

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

PAGE	PAGE
Editor's Address; Motherhood... 1	Rights: Next Presidency and
Individual View of Suffrage... 2	Cosmo-Political Party... 8
Stray Thoughts on the Times; 3	The Women of Washington; Geo.
The Marriage Question; "Sic 3	Francis Train; Woman Suffrage
Itur ad Astra" (Poetry)... 3	in Michigan... 9
Labor and Capital; Civilization a 4	The Joint High Commission;
Failure... 4	Cosmo Political Party, etc... 10
A Declaratory Act; A Sign of the 4	Financial and Commercial; Our
Times; A Weak-Minded Editor; 5	Indian Troubles; Paulina W.
The Vilest of Women... 5	Davis... 11
On the Town (Poetry); Papers for 6	Murder—How it is Encouraged;
the People... 6	More about Insurance... 12
Natural Phenomena... 7	Advertisements... 13, 14, 15
Moral Journalism; Individual 7	Art; Music; Drama; etc... 16

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

THROUGHOUT THE

UNITED STATES, CANADA AND ENGLAND.

On account of the very extraordinary and widespread demand which has sprung up for the WEEKLY since we began the exposure of the enormous frauds and villainies which are practiced upon the people, under the authority and countenance of Government, by soulless corporations and organized monopolies; and the still more extraordinary demand since it has come to be recognized that the movement inaugurated in Congress the past winter is, when consummated, to accomplish the elevation of woman to equality with men; all of which, in connection with our desire to give the people of this country what they have long been thirsting for—AN ORGAN FOR FREE SPEECH—has induced us to reduce the price of

THE WEEKLY TO TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM;

so that it may come within the means of every family in the country.

We trust that the friends of "Equality for Woman" and of such reform in government as shall restore it to the people by wresting it from the hands of the politicians, who are the hired or purchased slaves of the growing Money-Power of the country, which is scheming to usurp our liberties, will spread far and wide the announcement we here make.

The WEEKLY will always treat, from the standard of principles, all subjects which are of

VITAL INTEREST TO THE COMMON PEOPLE.

It will be, in the broadest sense,

A FREE PAPER FOR A FREE PEOPLE,

in which all sides of all subjects may be presented to the public, so that they may decide for themselves what is the best truth, instead of, as heretofore, being told authoritatively that this and that are thus and so.

The editors will always reserve the right to make such editorial comment, as they may deem proper, upon all communications, but will not be held responsible for opinions expressed otherwise than editorially, whether comment is made or not. All articles without signature are editorial, and are to be considered as the expression of editorial opinion.

Here, then, is a platform upon which

THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRAT,

THE RADICAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE,

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE INFIDEL,

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND THE PROTESTANT,

THE JEW AND THE PAGAN, and

THE MATERIALIST AND THE SPIRITUALIST,

may meet in a common equality and brotherhood, which, we believe, is literally true of the human race, since

GOD IS THE COMMON FATHER OF ALL.

THE Cosmo-Political Party.

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

SUBJECT TO

RATIFICATION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MOTHERHOOD.

ITS POWER OVER HUMAN DESTINY.

BY MRS. L. B. CHANDLER.

[CONCLUDED.]

O pause, ye women whose homes are spheres of comfort and peace, and remember the lessons of our late war! All too plainly did they teach that "when one member suffers, all members must suffer with it." Pause, too, and consider if the children now filling your homes with delight and your hearts with fond anticipations, need no more and no better instruction than you have yet provided—no more protection against the possibilities of the future than their present knowledge and the conditions of society now afford. Where is the mother who can (laying aside selfishness) resign her daughter to conjugal companionship without many forebodings and anxieties, which sorely mar the most promising matrimonial alliance? Only she whose motherhood is buried under the depraved appetite for social power and position, which the present age of money-worship has engendered. Much is hoped from the possession of the ballot by woman in opening up avenues of self-support and independence; I pray and hope for this; but I tremble for the weakness of woman. She is not yet prepared to assert the rights of motherhood—that sphere which is undisputed. She has cowered and trembled, and still cowers and belittles herself, to the narrow proportions which suit the dictum, not of manhood, but *masculine love of power*. We cannot behold the grandeur of manhood till it is born of and through an enlightened, self-poised motherhood. I desire and shall labor to extricate woman from a deeper mire of helplessness than legal disability. From that she should also be freed, to secure freedom in all relations; but she wants, first, courage to assert the right to her own body as the instrument of reason and conscience, and the fulfillment of the function of motherhood subject to no authority but the voice of God in her soul.

Every mother, from the hour when the new life commences, is "overshadowed by the Most High," and could she understand her needs and powers, and secure to herself the respect due to her sacred office; and, free from all polluting intrusion upon herself, bathe her spirit in the influences which the life within her life attracts, very rapidly

would disappear the loathsome deformities, the discordant spirits now blotting the fair proportions of humanity.

O Christian mothers! who look for the coming of that state of peace and good-will which was heralded by the earthly advent of Jesus, can you hope for its consummation so long as mother-souls stamp upon unborn offspring the impulse of murder? And answer me not as solution of the matter, that the impulse being sinful, should be conquered and cast out.

We have had through the centuries of this Christian era such unnatural conditions and defective education as have hindered the development of a healthy, happy motherhood. We have the result in the inharmonious creatures whose appetites and passions are seething and fomenting in all the forms of selfishness, cruelty and degradation, which entail upon society the miseries of crime and war. That undisturbed maternity which brought into fleshly existence the Prince of Peace, must obtain in human society before it can be free from the polluting tendencies—the discordant and warring elements which deform and blight humanity. All the traditions of the past, before Jesus, enforce the same idea of the office of undisturbed maternity. The saviours of different forms of religion, preceding Christianity, were also immaculate conceptions, born of God and motherhood. This is a truth of deeper than theological import—a vital and indispensable necessity for the salvation of humanity. Motherhood should be a shrine unpolluted by one touch of selfishness and lust. O woman! this would and will be thy recompense for all the sufferings and agonies which pertain to physical womanhood and motherhood.

The sublime and satisfying power of working with and for the divine artist in producing the image of God, now so defaced and distorted, is restoring it to its glorious proportions. The physical evidences of this psychical power of the mother upon unborn offspring are numerous and indisputable, also in producing peculiar mental characteristics and tendencies of disposition. I owe in part my bias of investigation of these subjects to the fact that my mother presented a striking illustration of this law in a mark upon her face. It was of a cherry, and usually was of a dull brown color, but in the season of fruitage it changed its color, becoming, as cherries ripen, a vivid red, and bleeding at the season of their perfection. The mother knows perfectly the circumstances and hour of the impress. These birth-marks are evidently the result of mental power—as they are produced

both consciously and unconsciously—through circumstances which excite emotion or imagination, as well as through strong desire. The animal kingdom also present the same phenomenon. Horses, especially, and those possessing fine nervous organizations, afford numerous instances of the same law. One related to me by a person who knew the animal and saw the product was of a beast very sensitive and always disturbed by the sight of a buffalo-robe carriage-blanket. On one occasion the man driving, in a moment of thoughtlessness and haste, tossed a bear-skin upon her shoulder. She manifested much agitation, and when the coat appeared, the bear-skin, in full development of color, length of hair and shape, was on its shoulder.

An instance coming under my observation, in which there was no special emotion or excitement, neither any fear or even thought that such result should transpire, was of a mother who, at the house of a friend, saw a child brought in with two fingers cut off, and when, less than four months afterward, her child was born, the corresponding fingers on the same hand of her child were wanting, the child being otherwise a well-developed and healthy child. The transmission of qualities and appetites is as clearly demonstrated as of physical peculiarities. One of the sad cases, no doubt, oftentimes existing, causing many hearts to sorrow, is of a man, gifted with noble proportions of mind as well as body, whose mother impressed upon him an ungovernable appetite, by refraining from satisfying her own, for strong drink. She not understanding that the mind must be satisfied by doing away with the desire, either in its gratification or overcoming it, else its impress upon the fetus is inevitable. This man, if the least quantity of any alcoholic drink is once tasted, seems to be possessed as by a demon. There are such fearful chances involved in this power of the mother over the foetus that every means should be sought to enlighten and instruct; and not till woman perceives its importance and studies the laws of her being shall we see this work of enlightenment accomplished.

We have, in the case of Henry Safford—the genius in computing numbers,—a forcible illustration of the same law operating upon mental faculty. The powerful action of the mother's calculating faculty in solving a problem in weaving having been the cause. An instance recorded, which is only perhaps more marked than many that transpire, is remarkable as illustrating the effect of strong emotion or passion. A husband so offended the mother that she did not speak to him for three months previous to the birth of her child. The child could never speak to his father; an attempt to do so would cause violent paroxysms, and though he remained at home and carried on business with the parent, he was always obliged to turn his back upon him and speak as if addressing another person. Now, if by reason of irresistible desire, the body can be stamped ineffaceably, and the powers of mentality be developed so wonderfully, can it be a question that upon the moral nature, the more highly sensitive spiritual tablet impressions as deeply graven and ineffaceable will be recorded? Such being the fact, what is the first duty of motherhood? Where has God written a law more clearly or imperatively than in the power of maternity over offspring? A power which cannot be hindered in its operation, either for good or ill? Where, then, does any other relation find justification for interference with its sacred function? Where does womanhood find justification for neglecting to claim for it that condition of purity which is its first necessity? Is it cause for marvel that the education which has taught that submission to the unguided passion of man is one of the most laudable of wifely virtues, and the hindrance of motherhood consequent upon this outrage of the sacred office should result in spiritual monstrosities? Where is the hope of an elevation of woman from recognition of political equality if she has not courage to wrest herself from the degrading servitude of passion in that sphere which no legislation can reach? Till woman comprehends her duty and responsibility as the creative instrument, to secure the best conditions and work intelligently according to her highest knowledge and convictions, diseased and passion-tossed natures will continue to fester and disgorge their foul secretions upon society; and till she educates her sons, in tender infancy and during growing boyhood, to the truth that manhood is responsible to the same moral obligations and is equally degraded by the same impurities as womanhood, and thus revolutionize the now falsified standard of a sliding scale of morals for our sex, and as strong condemnation for the sins of one as the other, we shall continue to have occasion to blush for the detested labels upon true manliness which now disfigure society. But I pray you be not dismayed, nor resign yourself to inaction, because the disorder seems so inextricable. There is no wrong but shall be done away, unless evil instead of good is almighty. And look at the change accomplished in the degree of enlightenment, the tone of sentiment, the possibility of reaching the minds of people by instructive teaching in various forms within a quarter of a century just past. Man has done his work in searching out and setting forth the physiological laws which bear upon the relation of marriage and parentage. His teaching, together with the deteriorating health of American women, has aroused the intellect of both sexes. The teachings of phrenology and physiology have prepared the way for higher and deeper teachings pertaining to the laws of parentage. We have reached the critical state, where a "little learning is a dangerous thing." Woman cannot accept paternity simply as the providence of God, and resign herself to the appointment of divine will. But dimly per-

ceiving that the office should receive the impulse and dictate of her soul, free of all imposition, she has, and often by the aid of husband and physician, freed herself from its fulfillment, through means which are destructive to health. The practice of feticide is becoming one of the crying evils of our time, and there is but the alternative of an undesigned and undesired maternity, at which the soul of the mother not only shrinks, but stands outraged, and which has, through centuries past, entailed upon humanity the unhappiness and misery recorded, or a free, unbindered, God-inspired motherhood, never imposed by selfishness and lust. 'Tis not as facts demonstrate illumination of the intellect alone which is needed. There is in the office of maternity a sphere of absolute being which cannot be encompassed by knowledge. That has changed conditions, and prepared for further investigation. There has been a relapse to former inertia since the first enthusiasm aroused by the reformatory movement of phrenology and physiology twenty-five years since; but the average standard of knowledge is higher, the average standard of hygienic habits.

