50,000,000 for the trunk lines. Income at ten cents per fare gives \$5,000,000. Take from this interest at seven per cent., equal to \$3,500,

000, and seventy-five per cent. of the income for operating expenses, and we find, in a word, what a ten-cent fare, which is a fair and just charge for the entire length of the routes, cannot supply. Or take it the other way, that seventy-five per cent. of the income is paid for operation of the New York Railway, and we have \$1,500,000 to pay dividends on \$50,000,000—three per cent. What sane man will believe that "The New York Railway" will earn even this, unless fares are raised to such a scale as to preclude those most needing accommodation from being able to avail themselves of it?

We will from time to time report on this gigantic "job," and have it clear to the public mind that it ought never to be permitted to be built, for, at the company's estimate, the trunks and branches will cost \$178,000,000.

## FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

In returning to the consideration of this branch of the great social problem, which has been suspended since No. 36, we find the general situation virtually unchanged. The same ruinous policy of hoarding gold in the vaults of the Treasury of the United States, which the administration has so closely pursued, still prevails. It seems that there must be something, that does not appear, behind a practice which wrings the last dollar from the purses of the people under the fraudulent name of revenue.

Can it be that those in power contemplate any scheme which might require an immense sum of gold to carry through, that they so carefully guard the present accumulations? Why did Congress so cautiously abstain from releasing more of the most unjust taxes to the people when they knew there were one hundred millions in the Treasury?

The people begin to clamor in a manner not to be disregarded about the enormous amounts which the Government continue to demand of them. Why should the people of this generation be called upon to cancel, or even to reduce, a debt incurred to preserve the country intact for future generations. Hundreds of thousands of lives were given, bodies maimed and homes made desolate, to accomplish this, and shall it be accounted as so insignificant that we must now further cripple ourselves by also paying the many debts created to sustain the Government? Shall we, from year to year, be compelled to turn all our newly-produced wealth over to the Government, that it may be by them transferred to the already over-laden coffers of the money-lenders, who first stole and now fatten upon the wealth-producing people?

The systems which make such things possible are rapidly receiving their just condemnation, and so, too, are they who stretch these systems to their utmost tension that the people can stand also receiving their condemnation. Did the people know all the schemes which float in the brains of those who "rule the treasury," an indignation would seize upon them which would make it impossible for these schemers to continue their infamous practices. For fear of something, or to curry favor with somebody, vast amounts of revenue due the Government are allowed to be retained by certain money kings. The principals in these somewhat nice arrangements may think they can keep a veil between their operations and the eyes of the people. They will, when too late, perhaps, find that all eyes have not been blinded nor all hearts closed against the suffering and oppression of the people, which such practices as obtain have imposed upon them.

This is truly the age of the Money Power. Whatever the project may be, if there is money enough to push it, success is certain. Every day we see this assertion verified. The expenditure of a million of dollars will insure legislation which will enable the interested to steal from the people ten millions. It is beginning to be considered almost a legitimate way to accumulate wealth. Such a condition of things is proof positive that there is a process of disintegration and corruption at work which must soon threaten the whole governmental structure. The people will endure and forbear, until the practice ceases to be a virtue; and it will not always be virtue to endure and forbear.

There is a great error somewhere in our government, or in our financial system, else these things could not be possible. We have previously endeavored to show that this error lies in the false standard of values. For money there has been a god of gold set up, before which a small portion only of the people find it possible to bow and worship, while the masses look upon it from afar, and wonder that that which they have created could ever turn upon and rend them as it does. That which was invented as a means has been converted into an end, and all other means made subservient thereto.

Meanwhile, all industrial and commercial interests either languish or struggle for existence, and the money-lenders become more and more obese.

BOSS TWEED's pen-picture and the apology of his humble friend and follower, Winans, are worth reading. Tweed is not the man to say that he did not buy up Winans. Not he. The court knows itself and the public too well for that. Winans turned his coat and went over because he didn't like to see public business obstructed. Of course he did not. The people like a smart man, and he will be re-elected.



## WOMAN ITEMS.

Charlotte Cushman once related the following anecdote: She said a man in the gallery of the theatre (she was on the stage at the time) made such a disturbance that the play could not proceed. Cries of "Throw him over," arose from all parts of the house, and the noise became furious. All was tumultuous chaos, until a sweet female voice was heard in the pit, exclaiming, "No, I pray you, don't throw him over! I beg of you, dear friends, don't throw him over, but—kill him where he is!"

A good old lady down in Maine, hesitated, the other day, to attend the funeral of an old friend, because she doubted the propriety of listening to a preacher who, she had heard, was not quite orthodox in his views. However, she conquered her scruples, and went. As it happened, another minister, also personally unknown to her, but quite sound in his views, officiated, and when, at the close of the services, a friend asked her how she liked the minister, she replied, in the full belief that she had been listening to the suspected preacher: "What he said was well enough, but I saw the devil in his eye!"

Mrs. Stowe thinks there comes a time after marriage when a husband has something else to do than to make direct love to his wife. This is probably the time when he is making love to another man's wife.

Miss Myra Clark Gaines declares, it is said, that of more than one hundred lawyers who were opposed to her in her protracted suits, seven committed suicide, any fifty-six drank themselves to death.

The world moves, whatever we may say or do to the contrary. Even in the stanch Democratic town of Canterbury two ladies, Mrs. Lorenzo Ames and Mrs. Moses C. Lyford, were elected members of the school committee. We reckon the Canterbury schools will be none the worse for the presence of these ladies on the school board. We have faith yet that New Hampshire will one day rank among the most progressive States of the Union.

Woman does not say she will come down, but says that man must come up to her standard.

Charlotte Bronte made good bread and went patiently through her household work for the sake of her household.

Mrs. H. C. Spencer, in a letter to the Washington Chronicle, relates the following story: "A colored woman who heard some one read a report of Dr. Newman's sermon on 'Domestic Relations' said: 'If a man knocks his wife down she ought to lie still and submit, ought she, 'cause he's made in the image of God, you know?' 'Pears like these images of God is mighty tough cases 'mong us poor folks. Wasn't it a good thing for the world the Lord didn't make woman in His image?'"

ONE OF JOSH BILLINGS' PRAYERS. — From too many friends, and from things at luce ends, Good Lord deliver us!

From a wife who doant luv us, and from children who doant look like us, Good Lord deliver us!

Gov. Fairchild, of Wisconsin, has appointed Mrs. Mary E. Lynde, of Milwaukee, a member of the State Board of Charities.

When man and woman are made one the question is, which one? Sometimes there is a long struggle between them before the matter is settled.

A ladies' life insurance company is being formed in London. One provision is, that all employees are to be women.

Miss E. G. Colburn has been appointed Postmistress at Franklin, and L. D. Sinclair at Ossipee, M. V. Ricker, resigned.

When any one was speaking ill of another in the presence of Peter the Great he at first listened to him attentively, and then interrupted him: "Is there not," said he, "a fair side also to the character of the person of whom you were speaking? Come, tell me what good qualities you have remarked about him."

An energetic lady doctor of Buffalo, Mrs. Dr. Cook, had an income last year of nearly \$10,000 from her medical practice.

Miss Edmonia Lewis has been commissioned by the Union League Club, of New York, to carve a marble statue of John Brown.

A young woman of Providence, R. I., is said to be one of the best blacksmiths in that city. She works side by side with her father in his shop.

The ladies of Ithaca, N. Y., numbering over twelve hundred, have signed an appeal to the electors of that village, to elect a Board of Trustees that will grant no license for the sale of intoxicating drinks in the place.

Miss West, a missionary whose field of labor is Turkey, has, in ten years, trained two hundred girls, who are now scattered from sea to sea, and along the Euphrates and Tigris, engaged in teaching the truths of the Christian religion.

He who cannot command his thoughts must not hope to control his actions.

There are two ways of reaching truth—by reasoning out and by feeling out. All the profoundest truths are felt out.

Happy the child who is suffered to be, and content to be what God meant it to be—a child while childhood lasts.

Every man is ready to give a long catalogue of those virtues and good qualities he expects to find in the person of a friend, but very few of us are careful to cultivate them in ourselves.

Commonplace truth is of no use, as it makes no impression; it is no more instruction than wind is music. The truth must take a particular bearing, as the wind must pass through tubes, to be anything worth.

Casual thoughts are sometimes of great value. One of these may prove the key to open for us a yet unknown apartment in the palace of truth, or a yet unexplored tract in the paradise of sentiment that environs it.

All mental superiority originates in habits of thinking. A child, indeed, like a machine, may be made to perform certain functions by external means; but it is only when he begins to think that he rises to the dignity of a rational being.