"All growths," says Emerson, "are accomplished by successive leaps. When woman sees through the veil of foul perversions and conflicting elements now filling the moral atmosphere with miasma, the day-star of true motherhood; when she distinctly recognizes the voice of God in her soul, calling her to consecrate the office of maternity to the Divine power and spirit wholly, we shall see a progressive movement of humanity, surpassing in sweep and volume that of any period recorded. The old-time status of submission to the dominion of passion in marriage, and accepting maternity as a Divine decree, is gone. We cannot restore it, but we are in a fearful state; we have attained to the knowledge which intellect can afford, but it fails to give the freedom from lust necessary. Woman has to learn that God speaks as authoritatively through the laws of her being as through those of man. That the law of control and restraint, in her nature, is the natural method of guidance to the law of license and domination in his. My sisters, be not paralyzed with despair in view of the terrible derangement scourging society with perverted relations. Be not appalled by the magnitude of the work before you. Be encouraged by the evidences within recollection that God is revealing the laws of truth and righteousness. Look at the knowledge we have gained in the cultivation of vegetable forms and the animal kingdom below us. We have discovered to a certainty that success attends only upon right conditions—that we cannot reproduce forms, in either kingdom, of superior quality from inferior germs. Surely Divine Goodness has not led humanity through all these stages of unfoldment which prepared us to perceive the principles involved in its highest needs—the necessity of its present estate—to find a restorative agency, and even a clear perception of that agency, only to mock us with helplessness and hopelessness. Every protest of woman's soul against the dominion of lust and selfishness is a prophecy of the victory and freedom of womanhood. Take courage in viewing the results of those heroic efforts in the interest of freedom for the black race and half of the white race, in this country, during a quarter of a century past, and note that the same noble souls who were held in contempt and scorn twenty years ago are now honored throughout the land. Mark well the changes which have transpired in legislation already, since these efforts to secure political equality for woman have secured attention to some of the odious features of statute laws, and shamed, or quickened into activity, the consciences of legislators. The infinite patience has waited through the ages for the human mind to grow into an appreciation of principles and out of the sphere and dominion of animal appetites and lust. Let us imitate that patience and work faithfully for the truth that is revealed to us, and seek to secure the purity of conditions which can alone save the generations of the future from perpetuating the depraved conditions now bearing humanity below the light of its intellectual development. Believe in the God ye invoke; believe in God in the sanctuary of your body, as the opportunity for the Divine incarnation. The protest of the great army of the outraged and desecrated motherhood of the past walls adown the ages and transforms itself into an appeal to every woman's soul to claim for posterity the rights of its office to work with God in that empire which cannot be shared, and should not be interfered with, by any relation. The creative function has a dominion all its own, spiritually as well as physically. Here God and motherhood should be the holy of holies. Selfishness has no right to lift the veil. Teach thy daughter that in this sphere she is, by every consideration of her own well-being and that of her offspring, ruler supreme. We have a literature which may aid and instruct, but there is no power which can, without the knowledge, impart an elevated tone of feeling—no method which can so effectually preserve the purity of the tablet while it receives the impress of knowledge, as familiar converse with holy mother-heart. Be courageous then, O woman, and bequeath to the future the qualities, by transmission, and the knowledge, by instruction, which shall lift it out of the dominion of appetite and selfishness, that we may rejoice finally in the redemption of motherhood and salvation of humanity.

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.

AN INDIVIDUAL VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF SUFFRAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL STANDARD:

The door of the civil state has opened wide enough to admit two women in Michigan and five in South Carolina to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

The community here and the world at large nods as courteously and smiles as placidly as if these "revolutionary" nonconformists had been content to remain subjects instead of citizens; as if they had been content to contribute to the wealth of the country, to be taxed for support of its Government, to pay penalties for violations of its laws, for permission to engage in its business pursuits, all without recognition of their right to expression and consent. The "body politic" and individuals composing it seem to accept it in the States much as they did in the Territory of Wyoming, as a part of the growth of the nation and of the age. So they acknowledge woman's right to a voice in making laws, in the election of their law-makers and in the expenditure of their moneys. Opposers tell us what nature indicates. Nature in the nineteenth century is what is approved by the highest cultivation of man's powers, the greatest perfection of his moral sentiments. Man dominates nature below him, and the time is coming when he will govern in himself all below conscience and reason.

The acquiescence of some in the woman's ballot, and the enthusiastic welcome of others, pertains to the North more than to the South. In the South we can hardly separate the objections to woman's suffrage from the prejudice against an oppressed class—the voters being colored women, recently slaves. But Northern advocates heartily welcome them to the "open door," recognizing their citizenship, knowing the influence of the humblest aids.

What shall we do in view of these successful results? Of the efforts to throw down the barriers opposed to the rights of a class? What, first, are these barriers? I answer, nothing but the unjust traditions and prejudices of mankind. Will any one assert they are sustained by any real authority either in the moral constitution of the class, or in the written Constitution of our country?

I have found no one to attempt it who has read carefully our moral and legal arguments, particularly the Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on the "Woodhull Memorial." Let those who have any lingering doubts read both this and the Majority Report.

Then I would reply to the first question, we must go on just as before with the educational work, spreading information on the legal question, so that if an "interpretation" is necessary, we may gain one that is unmistakable, and without delay. But I believe now we need nothing of the kind. Success is a part of education, it removes the scales from the eyes of moral blindness with a rapidity that is both instructive and amusing. "The low, uneducated and immoral class of women" who have been promised to subvert good order in society and government, has suddenly become less threatening and formidable than heretofore, and there is a good-nature and hopefulness about the prophets which is edifying and refreshing.

"If you will turn your attention to Temperance and the purity of elections," said a prognosticator to me since the vote here, "we shall be satisfied to see women hold the ballot."

To such, and to the firm friends of the cause, men and women, I would urge attendance of primary meetings, looking after the officers of registration and judges of elections. I would recommend that these be supplied with all the legal arguments in print, and that not one be forgotten. If every town suffrage association will see that its "boards" of Councilmen and Aldermen, its officers of Courts and members of the bar are well read in the opinions of some of the best lawyers on suffrage, it will do an excellent work for the next six months.

Let women give out the tracts with their own hands, exacting a promise to read, so that none be wasted, and request every reader to become a lender, and nothing better can be done. The Constitutional tracts are yet scarce for lack of printing funds, so let none be wasted.

Individuals are God's instrumentalities, and there are always some in position and power with clear vision to inaugurate reform in the State. So it has been here in Detroit, and they have contributed to a "precedent" which others will surely follow. But it is not the first in Michigan. Colored men voted under the Fourteenth Amendment before the word "white" was stricken from the State Constitution in conformity to it—they even voted on the question of striking it out. Shall women be permitted to vote out the only remaining word at variance with the Amendments which the State has ratified? I care not if they be, or it become a dead letter, only a fair record better suits a free spirit.

CATHARINE A. F. STEBBINS.

DETROIT, MICH., April, 1871.

"AN HOUR WITH BEECHER," in the *Tribune*, makes that eminent divine teach rather doubtful doctrine. Mr. B. would not be too stringent in his missionary work: if reading a *sporting paper* would draw a man within the range of the Gospel, he would not be punctilious; he would not object to "periodicals which are interesting to men who shun all that is serious and spiritual." We must get hold of them on their own plane—descend to where they are—practice a little of the wrong that pleases them, in order that we impart the right that pleases us. He would make his places so attractive that those who come will come again. All of which is good enough; but it sounds very much like the days of Eusebius, when a little lie for the truth's sake was quite commendable.

ERRATA.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

In the article on "Social Science" in your last week's issue, second column, you make me say "deprecatingly" where it should be "depreciatingly"; on the third "don't know" for "don't know how," "certainly" for "certainty"; on the fifth, "abstract in mathematical" for "abstract or mathematical," "main sciences" for "man sciences," "psychrometry" for "psychometry," "termes" for "terms," "rules, definition, etc." for "rules, definitions, etc."

W. M. BOUCHER.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE TIMES.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

I have a right to count all gains as loss, if in gaining them I lose the heritage of Heaven. We come, very late in time, to learn the true estimates and value of things; and spend our lives for the most part in hunting after foolish fires and following vain enterprises. In youth we have golden dreams, and indulge fantastic expectations, which can never be realized; and which, if they could, would bring no strength nor honor to our career, nor increase the vital forces of action, whereby we might achieve for the future a full fruition of wisdom, goodness and purity. I know not how it comes to pass that the morning of a man's existence, illuminated as it is by such glorious subbursts of light and color, all the immeasurable heavens above it emblazoned with the pomp of clouds and stars, and all the earth below it and around it so radiant with beauty and so suggestive of the holy and everlasting, should so soon fade into the common light of day, remaining only in memory, if it remains at all, like some bright vision of romance and fairyland, without any practical issues.

For, assuredly, every happy childhood is the dawn of a grand life, possible to the man. He is heralded by all the regalities of Nature, and attended by her highest servitors. She spreads the earth with flowers that his feet may walk in perfumes, and his eyes become familiar with pleasant and lovely things, the symbols of that divine language, the faint echoes of whose music still linger, it may be, in his ears, but which he will hear no more in full diapason in the corridors of time. She welcomes him with the trumpets of the winds, and the shoutings of the mighty woods, and the choral laughter of merry waters. So gay a masque, so universal a rejoicing, will greet him no more in all his after-life.

He feels the beauty and the significance of this, his inauguration into the theatre of the world. They are the language of a vanished voice. He feels, but understands not. He brings with him great capabilities, and all things admonish him to live a grand life. But the frosts come early and nip his promise and his hope in the bud.