There must be detail in every great work. It is an element of effectiveness which no reach of plan, no enthusiasm or purpose, can dispense with. Thus, if a man conceives the idea of becoming eminent in learning, but cannot toll through the million of little drudgeries necessary to carry him on, his learning will soon be told. Accurate and careful detail, the minding of common occasions and small things, combined with general scope and vigor, is the secret of all efficiency and success in the world.

A PROPHECY A HUNDRED YEARS OLD.—Abbe Galiana, writing to his friend, Madame d'Epinau, in 1771, sketched the world as it would be in a hundred years. We quote his words from "Notes and Queries."

"In one hundred years we shall resemble the Chinese much more than we do at present. There will be two very distinct religions—the one that of the higher and lettered classes; the other, that of the people, who will be divided between three or four sects, living on tolerably good terms with each other. Priests and monks will be more numerous than they are now, moderately rich, ignored and tranquil. The Pope will be nothing more than an illustrious bishop, and not a sovereign. They will have pared away all his temporal dominions bit by bit. There will be large, regular armies on foot, and but little fighting. The troops will perform admirably on parade, but neither officers nor men be fierce or brave; they will wear rich uniforms, that is all. The chief sovereign of Europe will be the monarch of our Tartars—that is to say, the prince who will possess Poland, Russia, Prussia, and command the Baltic and Black Seas, for the nations of the north will always remain less cowardly than those of the south. The remaining princes will be under the political master of this predominant cabinet. England will separate herself from Europe, as Japan has done from China. She will unite herself with America, of which she will possess the greater part, and control the commerce of the remainder. There will be despotism everywhere, but despotism without cruelty, without effusion of blood—a despotism of chicanery, founded always on the interpretation of old laws, on the cunning and slight of the courts and lawyers—a despotism of which the great aim will be to get at the wealth of individuals. Happy in those days the millionaires, who will be our mandarins. They will be everything, for the military will serve only for parade. Manufacturers will flourish everywhere, as they do now in India."

"Better to be understood by ten than admired by ten thousand."

WITH THE APPROACH of a season of genuine Italian opera at the Academy, a decided interest is manifested to obtain and become familiar with the scores of the different operas underlined, and never has the public been so favored in the matter as now. Messrs. Oliver, Ditson & Co., of Boston, have published a series of standard operas, giving the score, recitatives, dramatic situations, etc., with a piano accompaniment and English words, for the moderate price of one dollar a volume. The books are very neatly gotten up and must prove interesting to all lovers of music, who, at a small expense, can possess a valuable operatic library. The list embraces Bellini's "Norma" and "Sonnambula," Verdi's "Ernani" and "Trovatore," Donizetti's "Lucia" and "Lucrezia," "Martha," "Faust," "Preciosa," "Traviata" and "The Marriage of Figaro."

The volumes we have seen and reviewed are equal to any imported music, and to an American much more acceptable, and the thanks of the music-loving public are due Messrs. Ditson & Co., for this new evidence of their enterprise.

A biographical sketch of the composer is given with each opera, and contains valuable and, in some instances, rare information. We know of no move in the musical world likely to be productive of more pleasure than these standard operas that Ditson & Co. have so generously placed within the reach of all.

The Maine Standard says that Mr. Cobb, principal of Wilton Academy, an aged villian, has eloped with one of his pupils, Miss Davis of Farmington, aged seventeen years. They went westward and Miss Davis' friends are in pursuit. Cobb has a family in Casco, one of his sons being an assistant in the academy.

NILSSON'S LOVER is a genteel, refined, amiable-appearing young man, handsome face and a very prepossessing expression. This gentleman—August Rouzod—is a stock-broker by trade, was at last accounts on the ramparts of Paris, defending his country from the invader; and his betrothed was reading daily the news of the war, and watching hourly for little square letters, of the shape and size which characterize the "balloon mail" of Paris. She dwells with naïve and touching fervor upon the merits of her fiancé, and contrasts him, with pardonable pride, against the curmudgeons and cormorants whom certain other prima donnas have married; and it is not by any means a violent exercise of the privilege of prophecy to set down the marriage of this noble artist and true woman to the man of her choice and admiration, as, after all, the proudest and best of her triumphs.—*Lakeside Monthly.*

When the soft iron is in the electric circuit, it grows magnetic, and not only clings itself, but keeps lesser and kindred masses clinging; so when the soul is in the right relation to the living God, it acquires a strong induction—a mighty power of attracting others in the same direction.

He who possesses the divine powers of the soul is a great being, be his place what it may. You may clothe him in rags, may immerse him in a dungeon, may chain him to slavish tasks, but he is still great. You may shut him out of your houses, but God opens to him heavenly mansions. He makes no show, indeed, in the streets of a splendid city; but a clear thought, a pure affection, have a dignity of quite another kind, and far higher than accumulations of of brick and granite and plaster, however cunningly put together.

In Broadway, there is a work of art so nearly duplicating that of nature's own, that a debate arose whether we were robbing nature of her dues, or giving credit to an artist, but were compelled to admit the latter. The subject was finely executed wax flowers, thrown over an anchor of the same material, marbleized—Hope in a bed of flowers, with the motto, "Nil Desperandum."

More elaborate representations of the beautiful in nature by the same artist, Mrs. Addison Bartlett, 896 Broadway (where she is prepared to receive pupils and orders for various designs), are to be seen at Caswell and Hayward's drug stores, Fifth-avenue Hotel and Thirty-ninth street, and at De la Vergne's, Booth's Theatre building.

The art embraces more than a mere knowledge of farming a flower; it cultivates a taste for nature's works, and enables one to discover infinitely more beauties in them. And if a fine, romantic scenery exerts a refining, elevating influence upon the intellect, certainly do beautiful flowers, which we may have as constant companions in our homes, and they are certainly pretty and lasting mementoes to friends, and ornaments for the drawing-room and boudoir.

"Flowers are the brightest things which earth  
On her broad bosom loves to cherish;  
Gay they appear as children's mirth,  
Like fading dreams of hope they perish."

Yet, by that which the industrious bee furnishes us, they may be perpetuated, nay, reproduced, from their own sweetness.

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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.

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## EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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## PROPOSALS.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS, No. 237 BROADWAY.

TO CONTRACTORS.—PROPOSALS INCLOSED in a sealed envelope, with the title of the work and the name of the bidder indorsed thereon, will be received at this office until TUESDAY, March 7, at 11 o'clock A. M.

No. 1. For paving Hudson street, from Chambers to Canal street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 2. For paving Hoboken street, from Washington to West street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 3. For paving Reade street, from Washington to West street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 4. For paving South street, from Montgomery to Corlears street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 5. For paving Mangin street, from Houston to Stanton street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 6. For paving Corlears street, from South to Water street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 7. For sewer outlet in One Hundred and Tenth street, from Harlem River to Fifth avenue, to One Hundred and Sixteenth street, to Seventh avenue, and branches in Second, Fourth and Fifth avenues, One Hundred and Eleventh, One Hundred and Twelfth, One Hundred and Thirteenth and One Hundred and Twentieth streets.

No. 8. For sewer in One Hundred and Ninth street, between Fourth avenue and Harlem river.

No. 9. For sewer in Second avenue, between One Hundred and Eleventh and One Hundred and Sixteenth streets; One Hundred and Fifteenth street, between First and Third avenues, and One Hundred and Twenty-seventh street, between Second and Third avenues.

No. 10. For sewer in Tenth avenue, between Manhattan and Lawrence streets, and Lawrence street between Tenth avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street.

No. 11. For sewer in Third avenue, between Eleventh and Twelfth street.

No. 12. For regulating, grading, curb, gutter and flag One Hundred and Twenty-fourth street, between Fourth and Eighth avenues.

No. 13. For regulating, grading, curb, gutter and flag One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street, between Second and Eighth avenues.

No. 14. For regulating, grading, curb, gutter and flag One Hundred and Twenty-third street, between Eighth and New avenues.

No. 15. For regulating, grading, curb, gutter and flag One Hundred and Fourth street, between Fifth avenue and Harlem river.

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No. 17. For regulating and grading Sixty-seventh street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues.

No. 18. For flagging Fifty-fifth street, between Fifth and Madison avenue.

No. 19. For furnishing this Department with Vitriol, Salt, Glazed Sewer and Drain Pipes, and Invert Blocks.

Blank forms of proposals, the specifications and agreements, the proper envelopes in which to inclose the bids, and any further information desired, can be had on application to the Contract Clerk at this office.

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Commissioner of Public Works.

New York, April 7, 1871.



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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. Y rs truly,

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

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

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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,  
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## ART SERVICE.

BY AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL.

I wandered with an earnest heart,  
Among the quiet depths of thought,  
And, kindled by the poet's art,  
I duly wrought.

I wrought for beauty, and the world  
Grew very green and smooth for me,  
And blossoms-blossoms being suffered  
On every tree.

Upon my bearded forehead lay  
The cooling laurel, and my feet  
Crushed honeyed fragrances out, the way  
Had grown so sweet.