But the grandeurs that accompany his advent do certainly bespeak the greatness of the expectations concerning him. And yet, as we said, it is an universal failure. Man no longer fills up the horizon, if, indeed, he ever did, if at any time he has showed himself as regal as nature since the first transgression. That he was, at one period of his history, in full accord with the Creation, and the Creator, I most devoutly believe.

But ages have rolled away since then, and confirmed the general and sad defection of man's soul from God. Will this harmony never be restored? Will men live on till the termination of the terrene experiment, a discord jarring upon the music voice of Nature and an alien to the commonwealth of heaven?

With the devoutest reverence, I pray not. With an infinite yearning of heart I also pray: Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done, as it is in heaven, so also on the earth! And it seems to me that the times are fast ripening for the glorious consummation. I know that the world lieth still in its great wickedness, and that evil, like some vast colossal giant, guards the portals of time, and uses men as his puppets. But the dear Lord is still God over all, and blessed forever. The old is dying out, and the new dispensation is coming in. We are waking up to the old and everlasting truths which have survived the decay and death of universal churches, I know not how many, since men began; but true it is, that there is a great shaking among the dry bones, and that the new Church of Humanity, with Jesus Christ as the supreme God thereof, is gradually taking shape among the nations.

The ancient theologies which lie at the bottom of the modern civilizations, which have profaned the soul and degraded the Lord of all life, wisdom, love and truth, which have made man a worshiper of the golden calf, a materialist, and to all spiritual purposes an atheist, denying immortality, believing only in this world, in time and the compensations of time; robbing the universe of all its beauty; the enemy of art, the derider of poetry and imagination, and the profane scoffer of all progressive thought, and all things venerable and holy, and God's most holy Word the butt of science—these theologies, thus ignorantly working these dread and profane issues, I say, are nearly ready for the shroud-makers and the grave-digger.

For, knowingly or unknowingly, to this complexion have they reduced the world. These are the days in which, not God, but the intellect, rules, with science as its prime minister. Religion is divorced from philosophy and learning, and denounced by the *satans* as a cheat and an impostor. So that there is no longer any recognized divine light as a guide for the feet and a lamp to our ways.

In short, we have arrived at that dreadful state of vastation and sin and the corruption of life through intellectual error and moral disorder. It is the Lord speaking, five thousand years ago, through Kreeshna, in the Bhagavat Geeta, of the Sanskrit Indians, saying: I make myself manifest, for the restoration of righteousness and the destruction of the wicked.

I humbly accept the fact that he has now come and made himself manifest in the teachings of the New Church. I am

no propagandist, believing in the omnipotence of the Spirit; but I am persuaded that if these new doctrines, now first actively alive after a birth of well nigh two hundred years, as to its date in time, were universally known, they would roll in the coming of the triumph of Christianity like the sudden rushing of an Atlantic tide over the world. For these teachings appeal to the intellect as well as to the conscience of mankind. They are the result of a vast body of learning applied to religion, and the investigation of spiritual truth. They are so immersed in truth and at such direful antagonism with falsehood that they hail every new discovery of science as a new truth added to the old Word of God, or as an elucidation thereof. They are, beyond all question or cavil, to become the religion of the future—of that great spiritual Church of which Protestantism has been so long in travail, and which will supersede the Roman Catholic Church and absorb all the sects which have sprung from the great rebellion against Rome since the days of the Reformation.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

"SIC ITUR AD ASTRA."

IN MEMORIAM GEORGE PEABODY.

By heaven blest, "in basket and in store,"
He held himself as *steward*; far and wide
He sowed good seed, and watched its growth before
Th' approving Master called him to His side.
Then from the land that knew him last in life
Th' Cross ocean came brief words, as due such worth:
The proud ship "Monarch," with our noble fleet,
Would bear him to the land that gave him birth.

What grander poem can an age give forth
Than these few lines, by ocean cable brought?
As o'er the wires it flew—west, south and north—
Where was the heart that thrilled not at the thought?
Or beating, in dull measure, felt no sense
Of exultation that our race could find
To future ages, this grand evidence,
Redeeming to the one in which we live?
Or eyes—that in such loving tribute paid
By earth's two greatest nations, to this man
(Who ne'er won battle, nor foundation laid
Of empire, nor who ever yet gave plan
To any sordid scheme of self—but lent
His Master all—in Charty's sweet name)
Can see no proof of a grand sentiment
That glorifies the age, and saves from shame?
Ne'er can we find on history's wide page
Of citizen, so honored—warriors grim
Their footprints marked in blood, th' applauding age
Gives funeral honors—but this meed to him
Whose life was peace, and charity, and love,
Has in it something grander—nobler far,
That tells of holy influence from above,
Washes from the age the stains that war,
And lust, and greed of gold, and thirst of power,
Have slimed it with, so that the coming days
Shall find in these, our own, a richer dower
Of heaven's light, and by it guide their ways.
Shall learn *two nation's* gauge of grandest deeds,
And seek to emulate that noble life;
Shall strive to mold their own, by his pure creed
Of love and charity, not hate and strife.
Shall learn that not by war, or even arts,
Can man gain highest, holiest, truest fame;
The loving homage that from grateful hearts
Doth rise, and gild with light an humble name.

Oh, Monarch, pomp or circumstance ne'er gave
One added glory to the form you bore
Cross ocean proudly to the lowly grave
Awaiting him upon his native shore.
Yet shrine of saint can ne'er a lustre shed,
Nor grand mausoleum of prince or knight,
O'er any land, like this his lowly bed
Gives to our own; a heritage of light,
And legacy of rich and noble deeds
A halo round his resting-place doth make;
And widow, student, orphan, all whose needs
He made his care, shall worship for his sake
And by his pure example, that sweet law
Of love to neighbor, taught by Him of yore,
Who said, "Care for my little ones," and "Bear
Each other's burdens," and "Feed ye my poor."

Oh, noble life, what lessons have you taught,
What floods of shame you pour on all who stand
Fore idols, gold and self, and toil and strive
But to hoard up the bounties of His hand.
Not gold alone he gave, but earnest will
In his grand life met wisest scheme and plan,
And angels, leaning o'er heaven's parapets,
Well wrote him, one "who loved his brother man."
And you, sweet Charity, to whom he gave
His life's rich fragrance—incense at your shrine,
Spread your sweet influence wider, gently come
Into all hearts made hard by greed and crime,
Till motive grand for every deed shall be
The "love of God and holy Charity;"
And following in his footprints all men see
"Such is the way to immortality."

HETTIE H. DENNISON.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION.

The marriage relation has ever been one closer and dearer to woman's heart than to that of man, and this from true correspondence. Woman is represented by the heart, and she is truly the heart of life. About her as a centre, cluster all the delights of home; and the tie which unites her to her partner has never, by woman, been felt the "bond" man delights to call it. Within herself, woman desires to become

one with her beloved; this desire extends into all her surroundings, for so firm is woman's faith in the necessity of this relation—not only for herself, but also for men and for society—that few women seek its external dissolution, even when absolutely knowing its spirit to have departed and they only left in possession of the empty shell.

During the ages past, the body has been honored as the real man; the soul and its needs practically ignored. Man represents the body, the outside, the understanding. Woman has a more internal significance. The body was first created; afterward, into its nostrils was breathed the breath of life, the soul. Down through the ages this correspondence has held. Even the Christian church, which arose from our Lord's first coming, has to all intents and purposes always been an external church. In its early days many Pagan vices were tolerated, even upheld, and down to the present hour, the old church (dare I exclude the new?) is practically infidel in its beliefs. War, courts of law, oaths, unequal judgment of women and many other iniquities are sustained by the church, in direct opposition to the teachings of Christ. Where in all Christendom can be found one truly Christian community?

The new church—Christ's second coming—is opening men's eyes to their heretofore "Christian Infidelity," and is bringing into prominence the inborn rights of the soul. With it woman rises from the oppression of the ages, and all questions connected with her assume momentous importance. She puts her finger on war and says, "No more bloodshed. My voice must now be heard, and I command peace." She looks toward the legislation of the country and says, "Here are moral questions, and I demand that my voice shall be heard in their settlement." She says of the social evil, "I have a place in its discussion. Vice degrades man equally with woman. The ten commandments did not enact two codes of morality, neither did our Lord condemn the women taken in adultery." She says of marriage, "It is mine. My rights in it are equal to those of man; for is it not the soul that vitalizes? Is it not the will that moves? Is it not the heart that keeps life in existence?"

While the systolic action of the heart continues, the soul is not separated from the body, though the breath has ceased, and every other sign of death appears.

All over the wide world is there a general upheaval of woman's claim. In China, the missionaries tell us that woman is struggling to attain a place in the family. In India, the remarriage of widows is following the abolition of the suttee, and the destruction of new-born girls is receiving a serious check.

In the islands of the Pacific come up woman's claims for an equality with man. In Persia a new religion has arisen which recognizes her; in Turkey great steps are being taken; and from every point of Christendom comes up in some form the demand of social, political and religious recognition.

When the Lord created the soul He gave it freedom. Is it not a vital point of our belief that the Lord never compels? That we do not even go to Heaven, but that we attract Heaven to us? That the will should be free, is dimly seen today. Family freedom, social freedom, political freedom, unknown to the majority of their upholders, have their basis here. But as in past ages the church, of all earthly institutions, has been the most bitter opponent of free thought, so now, in the general upheaval, the visible church is still woman's most bitter opponent in her demand for freedom, and this because the visible church ever has claimed, and by its very nature ever must claim, for itself the ultimate decision. Freedom of thought and a visible church have never grown up in harmony together.

In order to sustain the church, there must be either single or collective power. Church power ever seeks to control the Will, i. e., the Soul, i. e., the Life. Excommunication, such as has been recently fulminated against Victor Emmanuel, the tortures of the Inquisition, denial of the death-bed sacrament, public reprimand, trials for heresy, social shunning, banishment and hanging, have been compulsions not only used in the past by both Catholic and Protestant Christians, but many of them have come down to the present day.

But with new church light, has come new freedom of will. Let us not ignore or oppose its manifestations. Let us rather look at the present social upheavals from the light of the new Jerusalem, in which we claim to dwell. That the church of the past lived the life of faith so much more than of works, is, we know, the cause of its spiritual death, and the effects have come down into the marriage relation. Man is the faith of life, the understanding; woman is action, will, love. The two have in the ordinary relations of life become practically disunited. Swedenborg says, "The life of faith without love is like the light of the sun without heat, as is the time of winter when nothing grows."

Are new church people able to bear the truth that in the marriage relation woman should be the guiding power, that by virtue of her correspondence with the soul, the will, the heart, she is to be it? I see the look of scornful unbelief on many new church faces; the truth is so hard to bear. And yet a dim inkling of this fact has been seen by the world, and has passed into such common sayings as, "Man holds the reins; woman directs him where to drive." Swedenborg says, "Man has two faculties, will and understanding. When the understanding is governed by the will, they constitute together one mind, and thus one life; for what a man wills and does, that he also thinks and intends." (A. C. 34.)

By male and female is signified the marriage between faith and love. Male or man represents the understanding and whatever belongs to it, consequently everything of faith; female or woman signifies the will, or things appertaining to the will, consequently whatever has relation to love; wherefore she was also called Eve, a name signifying life, which is derived from love alone." (A. C. 476.)

In curious accordance with the above extracts from Swedenborg is the statement of Max Muller in "Chips from a German Workshop," that among the earliest Aryans the word mother had the meaning of maker, while father, derived from the root Pa, means to protect, support, nourish. The understanding is the undoubted protector of the will and of all begotten by the will.

By and through the so-called woman movement, which is the direct outgrowth of new church truths, the marriage relation is to be placed upon a firm and immovable basis. Expediency will not rule it. Wealth and power and passion will all slip away from it. It will soon rest on mutual attraction, on eternal fitness, on the recognized oneness of the contracting parties, and because of this oneness it will then be indissoluble. The time is near at hand, although this generation may not live to see it; yet every recognition of woman's just power in the family, in governments, in the church is a step toward it.—*The New Church Independent.*

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

The pronouncements of all the present political parties—the Republican, the Democratic and the Labor parties—are before the public. If we search for basic principles in either of them we fail to find them. Neither of them come boldly forth and announces the doctrine of human rights. Each is chronically politic, but in seeking to strike the present heart of the people aims too low; and their blows are impotent to rouse public sentiment.

We have lived down and through nearly all the material forms of subjection by which the muscles of the individual were made to contribute directly to the aggrandizement of other individual.

We have lately made seven millions of black slaves free-men and citizens. They were deprived of the natural right to control the results of their industries. All they realized was the common food which fed their bodies and kept them in the necessary condition to render physical service, and the scanty clothing to protect their health, which was also necessary to their masters. Everything which was accorded them was so accorded from a motive of self-interest on the part of their owners and masters. But they were freed, and the nation sends up round upon round of applause for the great victory gained by freedom over despotism, and other nations catch up its echo and re-echo it until it has sounded world-wide that America at last is free.

But when the thoughtful attempt to join in the common glorification their tongues become palsied and the jubilee dies away upon their lips in the consciousness of the utter hollowness and hypocrisy of the sentiment. They know that freedom even in these United States is a myth, a play upon words, a fairy tale which has no foundation in fact. True, seven millions of negroes were released from the yoke held over them by individual owners. True, they now are free to go where they may—do what they can. But it is also most lamentably true that they have been transferred from being slaves to personal masters into being slaves to an organized power a thousand times more heartless and tyrannical than were they from whom they were loosed.

And not only this: not only are the negroes still in bondage to a terrible master, but nine-tenths of the whole population of this country and nineteen-twentieths of the population of the whole civilized world are also in bondage to the same tyrant. What more than the negro had have the wealth-producing citizens of the United States? What more than common food and scanty clothes have most of those who have produced all the wealth in which the favored few luxuriate? Under the pretext of law, protection revenue, governmental support and other fraudulent terms, the Government is an organized means of stealing the results of the toil of the immense masses of laboring people and transmitting them into the coffers of the money kings—kings more unscrupulous, tyrannical and heartless than were the most absolute of ancient monarchs.

Nor does the rapacity of these monarchs stop with receiving the stolen fruits of the laborer. Not satisfied with the acquisition of all the wealth which labor produces, they turn and loan what they have stolen to those from whom they stole it, and demand exorbitant rates of interest therefor, which, being protected by law in doing, makes it possible for them to keep the labor of the country with its nose constantly to the grindstone, which turns everything the sufferers possess into the pockets of those who turn the crank.

Under the guise of the name of a republican form of government the people have been lulled into a security in which the designing few have completely dispossessed them of nearly everything which such a form of government should have guaranteed to all citizens, and they now lie prostrate and helpless under the rule of those who have enslaved them. These people, who have possessed themselves of the wealth of the country and who are prepared to carry their points by argument if they can, but by money if they must, with all the audacity which an inherent right should give, continually demand more and more opportunity and more law to oppress the people. They raise the hue-and-cry of "foreign pauper labor," thereby hoping to divert the attention of the home-labor from themselves that they may the more securely and surely rivet the chains, which they have already forged, upon the deceived toilers.

All legislative bodies are more or less under the influence of this money-power, and no legislation is possible which looks in the direction of taking from them any advantage which they possess. One branch of this power, not content with coolly receiving thirty millions of dollars from the pockets of the people to which they are not entitled by any principle of right, endeavored, not long since, to secure the retirement of the nearest approach to a people's money which any country ever had, that they might thereby be enabled to as coolly add another five or six millions of dollars to that they have already secured.

Still further emboldened in this new way of obtaining the people's money, as represented by the national banking system, another and more brilliant idea has lately developed itself in the fruitful minds of these devotees to self-interest. They now put forward the idea of banking upon real estate, by which they will not only obtain from their laboring leasees, enormous rents for their real estate, but also enormous interest from banking done upon it as a basis of security,

which is the national banking system duplicated in a more dangerous and extended form.

Every movement in legislation, initiated and controlled by this rising power, is but another attempt to obtain still more unlimited control over the producing interests of this country. The people may lie supinely and allow themselves to be still further enslaved; but if they do, it shall not be for the lack of all the warning which we can give.

The people still have political power—the power to vote—and, if roused to the real condition into which they have been seduced, can yet regain what has been stolen from them—the right to the products of their toil—and also the right to conduct this Government in the interests of the whole people, to the defeat and confusion of this new oligarchy, which threatens a tyranny more terrible than did that which the rivers of bloodshed in the late war washed from the tarnished escutcheon of this nation's honor.

CIVILIZATION A FAILURE.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

We copy from the *Golden Age*, Theodore Tilton's paper, the following ringing article from the vigorous pen of Mr. Andrews, which sounds like the tocsin of a new sally in the wholefield of religion and the construction of society. We take pride in the fact that we were the first to entice Mr. A. from his absorption in the severer studies of a new Science and Philosophy into the field of journalism; and we congratulate Mr. Tilton in the fact that his raft is also big enough to float some of the heavy artillery of the constructively revolutionary reformer. We shall endeavor to present our readers each week with some of Mr. Andrews' original and startling thoughts. Several matters appear this week from his pen, in addition to this which we borrow from the *Golden Age*.

The Rev. F. C. Ewer, an Episcopal clergyman of this city, startled the world a year or two ago by declaring "Protestantism a failure." The suspicion was suggested that he was growing conservative and was leaning toward Rome. He has just taken another step, however, in the opposite direction, proving his sincerity and a rare insight into the state of the world, and now declares that Christianity itself is a failure. He says: "I still point to the patent fact that every Roman Catholic nation in the world, and that every Protestant nation in the world, has become riddled through and through with skepticism; and he is a bold man who will dare deny this fact. I still point to the fact, therefore, that Christianity, as a doctrinal system, is, under both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant presentments of it, a patent failure—that it has lost its hold upon the enlightened world. It is of no use to close our eyes to this enormous wreck."

The *World*, a leading and popular, as it is also one of the most observing and critical, of the morning dailies of New York, recently heads a brace of lectures, one by Ralph Waldo Emerson and the other by Dr. McCosh, with these expressive words: "Christianity as Dead as Paganism." Dr. McCosh is himself complained of in some quarters for having, in his recent course of lectures, conceded too much to the claims of science, for a leading exponent and champion of the claims of orthodoxy.

The stronghold of orthodoxy, as authoritative dogma, is infallibility, which Protestantism had merely transferred from the Church or the Pope to the Bible or Book of Jewish and Christian records. Any one who bandies with Strauss and Renan the question of what portions of Scripture are reliable, puts himself out of court as a defender of the high-toned Christian doctrine. "The whole is true, or there is no certainty in any," is the shibboleth of the orthodox Protestant as it is of Catholic theology. To abandon it is to concede that everything of religious truth is still an "open question."

Christianity is no failure, except in the sense that the boy's clothes fail to be ample for the man; and that if persisted in without change they will be sure to burst by the excess of his growth. Even this figure does not do justice to the religion or to any of the religions of the past; as their inculcations have entered into the tissue of the existing social order, and will enter into all that of future society. The analogy is rather with the food of the child than with his dress, which requires also to be changed with his growth, but which has served to lay the foundation of his physical constitution.

The fault is when for religion at all, or in any form, there is claimed too much; when it transcends its own sphere, and would trammel the activities of the human mind; when it becomes a hindrance and not a help to science and progress; when, in a word, the half truth, which it is, is put for the whole truth, which it is not. All half truths, put for the whole, are lies, by deficiency of inclusion, by *suppressio veri*, and will be first antagonized as if false, and, later, complemented as incomplete; in either case counter-stated as in some sense erroneous.

Half-truths are lies. Christianity is in this sense false. It is this kind of falsehood which science in its own pert boyhood discovers and rudely assails. Boys are seldom kind and loving to girls. In its own riper manhood science will revert to a tender and protecting interest in religion, and will be kindly tended in turn. Religion is of the intuition, at first more childlike and credentive; always more feminine and sensuous than science, which is of the intellect and male.

It is a grander age that we live in than the age of Christ. It is a broader and nobler dispensation that the world now enters on than the distinctively Christian Dispensation. The Intellectual Dispensation is later in time, but higher in rank, than the Primitive Intuitive Dispensation. There is an ulterior, future dispensation, of the blended intuition and intellect, which will be more than either. That will be the marriage of the intellect and the intuition; of the head and the heart; of the collective manhood and the collective womanhood of humanity. That will be, in its religious aspect, the New Catholic Church; in its scientific and political aspect, the universal Politicate, or unified civil government of mankind under the direction of science; and the union of both and of all their dependences will be the composite, pantarchal structure of society, and of the future.

Science will find in the end that every dogma of orthodoxy, and every article in the creed of every religion in the

past was the intutional pre-sentence of some great scientific truth waiting to be intellectually discovered. The scientists who delight at the hour in vilipending the Bible, will be engaged within another decade, in studying it profoundly, and from wholly new points of view, and will rejoice in their ability to evolve from it, by the aid of science, and as science, deeper and clearer truths than the Church could ever have discovered by its own unaided intutional and faith-giving method.

Christianity, or more broadly, religion, is therefore no failure, except temporarily, and transitionally to a higher triumph. As a distinctive dispensation it is failing because it has performed its task of the past, and is in a state of preparation for the assumption of new duties and of a new station in life. It is the girl putting away her girlish ways and preparing for her bridal.