And peace was servant of the ear,  
And love dropped kisses on the cheek,  
And smiled a passion-thought too dear  
For tongue to speak.

But one day, the ideal Good  
Deigned me in immortal youth,  
And in sublimity of mood  
I wrought for Truth.

Oh, then, instead of laurel crown,  
The world bestowed a thorny head,  
And on my forehead pressed it down  
With heavy hand.

And looks that used to warm me froze;  
I lost the cheer, the odor sweet,  
The path of velvet; glaciers rose  
Before my feet.

Yet truth the more divinely shone,  
As onward still I sought to prove,  
And gloriously proved her own  
Almightiness.

For, girded in her culms strong,  
And lifted by her matchless arm,  
Above the frozen peak of Wrong,  
In warmth and calm,

I sit, and while thoughts, my pure,  
Like angels, close to my heart around,  
And fold me gently in, secure  
From cold or wound.

Oh, kindred poet-soul! whose lays  
Of sweet word-music set in line,  
Are fashioned for the world's poor praise  
And Beauty's shrine—

The martyr's spirit-wing is strong!  
Choose thou a plian that can rise  
With Truth's full freight of claron song,  
And sweep the skies!

Then shall the thoughts that in thee burn,  
Flame-reaching, touch the thought divine;  
And man may scoff, a world may spurn,  
But Heaven is thine.

## WEALTHY ENGLAND.

What a financial force is the very name of England! and how strange it is that those who at the present moment, are so eager to expatriate on England's waning power, and her reticence in the recent European agitation, do not take into account her apparently inexhaustible wealth. Let us set aside an examination of England merely from a political point of view, and take a peep at John Bull in his counting-house, where he has been so diligently occupied, while divine William, with his northern hosts, has been tramping down the fair vineyards and cottage homes of sunny France. England, at the present moment, is not only very rich, but too rich, and is actually inconvenienced by financial obesity; and yet the poor suffer terribly, and the working-classes do not cease complaining. So that after all we have no cause to envy England, for although she has amassed great wealth, she has not established social equilibrium. It was recently estimated that the plethora of capital in England, in consequence of the payment of numerous dividends of various kinds, amounted, for the first month of this year, to more than \$45,850,000. From dividends on English Government loans, \$35,500,000; Australian, Canadian and Indian Government loans, \$7,500,000; English railway debentures, \$8,750,000; Foreign Government loans, \$44,100,000; and English joint-stock banks, mining and miscellaneous shares, \$5,000,000! The Manchester Courier asserts that there is reason to believe that the total paid on stock and shares during the whole year amounts to over \$400,000,000. A clearer indication of the wealth of Great Britain, it is argued, is to be obtained by considering the amount of capital in which dealings take place in the London stock exchange, of which the following is an approximate estimate: British Government stock, \$4,000,000,000; Government stock of the British possessions and colonies, including Canada, Australia, and India, \$900,000,000; French Government stock, \$2,700,000,000; stock of other European States, \$2,000,000,000; stock of the United States Government, and of other States of North America, \$2,500,000,000; stock of South American States, \$340,000,000; and stock of the Central American States and of the West Indies, \$170,000,000, making a total of \$13,610,000,000 worth of Government stocks that changed hands, either nominally or really, during 1870. In addition to these there were \$2,750,000,000 worth of railway shares, and bank, telegraph, mining and miscellaneous shares, the total of which cannot be approximated. During 1870 there were placed on the British stock market \$305,000,000 loans and \$25,000,000 of joint-stock enterprises, the latter comprising \$50,000,000 of Russian and \$30,000,000 of Spanish railway stocks. It is also estimated that the surplus capital and savings requiring to be re-invested annually in England amounts to \$1,000,000,000, of which one-half is invested in land, houses and old and well-known stocks and shares, and the other half in new loans and joint-stock enterprises. As another mode of obtaining the financial operations in Great Britain, the bankers' clearings on the twenty-four regular settling days on the Stock Exchange are given. From these figures it appears that the stock operations of 1870 amounted to \$2,171,570,000; of 1869, to \$2,824,075,000; and of 1868, to \$2,036,745,000. As to the extent of the trade and commerce of Great Britain, the bankers' clearings on the "fourth" day of each month give balances of \$280,085,000 for 1870; of \$348,645,000 for 1869; and of \$775,340,000 for 1868. Taking the whole range of bankers' clearings, exclusive of Stock Exchange settlements, it is stated that a sum of \$16,396,530,000 was used in the banking business alone during 1870, and of \$15,397,255,000 in 1869.—Philadelphia Trade Journal.