The male party in this conjunction is science. Science is the bridegroom in this coming marriage of science and religion. Science is the son of the woman, later and more than the son of man. It is the man-child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron (scientific or exact justice); "the child caught up to God and his throne." Science, in a word, was, and is God, the eternal Logos, the Pure Reason. The son of man could only prepare the way for the advent, and the recognition of "the true God"—"the Spirit of truth" or of fearless investigation. It is of it, as greater than the religion of the intuition, or of the heart, that it was prophetically said: "When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son (of man) himself also be subject to Him."

The true interpreter of Transcendental Science, Scientific philosophy, or the Universal Laws of Being, may modestly but boldly say again and in a higher sense to the religionists of this day, with Paul preaching to the Athenians, eighteen hundred years ago: "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Contrary to the prevalent belief of the world, it is a higher religious development that can appreciate and worship an abstract God, or the truth of Immanent Principles, than that which appreciates an ideal personality. The love of the truth for its own sake, lead where it may, is the creed of the supreme religionist.

Knowledge is later and more than faith. Science is knowledge. Faith is the religion of the past, is, in a sense, always religion. Religion has always contained the promise of science; faith, the promise of knowledge, as something more and greater than itself, as the man-child to be born of her entrails.

Religion must be scientized, and be subjected to science—must submit to that which will inevitably "put all things under his (or its) feet," and will inevitably "rule all nations with a rod of iron." Then and then only will she regain "her hold upon the enlightened world," and come to the true triumph of her own destiny. That is the transition of this hour; that is the meaning of the crisis that is upon us. We are in the trough of two seas, but the lift of the next wave has already begun.

Christianity a failure! say you. Nay; verily it is our entire system of society, our whole civilization which is a failure. There has been, hitherto, no Gospel big enough for a complete salvation. A Gospel of love does something, does much, does wonders; but alone, uninformed by wisdom, it is falsehood and failure, and wisdom is cognate with skepticism and science, as love is cognate with faith.

The new Gospel of wisdom will be born of this age; will come of science carried up to its highest potency, culminating in the construction of a perfect order of human society; in the establishment of a Social Providence, subserving all the wants, developing all the faculties, utilizing all the powers of every human creature from the cradle to the grave.

The God of the future will be the wisdom immanent in Transcendental Science; the Providence of the future will be the True Social Order; the Saviour of the future will be the Christ-spirit, the universal love, incarnated in all men and informed, guided and governed, in a word, presided over, by the wisdom wrought out by pure intellectual investigation. Religion will be slow at first to recognize the actual realization, but in time it will come to know that the progress of science culminating in Social Science, or the science of the right constitution of human society, is no other than the burden of its own prophecy, the child of its own loins—the advent of the golden age of the future.

In French the word *Commune* is used to signify any restricted community or local portion of the people, as what we call town and county. "To establish the Commune" is to secure political rights for each particular local demesne, in respect to its own local affairs; to decentralize; in a word, to secure the adoption of the American system. To talk or fight for this is to talk or fight for nothing more than we in America already enjoy, have always enjoyed, and which is the basis of all our political freedom. To be Communist in this sense in France is simply to be truly Republican—to have some comprehension of what Republicanism means and demands. The insurrectionists in Paris, the great majority of them, leaders and people, fight for the Commune in this sense, and no other, and charge that the Versailles Republic is a sham and a snare, keeping the word of promise to the ear, merely—a centralized despotism, in fact; and besides that, they have usurped their governing position, the Assembly having been elected for one sole purpose, that of determining on peace and war. But now for the complication. The words Communist and Communism have also another and quite different sense. They apply to a socialistic doctrine, meaning, grossly, all things in common. There are among Socialists very few Communists, but as the term is opprobrious, the enemies of Social Reconstruction of any sort fasten it on Socialism; and then, as the term Commune favors the confusion and deception, they impute to all advocates of the Commune the obnoxious Socialistic doctrine of Communism—something wholly different. This mystification is still further favored by the fact that there are among the Parisian insurgents and among European Republicans at large a considerable number of Socialists of all schools, and among these again some true Communist Doctrinaires.

S. P. A.

JOHN CHINAMAN.

The Californians acknowledge the superiority of the Chinese—denounce them as barbarians—complain that they are superseding American labor in all departments—demand their expulsion and the abrogation of that part of the treaty admitting them to all the privileges of other nations, and intimate violence as a final remedy.

A DECLARATORY ACT.

We have several communications from persons who favor equal suffrage, but who decline to petition Congress to pass an act declaring the political rights of women under the Constitutional amendments. If woman suffrage is desirable, if it be a legal right, it is perfectly proper for women to make use of every method to obtain it quickly. Further: If there is any question about the real significance of the XIV. or XV. Amendments, we take it to be the duty of Congress to declare what its meaning is, rather than for the Supreme Court to do, whose functions are not, and never should be, legislative.

Another reason why it is better that Congress should settle the matter lies in the fact that all processes through the Courts are tedious, a single case often consuming years. Nor can it be said that all partisanship and prejudice has departed from the Judiciary; for we find the Courts manipulated to obtain the proper persons to render a desired decision, it being withheld until the construction of the Court is right.

On this point of time, the Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune says:

There is no probability that the women of this District will vote by the next Presidential election, if they depend on a decision of the Courts in their favor for the privilege. The action is brought in the Circuit Court of the District, which will adjourn before reaching the case. It cannot, then, be decided until the October term; but, no matter what the decision may be, the case will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which, judging from the present condition of its docket, will not be able to render an opinion in less than two or three years.

A final decision before the Supreme Court in regard to this question may be withheld until after the next Presidential election, in which it is necessary for women to hold the balance of power. This, under thorough organization, they will be able to do. Hence, it is a matter of the first moment that Congress be compelled to declare itself upon this point that women may act intelligently and know what part to take therein. If every woman in the country who desires to vote will rally on Congress, the Republican party will not dare to ignore their claims. To do so would be to stultify their whole course regarding the amendments, and to give the Democrats a whip with which to scourge the Republican party to death. With suffrage accomplished, the Women and the Labor Party would be a power—and they naturally gravitate to each other—which all parties would be compelled to recognize and respect.

Nor do we consider it undignified or improper to ask Congress to do this, because we hold that the XIV. and XV. Amendments give all that they can, for an act of Congress would at once dispose of all opposition on the part of States, and the numerous suits which will arise under the Act of May 31, 1870, against officers of election.

Again: opponents assert that no considerable portion of women desire the elective franchise. Five hundred thousand petitioners to Congress would forever silence this objection. Therefore, from whatever standpoint this matter is regarded, we can have but one legitimate conclusion at which to arrive, to wit: That it is eminently proper to ask Congress to pass a Declaratory Act, and also to press our claims before every possible court, in order to convince men that we are in earnest.

Moreover, it is made the duty of Congress by Article 1. Section VIII, Paragraph 17 of the Constitution, to make all laws which shall be necessary to carry into effect the various provisions of the Constitution. And especially is the power granted to Congress by section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment and section 2 of the Fifteenth Amendment to enforce their provisions by law. These amendments declare that women are citizens and that the right to vote is a citizen's right. What better grounds could there be for petitioning Congress to pass a law to enforce the provisions of these amendments? We think that those who object to petitioning Congress fail to distinguish between the Constitution and law; and that if they will but divest themselves of all prejudices and again consider the case, they will see the error, the folly and the crime of delaying the use of any means to attain to their right to vote.

A SIGN OF "THE TIMES."

The New York Times is the embodiment of all that is respectable and conservative in the way of a newspaper, and as the weather-gauge, therefore, of laggard opinionism in matters of radical progress or reform.

The following remarkable article from the columns of the Times, of April 26, is, for these reasons, a loud indication that progressives who aspire to remain in the van of the army of progress are summoned to break up their old camp and move on. What we have known and felt, in a general sense, is here definitely proved; namely, that the war has been fought through upon the grounds of female suffrage; that the whole conservative world is moving on to that ground, and there it leaves but a narrow margin of standing-place hereafter for the real makers of public opinion.

For ourselves we are packing up our baggage and preparing for a grand step in advance. We shall have comparatively little to say, hereafter, of the suffrage question, as we do not wish to lag superfluous anywhere; as that work is already effectively done; as there remains no question but the question of time; or as, at all events, the finishing up will be better done by such new recruits from the ranks of conservatism as the Times and its compeers

over the world, our columns will be open, as before, for the discussion of woman suffrage by those whose interests still centre there; but our advice would be, "Let the dead bury their dead." For ourselves we shall concern ourselves mainly with the more radical and vital questions of Woman's Rights, of Social Reconstruction, of Universal Human Freedom on the one hand, and of Universal Human Order on the other hand.

As for the assumed lack of education on the part of woman suffragists, on this side of the water, contained, as a slight fling, in the Times article below, that is merely the peppercorn of allegiance to the devil, which conservative respectability always feels bound still to pay, whenever it is constrained to yield, in the main, to the claims of justice, and go over to the opposite party.

The article is entitled "Female Suffrage in England" and says:

Whether the agitation of the subject is destined to bring about practical results or not, it would be premature to say, but the advocates of female suffrage are moving in England with great activity, and names are now associated with that cause which certainly give it an appearance of strength. At a recent meeting in favor of female suffrage held at St. James Hall, in London, under the presidency of Sir Robert Anstruther, M. P., a large number of influential persons were present, and many others sent letters of sympathy. Among these we observe the names of Lord Houghton, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Dr. Lyon Playfair, Lord Amberly, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Jacob Bright, Professor Cliffe Leslie, Mr. McClaren and others. At least ten members of the House of Commons gave their names and influence to the meeting, and its proceedings have been dwelt upon by the Press in a manner indicative of unusual public interest.

It is a fact worthy of note that the advocacy of female franchise in England is not confined to the radical elements of political classification. Several persons conspicuous in the movement are, in truth, of decided opposite convictions and associations. The notion of women voting is not, therefore, to be accounted as necessarily or exclusively growing out of the iconoclastic political philosophy of the day, since leading conservative thinkers are willing, at least, to entertain it. Thus, Mr. Disraeli lately said: "In a country where ladies hold manorial courts, and where they act as churchwardens, he did not see why the suffrage should be withheld from them." The first resolution of the meeting referred to was moved by Mr. Jacob Bright, member of the House of Commons, who, with Mr. Mill, has been battling so hard to get that body to pass a Woman's Enfranchisement bill. The division on that bill was modified, prejudicially to its passage, by the conceded fact that certain Liberal constituencies would be affected unfavorably by it; an obvious proof of our statement as regards the political associations and tendencies of some of the advocates of female suffrage.