## St. Louis—What is Being Done in that City.

Some manufacturers are habitually treated as essentially a Northern interest, yet here in the chief city of the great valley showing an expansive and sturdy in this department of industry which no city in New England or on the western coast rival. And it is plain that the progress made during the last decade is confirmed, under favorable auspices, to be not only continued but accelerated during the next. The Y. & N. W. Works, just going into operation, will turn out twenty times as many of the best of railroad cars per day, employing four hundred hands and a capital of \$1,000,000.

St. Louis owned 1,336 buildings during 1870, at a cost of \$1,007,100. One of them cost \$300,000, several others more than \$100,000 each. She owns 220 steamships and 220 barges, of a total value of \$1,200,000. Her receipts of wheat in 1870 were \$1,100,000,000; of coal, \$2,000,000,000; a large amount over those of any former year. Her debt is \$10,700,000, being equalled by those of New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Baltimore and New Orleans. Her taxes for 1870 were \$4,200,000, being exceeded by Chicago and each of the above-named cities, except Baltimore. In the ratio of taxation to property, New Orleans takes the lead of all her sisters, closely followed by Detroit, Brooklyn, Buffalo and Chicago; Cincinnati, New York, St. Louis, Louisville and San Francisco form the next group; Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore dropping considerably below. But the valuations of property are so arbitrary and unequal, that no positive conclusions are deducible from these data.

St. Louis is destined to be a great city. Her bridge across the father of waters is to be finished this year, at a total cost of \$1,000,000. It will give an impulse to her manufactures, by diminishing the cost of coal and other materials. A canal nearly a mile long will be traversed by the railroad trains that cross it from the river bank to the great central depot in the heart of the city.

Thirteen railroads now terminate on the Illinois shore opposite St. Louis, and with, of course, and their tracks over the great bridge. Eleven railroads either already do or soon will leave St. Louis on her landward side. Missouri is now thoroughly permeated by these, by which she is connected, through Kansas, with Colorado, Utah and the Pacific slope; as well as with Nebraska and the upper Missouri. Yet St. Louis has not pushed her railway system so vigorously as she should have done. Little Rock, Galveston and Santa Fe should have been reached by her ere this, securing her the vast cattle trade of Texas as well as her young and growing rival, the Plains. Were St. Louis as thoroughly connected by rail with the regions south and west of her as Chicago is with those which bear a corresponding relation to her, her trade would now be double what it is, and her seat would be given her a population of 1,500,000. As it is, her 122,000 inhabitants on an area of about 30 square miles, while Chicago has 295,738 on 34½ square miles, will doubtless be doubled before 1880.

## MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

Booth's Theatre.—There has been a revival of Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale," which has not been played for several years. The play, in itself, is more interesting to the student than to the theatrical spectator.

There is an almost inherent impossibility in the representation of the leading female character, Hermione, who has to pass a lapse of eighteen years, the age of her daughter Perdita, with so little change of personal identity, that the husband is unable to discern the difference between his lost wife and her statue. In other respects, the play is void of interest or probability, and is not characterized by that depth of passion and earnestness which fix the attention and draw on the sympathies of the audience. The mounting of a play at Mr. Booth's Theatre is a specialty, and on this occasion the management have exceeded themselves. One scene in particular is something wonderful in the way of illusion, the amphitheatre of Syracuse, with its painted characters and its audience so perfect that the living actors are almost identical with their counterparts. The audience appreciated this triumph of scenic art, and signified their approval by repeated rounds of applause.

At last we are to have a season of Italian opera, and though it is limited to ten nights only we are thankful for the favor. Sig. Albate, by some means unknown to managers in general, has prevailed upon the wretched managers of the Academy to relinquish their right to the best of the house without pay, and proposes to make a successful season if such a thing is possible. Miss Kellogg, the ever-popular prima-donna; Mme. Frederick, from Havana, and Mme. Apollonia Stotes, a woman with a voice like a trumpet, though a good actress, are the soprano engaged. Mlle. Laura Hinde is the contralto, and Signor Orlando, Valiani, Lawrence and several others more or less known to the musical world, will fill the various tenor, baritone and bass roles. The most familiar operas are selected, such as Martha, Faust, Crespino, Ernani, and no one will be given twice, so we shall have a variety.