Again, it is often supposed—and there are illustrations among us that tend to confirm the prejudice—that the active workers for female suffrage among women themselves are generally persons of imperfect education and limited social influence. That they may be, and often are, earnest and worthy, few reasonable people doubt; but it is usually thought that a want of comprehensiveness in culture and mental habit, an inability therefore to see the arguments against, as well as for, what appeals to the imagination or sense of right, is apt to be characteristic of such advocates. Here, too, the facts on the other side traverse popular theory; for we must admit that such women as Miss Garret, Miss Helen Taylor, Lady Amberley, Miss Grey, Miss Davies and Mrs. Fawcett, all of whom have lectured in public in advocacy of female suffrage during the past year, are not to be classed as persons of inferior education or undeveloped powers of thought. Assuredly when such names as these are mentioned, the famous old disqualifying classification, "criminals, lunatics, women, idiots and minors," cannot be thought of with much complacency.

Reference to the details of this movement as matters of passing interest, does not, of course, imply either assent to its animating principle or condemnation of it. Such expressions of opinion may often wisely be withheld; and this is especially so when, from the nature of the situation, debate must be of a merely academical character. Were the case otherwise, those who wish for pure and upright government might find much to say, in connection with female suffrage, of forcible local application. Tens of thousands of educated and honorable women in New York City—women who, equally with men, are responsible to law—have no voice whatever in electing those who make the law. Practically speaking, these women are ruled despotically, by a vulgar and illiterate mob, who in turn are the creatures of a small and unscrupulous oligarchy. To enfranchise women may be no sure or effective way of escape from these terrible evils; but we cannot well blame women, who complain that, through no fault of theirs, and with no acquiescence of theirs, they are made to share in and submit to them.

A WEAK-MINDED EDITOR'S OPINION OF THE ACTION OF THE "STRONG-MINDED" WOMEN.

There is no end to the absurd antics of the "strong-minded" women. Three of them have sued the election officials in Washington, to recover damages in the amount of \$2,500 each, for having been rejected as voters. These matrons—for each writes "Mrs." before her name—are as silly as school-girls; but it is up-hill work to discover wisdom in any member of their class.

We copy the above from the *Commercial Advertiser*, with the intention of showing, as conclusively as words can show, that whoever speaks of so grave a matter as the right of self-government in so flippant a manner as the above, can be nothing more nor less than a weak-minded person or a burlesque penster.

Suppose we turn this matter about, and that it had been the editor of the *Commercial*—who is no more a citizen of the United States than are those women of whom he speaks so insignificantly—who had been denied the citizen's right to vote. Will he please inform us if he would quietly pocket the indignity as he would that all women should?

Perhaps this would-be wise editor never read the Constitution and the law enacted under its authority, bearing upon this point. For his special benefit—for we do not conceive

that there can be many who are so ignorant of our laws—and we should be grieved to know that there are any besides—we reproduce what has heretofore appeared in these columns.

The XIV. article of Amendments to the Constitution declares "that all persons"—not all male persons—"born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The XV. article of Amendments declares that one of the citizen's rights is the right to vote, as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote," etc.

And the said XVI. article further declares that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The women to whom this editor refers, knowing they are citizens of the United States, and that they have been abridged in the exercise of a citizen's right to vote, seek redress through the law which Congress enacted May 31, 1870, to meet just such cases, and which is as follows: Sec. 2. "And be it further enacted, That if by, or under the authority of the Constitution or laws of any State, or the laws of any territory, any act is, or shall be required to be, done as a prerequisite or qualification for voting, and by such Constitution or laws persons or officers are or shall be charged with the performance of duties in furnishing to citizens an opportunity to perform such prerequisite, or to become qualified to vote, it shall be the duty of every such person or officer to give to all citizens of the United States the same and equal opportunity to perform such prerequisite and to become qualified to vote." And if such person or officer fail so to do, it goes on to provide that: "For every such offence he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction, be fined not less than \$500, or be imprisoned not more than one year, or both at the discretion of the court."

Comment upon the above language is superfluous. Nothing that can be said could make it more forcible. We commend its consideration to the Editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* before he shall again place himself before the public as a bouffe journalist, amusing the people without first obtaining a special license for so doing.

"THE VILEST OF WOMEN."

The public at large, which always appreciates pure motives and laudable efforts to expose and correct social evils, will doubtless feel obliged to the *Tribune* for its late efforts in exposing the "vilest of women" in this city. That there are multitudes of such no one doubts—there always have been, and it looks as though there always would be. The *Tribune*, after weighing the whole subject, gravely concludes that these women are at once the effect and cause of a most deadly social disease, to cure which it demands the extreme limit of the law.

While we accord to that paper the credit of laudable zeal in bringing to light the most infamous of practices, it is impossible to avoid seeing an injustice to a large class of men and women, who are not excepted as they should be, and who are as honest and honorable as the *Tribune* in their profession and dealings. The moral and logical effect of this exposure is to include all astrologists, all medical clairvoyants and all prophets, with a class who resort to this practice to cover up their iniquities.

The *Tribune* seems to have neither the sense nor justice to make the proper distinction, and so, in its ignorance and zeal, superstition slips over and perpetrates a wrong not less grievous and infamous than the evil it would eradicate; so that while one abuse is corrected another is perpetrated, without any legitimate remedy for either. Such doctoring of our social evils is not likely to secure a present remedy, and makes the *Tribune* more culpable than the vilest women because of its superior intelligence.

Suppose these women are suppressed—we mean the "vilest women," who ply their traffic in souls—would the social disease be cured? It might, if the allegation of the *Tribune* is correct, that they are both effect and cause of the disease. But the fact is that these women themselves are the effects of this social disease so reprehensible to the purer soul of the *Tribune*. Ignorance, vice and superstition furnish the causes which permit, yea, compel, these women into this traffic, while more polished villains ply their traffic in souls in higher places—palaces instead of dirty hovels and dens.

But what of the men, without whom these hags would find their occupation gone. A procurer must have somebody to procure for. Why not set the police on the track of the men who pay for these services? Are they not equally guilty and culpable? Why not hold them up to public scorn and contempt as well as their agents?

Twenty years ago the *Tribune* was willing to give clairvoyance, and even spirit-rappings a candid hearing. If memory is not at fault, Horace Greeley had the distinguished honor of being one of a committee to investigate the Rochester knockings, and reported the girls innocent and the facts beyond his solution. But fearing the unpopularity of his course, he changed his tactics, and for many years has steadfastly labored to bring them into disrepute. Nevertheless, the spirits will not down, and poor Horace continues to butt his brains against irresistible facts, and, as in this case, seizes every pretext to shower contempt on all who pretend to a knowledge or practice of astrology or clairvoyance.

What does the *Tribune* know of astrology and medical clairvoyance? And yet, in utter ignorance of these sciences, it does not hesitate to associate them with the vilest of people and the lowest of practices, in utter disregard of truth and justice. Is not slander a disease which needs expurgation as well as the "vilest of women?" Thou that sayest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?

ON THE TOWN!

The lamps are lighted, the streets are full,
For coming and going, like waves of the sea,
Thousands are out this beautiful night,
They jostle each other but shrink from me,
Then hurry by with a stealthy glance;
Women pass with their eyes cast down,
Even the children seem to know
The shameless "girl of the town."

Hated and shunned I walk the streets,
Seeking for what? "For my prey," 'tis said.
But I look at it, though, in a different light;
For this nightly shame is my daily bread,
My food, my shelter, the clothes I wear;
Only for this I might starve or drown—
The world has disowned me, what can I do,
But live and die "on the town?"

"Your guilt is heavy!" the world will say,
"And heavy, heavy, your doom must be,
For to pity and pardon woman's fall
Is to set no value on chastity!
You undervalue the virgin's crown—
The spotless honor that makes her dear;"
But I ought to know what the bauble is worth,
When the loss of it brings me here!

The world is cruel! It may be right
To "crush the harlot!" Grant it so;
But what made her the guilty thing she is?
For she was innocent once, you know!
'Twas love! That terrible word tells all.
She loved a man and blindly believed
His vows, his kisses, his crocodile tears;
Of course, the fool was deceived!

What had I to gain by a moment's sin,
To weigh in the scale with my innocent years—
My womanly shame, my ruined name,
My father's curses, my mother's tears?
The love of a man! It was something to give—
Was it worth it?—the price of a soul paid down.
Did I get a soul—his soul—in exchange?
Behold me here "on the town."

But "pity" and "pardon." Who are you,
To talk of "pardon," "pity" to me?
What I ask is justice!—justice, sir:
Let both be punished or both go free.
If it be in woman a "shameful" thing,
What is it in man? Now, come, be just!
Remember, she falls through her love for him—
He through his selfish lust!

Tell me what is done with the wretch
Who tempts, then riots in woman's fall?
Do his friends forsake? Is he scorn'd of all?
Not he. His judges are men like himself,
Or thoughtless women who humor his whim;
"Young blood," "wild oats," "better hush it up!"
They soon forget it in him.

Even his mother, who ought to know
The womanly nature and how it is won,
Frames a thousand excuses for him,
Because, forsooth, the man is her son!
You have daughters, madame, he told me so;
Fair, innocent creatures. Woman—what then?
Some mother may have a son like yours:
Bid them "beware of men!"

I saw his coach in the street to-day,
Passing along on the sunny side,
With a liveried driver on the box,
Lolling back in her listless pride,
The "wife of his bosom" took the air!
She was bought in the mart where hearts are sold;
I gave myself away for his love—
She sold herself for his gold!

He lives, they say, in a princely way,
Flattered and feasted.
One dark night some devil led me past his house;
easi I hsw t ndow blaze of light:
The music whirled in a mad'ning round;
I heard the fall of dancer's feet;
Bitter, bitter were the thoughts I had,
Flooding there in the street.

Back to my gandy den I went,
Marched to my room in grim despair,
Pencil'd my eyes, painted my cheeks,
And fix'd a flower or two in my hair.
Corks were popping, wine was flowing;
I seized a bumper and tossed it down,
For one must do something to kill the time,
And fit one's self for "the town."

I meet his boy in the Park sometimes,
And my heart runs over toward the child—
A frank little fellow, with fearless eyes,
He smiles at me as his father smiled.
I hate the man, but I love the boy,
For I think what my own, had he lived, would be,
Perhaps it is he, come back from the dead,
To his father, alas! not me.

But I stand too long in the shadow here,
Let me out in the light again.
Now for insult, blows perhaps,
Or, bitterer still, my own disdain;
I take my place in the crowd of men,
Not like the simple women I see;
You may cheat them, men, as much as you please,
But you wear no masks for me.

I know you! Under your honey'd words
There lurks a serpent—our oaths are lies!
There's a lustful fire in your hungry hearts,
I see it flaming up in your eyes!
Cling to them, ladies, and shrink from me,
Or rail at my boldness.
Well, have you done?
Madam, your husband knows me well:
Mother, I know your son!