Laura Keene has finally been obliged to succumb to the ill-fortune that always attends the lessee of the Fourteenth street Theatre, and close her engagement. We hope soon to hear of her success elsewhere, for she deserves it. "The Liar," at Wallack's, still occupies the attention of the public, and with a pleasant afterpiece, really makes a delightful evening's entertainment. There is a rumor that Mr. Wallack intends selling his valuable property on Broadway and building a fine theatre up-town.

The last concert of the Church Music Association for this season will take place on May 24, and great interest is felt in the event. A full orchestral rehearsal was held on Tuesday, and the affair promises well. Niedermeyer's mass in E minor and Mendelssohn's music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream," was finely rendered, and Mr. Mathison's rendering of portions of the latter was quite effective.

Among minstrel performances Dan Bryant's is still pre-eminent, and crowds flock there nightly to hear the sweet music with which the performances open, or the very funny olio which follows. The character of the audiences at this house is a noticeable feature.

Mr. JAMES STEELE MACKAY lectured at Steinway Hall on Monday evening on the Science and Art of Dramatic Expression. Mr. Mackay is the favorite pupil of the great French elocutionist, Delarue, the master of Rachel. He explained how Delarue, an enthusiast in the cause of art, had devoted himself wholly to the service of his chosen mistress; how he had secluded himself from the world to study out in silence and solitude the undying principles on which art is founded. How the lovely adept had thought out the deep, underlying truths; how all the arts—poetry, music, drama, painting, sculpture, architecture—had one common origin, and how Delarue had formulated the essential nature of them all in an axiom, "Art is motion passed through thought and fixed in form." The axiom of realization being to subject anything to the deepest scrutiny of thought and to fix it in the

without form. Delarue, by close study of human emotion and infinite knowledge of form and expression, has been able to analyze and classify all the simple and complex emotions of the soul. To these he endeavored to give external and intelligible form by the gestures, positions, alternatives of the human body—head, feet, arms, legs—static or in manifestation, fixed or changeable. The lecturer stated the theory, and illustrated his propositions by appropriate action. As an instance of the profound refinements into which Delarue's analysis had led him, it is enough to say that the eye alone is capable of seven hundred and twenty-five combined expressions, the color of the size simple forms.

This strange synopsis of the objects of the lecture conveyed but a most imperfect idea of Delarue's artistic ideas and all-embracing treatment. Even the Platonic philosophy, with its triad of power, will and love, has its place in a modified form in the system. Such artistic education has, however, little practical value. It is no mean triumph of the artist to have attained to the knowledge and practice of the broad and without form of the expression. These, in their lower power, serve to enforce and illustrate speech; in their full strength, under the control of genius, they convey in dumb show, the magnetic sympathies of human passion from soul to soul. Mr. Mackay's illustrations were astonishingly vivid, while the power of facial expression was perfectly astonishing in its perfection. I was struck with the internal correspondence between Mr. Mackay's representations and the treatment of the same topics in the relief of ancient art. What wonderful knowledge the great painters and sculptors must have had. They said so little, they knew and they did so much. It seemed to me that there was little new in Mr. Mackay's exposition, save the form of words. Delarue has analyzed the meaning and synthesized the expression of Phidias and Michael Angelo. Reynolds and Fuseli taught the general principles; Delarue has multiplied the details.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN, Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue, is now open to the public with its Forty-fourth Annual Exhibition. Thanks to the pains taken by the Hanging Committee, there is an effective arrangement and a judicious selection of the pictures, and the consequence is the very best show of all that has ever graced the walls of the institution.

Not only are the pictures numerous (four hundred in number), but they include specimens from the best of our artists. The women are in great force, and if not as great in merit as the men, they are in numbers. To greatly dare is in itself a merit, and has an element of excellence. Art is a creation so recent in this country—so new to the people, that its success has outstripped the most sanguine expectations. In the established order the men had the best chance in the race. They had an up-hill fight, it is true, and all honor to Powers, Bradford, Church, Dana, and all others who, beginning in a day of small things, have lifted American art by their pluck and manhood in their long struggle against public ignorance and foreign competition.

The public know better now, but they still hold with the foreign article, and except in a few cases which have received the stamp of foreign approval, so giving currency to the American names, the American public prefer to pay for imported art, although they can get a better picture for less money at home. But the dear public knows very little. I heard a lady visitor, in a studio, ask whether the plaster cast of the "Venus di Medici" was the likeness of a mutual lady friend, and how she came to be taken so exposed.