But go your way, and I'll go mine;
Call me opprobrious names if you will,
The truth is bitter—think I have lied?
A "harlot!" Yes, but a woman still.
Christ said of old to a woman like me,
"Go, sin no more," or your Bible's a lie!
But you, you have mangled his merciful words
To "Go, and sin till you die!"

But look! the river! From where I stand
I see it! I almost hear it flow!
Down on the dark and lonely pier,
'Tis but a step—I can end my woe!
A plunge, a splash, and all will be o'er!
The death-dark waters will drag me down!
God knows to where! But no matter where,
So I'm "off the town!"

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

SCRIPTURALISMS.

"Through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear. Now, faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."
—Heb. x., 1, 3.

Big text for a short sermon; but we need not necessarily be long dissecting the substance of things unseen, albeit, *multum in parvo*, much there may be in it.

At the meeting of the Association of Social Science in Philadelphia, George H. Yeaman, of Kentucky, in his address, said such a good thing touching the press, its relations and influences, etc., that we wish to quote it right here:

"The Press—the natural enemy of all the falsehoods and wrongs of the past—is destined to develop in the masses of the people pure motives, higher aims, and clearer, more accurate, more intelligent and more dispassionate thinking."

The entire address is replete with sound logic, right reasoning, truth, talent and beauty, and should be read by all who fear not the progress and triumph of the great pioneer of modern liberty—a liberal, outspoken newspaper press.

But to our subject in hand. Herbert Spencer has said truly: "Early ideas are not usually true ideas. Undeveloped intellect, be it that of individual or that of a race, forms conclusions which require to be revised and re-revised before they reach a tolerable correspondence with realities. Were it otherwise, there would be no discovery, no increase of intelligence." And so we say the uninformed man is a child, and in the various phenomena of nature sees prodigies, miracles and wonders, attributing all that either makes or mars his peace, in his ignorance and dismay, to the power of the "gods," of whom the earlier and crude idea was that of anger and great destructive power:

"Amidst the lightning's blaze and thunder's sound,
When rocked the mountain and groaned the ground,
Superstition taught the weak to bend and proud to pray
To power unseen and mightier far than they.
She, from the rending earth and burning skies,
Saw gods descend and fiends infernal rise.
Here fixed the dreadful; there the blest abodes:
Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods.
Gods, partial, changeable, passionate, unjust,
Whose attributes (animal) were rage, revenge and lust.
Zeal, then, not charity, became the guide—
Hell was built on spite, and heaven on pride."

Such were the trembling promptings of man's ignorance in his primal weakness, revealed to us all along the tedious pathways of the race's slow progress as also by the biblical scriptures. Yes, these are a revelation—a revelation, indeed, of man's ignorance, oppression and folly.

And now, as saith the preacher, let us look at our text: "Through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God," etc.

Now, faith we understand to be an action of the mind, the result of the exercise of the organs of hope and credulity. Does the writer quoted therefore mean that we, by such a faith, understand how the worlds were framed? or would he say that in transforming primal chaos into countless worlds the great God was under the necessity of exercising faith? To create worlds and all that in them are "out of nothing," as some would have us believe He did, we think would require a faith indeed wondrous and all-powerful—a faith as miraculous in its possession as in the results of its exercise. Such a faith would, doubtless, by a word, remove and topple over the mightiest mountains of earth. The formation of our world, outside and independent of natural law, would, indeed, be a miracle stupendous beyond human comprehension. Worlds are not so made to-day, and we do not think they ever were. Seas and rivers have been transformed to their present improved progressive, though unfinished, condition by gradual and very slow unfolding, not by an absolute, instantaneous, miraculous creation.

But even faith, evanescent and aerial as it is, is said to be substance—"the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." So that allowing the formation of our world to be simply of faith or its evidence, still the great architect had something to work with. He was not driven to the "strawless" necessity of framing the world from "nothing."

The six-day notion of the Mosaic creation has been growing less and less satisfactory to even the Christian world for some years, and to stretch these days into 60 millions, as some to save the completeness of the record, have indeed attempted, does not, as has well been said, make the matter any clearer. For there has been not only six great geological periods of

the globe's progressive development, but according to authority there has been not less than twenty-nine or thirty of these formative periods, and yet, Christians themselves being witnesses, our world is still unfinished.

The learned d'Orbigny has demonstrated not less than twenty-nine of these periods, in every one of which plants and animals and man have existed. The skeleton of man being found buried deep beneath the fossil of monster animals, whose species has long since indeed become extinct. We will here transcribe an interesting historic fragment from Griffin Lee's Preadamite Man. Of the duration of the reign of the Chaldean Kings, he says:

1st Dynasty	86 Kings,	Reigned 34,080 Years
2d "	8 Median,	" 240 "
3d "	11 Chaldean,	" 258 "
4th "	49 "	" 438 "
5th "	9 Arabian	" 245 "
6th "	45 Assyrian,	" 526 "
7th "	8 "	" 124 "
8th "	6 "	" 84 "

Total Kings.....226

Reigned 35,995 Years.

Such a living chronology of the "dead past" established and how evanescent becomes at once the good old story of Adam being the first man. Compared in this long line of time, Adam was simply a modern Adonis—a boy of that period, and Eve his Elenievenus. But more: in his introductory, the historian quoted alludes to a newspaper article which we remember to have read, and doubtless many others perused it with curious interest, for it was widely copied. The article detailed the fact of some French engineers, then at work on the Egyptian Delta by order of the Turkish Viceroy, sinking a number of artesian wells (there were some ninety-five of them in all sunk), and in boring for one of them the borer came in contact with what afterward proved to be an immense statue of Rameses, the great Sesosiris, who lived, according to Egyptological authority, some 1350 years before the birth of Christ. Some say 1400; others 1600, and still others 2185 years before the Christian era. "Probably all wrong," says Lee, and then proceeds to reason the fact in a straightforward, manly and fearless manner.

The base of this statue was twelve feet or thereabouts beneath the surface, and its discovery throws much light on a question purposely veiled in darkness by the Jewish Rabbins. After reaching the base of the statue the workmen continued to bore, and from an additional depth of thirty-two feet brought to the surface fragments of pottery, some of which evidenced considerable taste and art in structure.

Now, according to learned authority, the vertical rising of the flow of the Delta from the overflowing of the river is at the mean rate of three and a half inches per century. Accordingly, these pieces of pottery must have been manufactured by the hands of civilized men not less than 13,500 years ago.

Quoting from a late work of Baron Bunson, Lee continues: "Mr. Leonard Horner, member of the Royal Society, was in Egypt during the process of boring for water by the French engineers, and found the deposit at the colossal statue of Rameses to be nine feet four inches in depth, which give, at the foregoing rate of increase, the item of 3,215 years for that particular accumulation of mud. But let it be remembered he found the mud to be thirty-two feet deep beneath the base of the statue, giving a total of thirty-one feet four inches. The last or lowest two feet were found to consist of sand, below which it is possible there may be no true Nile sediment in this locality, and we thus have a total of thirty-nine feet four inches, from which it follows that the lowest deposit of mud was made there 10,285 years before Christ, or exactly 13,516 (1870) years ago. The deeper parts of this accumulation are doubtless more compact in structure from the long applied superincumbent pressure, and therefore their age may be, and probably is, far greater on that account than that arrived at by the application of the chronometrical scale of three and a half inches per century, obtained by measuring the superficially lighter part of the accumulated mass."

To the unreflecting mind such results, though reached indeed by inductive right reasoning, will appear astonishing, and the cavalier will turn away, doubtless, with a sneer of incredulity. But be patient yet a little while, and we think we shall be able to set all your doubts as well as your fears at rest.

REICHNER.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The *Savannah Republican* announces the following proposition as one which ninety-nine out of every hundred Democrats in the South cordially assent to:

"Equal civil rights to every class of American citizens, without distinction."

We presume the *Republican* knows what it is talking about when it makes the above proposition, and we are glad to know that so large a proportion of Southern Democrats so "cordially assent" to equal rights for women citizens. Or does the *Republican* hold that women are not American citizens?

Men get better pay than women, on the assumption that they do better work and have families to support. Both assumptions are simply gratuitous and often utterly untrue. Woman does as good work, is as reliable and efficient as man: and many a worker, or even what is called a sinner, works or sins often for a man sick or lazy, almost always for a family.

NATURAL PHENOMENA.

No. I.

Natural phenomena have excited the wonder and called forth the admiration of mankind in all ages of the world; and nothing has more properly arrested his attention than the many evidences that exist, from the surface to the primary rocks, of convulsions and disturbances in nature, by which the various parts of the earth have been alternately depressed below, and again elevated above the bed of the ocean.

These elevations and subsidences, although apparently the result of fortuitous circumstances, may nevertheless be controlled by laws as constant and unyielding as that which regulates the ebbing and flowing of the tides, or the intervening shadow of the earth across the disc of the moon.

Although the existing geological evidences may not be sufficient to sustain a satisfactory hypothesis upon the subject, it should not deter us from endeavoring to extract light out of the dark masses by which we are surrounded. All the nebulous bodies of the heavens are not, at present, resolvable into well-defined constellations, neither have all the phenomena of earth been reduced to irrefragable laws, but enough has been done in either case to lay the foundation of a well-defined theory, and establish conclusions upon a basis too broad to be shaken by prejudice or overthrown by sophistry or skepticism.

The evidences of upheavals are so numerous that it would be supererogation to name them in detail; I will therefore, without further circumlocution, pass on to the postulate which I wish to present for consideration; and as all new theories are subject to incompleteness from paucity of ideas and inappropriateness of language, I can only crave your indulgence for the many errors I may commit in attempting to make myself understood upon a subject so void of positive proof and so difficult of elucidation, and any animadversions you may think proper to make, will be kindly received if generously intended.

HEMISPHERICAL DELUGES;

OR, THE ALTERNATE ELEVATION AND DEPRESSION OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES.

Geological evidences to sustain the assumption of the submersion of the earth's northern hemisphere exist in most parts of Europe, Asia and America. Wherever examinations have been made, either in rocky eminences or elevated plateaus, sunken valleys or the estuaries of rivers, indisputable evidences have been found that they were once the bed of the ocean. Even upon the tops of the loftiest mountains submarine deposits are not wanting to prove their former acquaintance with old ocean.

Geologists recognize what they term the drift period, when vast masses of earthy matter were drifted from the far north, and scattered over the whole surface of the land, and are now recognized as diluvial and alluvial deposits.

Boulders of almost every conceivable size are found in all situations, both high and low, some of which are supposed to have been transported a distance of more than five hundred miles. They also agree that the current by which these were transported was from the north in a south or south-easterly direction.