If the men artists have had their troubles and discouragements, what must have been those of the women? The storm of jealous depreciation hurled at little Virgile Beam is an instance of the difficulty, although the Massachusetts men, Banks and Butler, backed the little Western girl bravely. But woman is already making her mark in art as in medicine and law. Time and public encouragement will work wonders. If American art had no other representative than Harriet Esmer, with her brilliant talents and warm impulsive nature, we should have done enough for one generation.

The great picture of the exhibition is Colman's "Twilight on the Western Plains," No. 152, north room. I have not often seen so gorgeous a chromatic effect with such clearness and transparency of atmosphere; refined, almost tender, yet vigorous treatment in the darkened foreground; the prairie flowers, the wee things that are to-day and are burst up to-morrow; the soft, shady pool lovingly touched by the glories of departing day, lingering as with regret on earth's beauties before it plunges into the abysses of the past, never to be recalled. It is a great picture, and does justice to of the eminence of our landscape school.

No. 179, in the same room, "A Sandy Beach," W. T. Richards, is scarcely less remarkable for its effects with the masterly use of the simplest materials. It reminds me in that respect of a picture I saw by William Bradford some time ago—white relieved by neutrals. No high lights. This present picture is the sea breaking in on the sands—dry sand—a little shallow lagoon—a strip of sand submerged under a thin film of water, then the gently rolling waves of a summer sea. All is peace, serenity, nature. No life, no color, and yet a picture that strikes the eye and compels sympathy.

The picture of the exhibition to be sought over is Page's Head of Christ, No. 205 east room. A hot, strong, sensual treatment, in which I can find no trace of the man divine. No spirituality, no refinement. The oval, luminous, expanded eye tells indeed of a tendency to mystical exaltation in the dreamy state that precedes action. The commonly received tradition is that Christ was a red complexioned—a red Jew in fact—but not necessarily of a fiery red. Red of this tinge is the accompaniment of a quick, irascible temperament. The heavy, ruddy lips are sensual; the nose massive enough for an athlete. True, this is "Jesus as he walked," before he became the teacher or

the man of sorrow. Nevertheless, even in youth he was distinguished by his premonitory reflection and idealistic disposition. This is the head truly of one who comes eating and drinking, a severely organized peasant in whom it is hard to find the ideal. The painting itself is a reproduction of all particularities of Mr. Page's Venus.

W. H.

## BOOK NOTICES.

Illustrations. By Clara L. V. Tappan. S. F. Tappan & Co., New York. This book of poetry is an apt allegory depicting the birth and the growth of the United States under the typical name of Rhapsody, including the Indian wars, the Revolution and the late Rebellion. The poem has form of thought and expression, with boldness of imagery. The day for allegory, with its fanciful conceits and mysterious correspondences, is past. We live in an age of realism, and the nearer the poet approaches to the dramatic personality, the broader the sympathy between him and his readers. The best part of the book is found in the ode to the various Indian heroes, whose pathetic resistance to the invader, or exalted resignation before inevitable fate, when the power of the red man was broken, command our admiration; even if we cannot regret the supremacy of the white man or the subjugation of the savage. Mrs. Tappan gives vent to many noble thoughts, one of which, breathing the broadest liberalism, is put as timely as to be almost apocalyptic:

"In many forms of thought;  
Religions, faiths, beliefs,  
Are but the grains of sand  
Broken from truth's great rock."

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TRIED FOR HER LIFE, a Sequel to "Cruel as the Grave," by Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, is in press, and will be published on Saturday, May 6th, by T. E. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia. Mrs. Southworth possesses an exhaustless fund of originality, and commands popularity by always aiming to improve in every new effort upon her last production. "Tried for Her Life," like all her writings, is of the emotional cast, and full of startling situations. It is one of the best of her novels, and will prove one of the most popular. The characters are drawn with skill and boldness, and all are life-like and natural. There are some charming descriptive sketches in the book, which are as fresh as the scenery they portray. It is full of strange and startling incidents, sustained interest, stirring adventure, touching pathos, and glowing dialogue, all provocative of quickened pulses, sometimes laughter, but oftentimes of tears to the rapid reader, whose interest never for a moment flags. "Tried for Her Life" equals the best of the novels of Mrs. Southworth, and must prove very successful. It will be issued in a large duodecimo volume, and sold at the low price of \$1.75 in cloth; or \$1.50 in paper cover; or copies will be sent by mail, to any place, post-paid, by the publishers, on receipt of the price of the work in a letter to them.

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