Other more or less prominent indications exist in various forms, such as the crag and tail eminences; the scratchings and groovings upon the surface of rocks, on the slopes of hills and elsewhere; and long ridges of clay and gravel met with in Finland, Sweden, and also in many parts of the United States. These, together with many other less prominent indications, are abundantly sufficient to establish the conviction that at some former period a mighty flood has swept over particular portions of the northern hemisphere, the course of which was unmistakably from the north in a south or southeasterly direction.*

As the arguments in favor of a former submersion and a subsequent elevation of the two hemispheres are derived from geological evidences, and sustained by the laws of universal adaptation, we may render our subject more comprehensive by applying our reasoning powers in aid of geology, and thus by a twofold method obtain advantages which geological evidences alone would not afford us.

Without recurring to any former theory, the refutation of which would not materially assist our plan, we will advert to what has already been said of general drifts from the north, and endeavor to show that they have occurred from the various upheavals and subsidences of the two hemispheres.

If the northern hemisphere was elevated, as appearances abundantly indicate, there must have been a corresponding subsidence or depression in the southern hemisphere at the same time, or the configuration of the earth must have sustained a permanent change; as the upheavals of the northern hemisphere and the transfer of its waters to the south must have occasioned an enlargement of the southern hemisphere, or its continents must have been depressed in a corresponding degree to the elevation of the continents of the north.

This law is fully recognized by Prof. Hitchcock, who says: "There is every reason to believe that continents once above

the waters, have sunk beneath them as those above the waters were gradually raised, for since the matter of the globe has always remained the same, its diameter could not be permanently enlarged, therefore as one part rose another must sink."

That the surface of the earth has been several times disturbed by such catastrophes, is inferable from the detritus deposited in every sunken locality, where it has received deposits similar to what is now found upon the surface, and upon which debris has again and again been thrown by each successive upheaval.

We have abundant proof that the northern hemisphere, which is more terraqueous, was, at some former period, covered with the aqueous element. And there are also good reasons for supposing that the southern hemisphere was at that time terraqueous. There are also numerous evidences of no slight importance, which point unmistakably to a former terraqueous period of the northern hemisphere, and inferentially to a former aqueous period of the southern hemisphere.

The antediluvian remains that are found in all parts of the world speak volumes in favor of the theory, as there is no lack of geological proof that these aqueous deposits were made at different and far distant periods in the world's history; and the remains of tropical plants and animals in high northern latitudes, must be mainly relied upon to prove the reciprocal relations between the two hemispheres.

Tropical remains might have been transported to the far north and far south at each successive upheaval of the two hemispheres; and, indeed, such a transportation would have been unavoidable if we suppose the regions within the tropics to have been less elevated than at the present, and currents, either north or south to have swept over them. The tropical remains now existing in high northern latitudes may all be accounted for by this hypothesis, as the animal remains discovered in Siberia and elsewhere, may have been transported thither by the elevation of continents in a high southern latitude during a former exsufflation and the consequent displacement of the waters that covered them, and not being disturbed by the last upheaval of the north, have preserved their identity under the circumstances to which they have been exposed.

If the Arctic regions had, at any former period, a high tropical climate, it cannot be reasonably supposed to have changed so suddenly as to entomb living animals in fields of ice; neither, without extraordinary convulsions, could living animals have been so entombed. If such a change of climate has ever taken place, the most reasonable supposition is that it was gradual, when the productions of the climate would also have changed gradually, and no tropical animals would have remained until the climate became so cold as to congeal their carcasses before decomposition could ensue.

De la Beche's theory of northern or arctic upheavals is in the main correct, yet he fails to find a depository for the displaced waters driven south by the last upheaval in the cavities occasioned by the simultaneous sinking of contemporaneous continents in the southern hemisphere; as Prof. Hitchcock, in his objections to De la Beche's theory, asks the following very pertinent questions: "If the waters thus thrown over existing continents southward did not return to the polar regions, what has become of it? If they did so return, as the elevated portions subsided, why have they not left tracks of their northerly course on the land?"

The periodical elevations and subsidences of the northern hemisphere being established, we have endeavored to trace them to their true cause in the periodical changes in the two hemispheres. It is only necessary to suppose a periodical series of sudden and extensive expansions in one hemisphere, and an equal and simultaneous contraction in the other, to account for all the changes observable in the crust of the earth, from the alluvial formations, embracing the detritus of all former aqueous action, down to the tertiary strata.

This theory requires no immediate transition from tropical heat to the highest degree of congelation due to the arctic regions.

No gradual frigidity sufficient to extinguish animal life.

No supposing the earth to have ceased its annual revolution, and to have been removed beyond the influence of the rays of the sun, with the consequent enlargement of its polar diameter, by the accumulation of ice thirteen miles thick at either pole, and the consequent return of the earth to its legitimate place in the solar system, and the consequent melting of the vast accumulations of ice in the polar seas, all of which suppositions have been considered indispensable to the elucidation of this most intricate subject.

That these revolutions are periodical requires no further proof.

That they are hemispherical is not sustained by positive demonstration; but the constant equilibrium of the globe points to such a conclusion. Yet no recognized evidence exists to determine the time from one of the general convulsions to another, or the period of its actual duration.

The following extract from cosmographical history will further elucidate the subject:

"AXIAL REVOLUTIONS OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

"During one of the axial revolutions of the solar system great and important changes are produced. Continents give place to oceans and oceans assume the place of continents. Mountains are reduced to plains and plains are elevated into mountains, and disorder prevails throughout the whole material world. The Arctic and Antarctic re-

gions are alternately elevated and depressed during each of these revolutions, and the equatorial latitudes are subjected to no common agitation. As the period approaches, the nuclei of incipient volcanoes are formed, in the hemisphere that is to expand its interior dimensions by the transfer of combustible matter from the other hemisphere, through conduits not far removed from the line of gravity extending from pole to pole."

But the effects of one of these convulsions upon the material world can be better understood by reference to the past than by any dialectic disquisition. The precession of the equinoxes may be assumed as the starting-point of our investigation, as this is the only remaining astronomical evidence accreditable to our subject.

The revolution of the equinoctial points in the heavens is the only true index to the axial revolution of the solar system, and the movements of those points through the starry constellations of the zodiac are the indices of its annual progression.

It was for the purpose of noting the time from one of these general convulsions to another that the stars were divided into twelve constellations, the utility of which will become apparent as soon as the object of the design is more generally comprehended.

At the time of the last calamity the inhabitants of the earth were more advanced than at any former period; for it is a law in physics, that the more attenuated the elements of a world become, the more exalted will be the intellectual perceptions of its inhabitants, and it is through the agency of these sublimating periods that the present inhabitants of the earth sustain an intellectual supremacy so much in advance of all former periods, marked by the same degree of progress in time's equinoctial calendar.

The accumulating forces, at or near the axial centre of the earth, do not expand in both hemispheres at the same time. During one of the periods now under consideration, the northern hemisphere becomes effected by expansion and the southern by contraction, and thus alternately. The present revolution has caused the expansion of the northern hemisphere, and the consequent contraction of the southern, by the effects of which nearly the whole of the southern hemisphere became the bed of the ocean, burying with it its hundreds of millions of inhabitants. The northern hemisphere, which was then the bed of the ocean, rose nearly to its present elevation during that portion of the last exsufflation marked by the passage of the equinoctial points through the constellation Aquarius; but some few elevations and some observable depressions have since occurred which mark the gradual subsidence of the disturbing cause.

Ages have elapsed, and time has again assumed its wonted course, since the last hemispherical deluge, which, as said above, mainly transpired during the passage of the equinoctial points through the constellation Aquarius.

More than ninety centuries have rolled by since the world was subjected to one of those adscititious calamities, which convulse the earth and involve the inhabitants thereof in one universal ruin.

The legends of antiquity are not altogether silent upon this last important subject. But we are mainly indebted to the Hebrew chronicle for all that remains of written history upon this last exsufflation, as the sinking of the continent of Eden† (which has been magnified into a universal deluge) was the last grand catastrophe of the expurgation.

The solar system makes one entire revolution on its axis in 25,680 years.

† Gen., chap. II., verse 8. "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden."

THE talk that is now current in the scientific world (among naturalists) about the germ-cell and the sperm-cell, as the male and the female contributions in the organization of the new being, as if two material bodies were engrafted upon each other, is erroneous. What the female organism contributes is a yolk mass, protoplasmal, and characteristically material, with a germ already excited into life and actively organizing, but imperfectly, and destined to run a short career and end in early dissolution, unless rescued by the intervention of the male principle. What the male organism contributes is a more subtle, a really spiritual element, if we may call it so—a merely regulative and governing influence, which intervenes in the process of organization already established, and the effect of which is to exactify the segmentation, to axialize, organify, memberfy, regulate and preserve the newly-formed being. Professor Dana, of Yale, has furnished the term *cephalization*, to signify the attainment of a head by higher development in the animal kingdom, a great event, for the lower animals have no heads. The additional terms *axialization*, *organification* and *memberification* are here supplied to denote the attainment of a distinct axis for the body—of organs, as a heart, liver, etc., and of members, as legs, arms, or wings.

These facts have a new and important bearing upon the discussion of the development theory, and by analogy upon the whole question of the relation of the sexes.—*Basic Outline of Universology, in Proof-sheets.*

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.

* In Poland and Russia in Europe the drift over the tertiary deposits has been from the north east.

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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.

MORAL JOURNALISM.

The N. Y. Tribune gives the following item of foreign personal gossip:

"The desertion by the Duc de Mouchy of his wife, the Princess Pauline Murat, has compelled her to sell all her jewels, and the Continental Hebrews, profiting by her changed condition, are buying her pearls and diamonds at the lowest rates for cash."

Were we inclined to return evil for evil, we should be tempted to inquire on what evidence this paragraph was inserted—what evidence there is in this country of its authenticity? We would ask whether this is not twenty times worse than our Jenny Lind extract? with this all-important difference, that the Jenny Lind matrimonial quarrel had been the property of the public for years, and this De Mouchy-Murat business is now issued for the first time. We prefer, however, to rely on common sense, instead of affecting a cheap morality at our neighbor's expense. One point, however, we cannot pass over silently. The turncoat tergiversations of some journals, our big brothers at that, in the Fair-Crittenden trial. While public opinion was in suspense, they professed their belief in her insanity. Insane she undoubtedly was. They even made wretched little jokes on the long list of female maladies that led to the woman's insanity—"the mere catalogue being enough to superinduce monomania." But when a jury of men found a woman guilty of killing a man, then they wheeled into line, and all found that a jury-box of Daniels had come to justice. Just so, too, in the Putnam murder case. The whole press rush at once like a pack of hounds on a wolf, yelling "Kill! kill!" and they announce that if the jury do not convict, it will be a case for Lynch and a vigilance committee. Did WOODHULL & CLAFLIN's, or some woman paper, so conduct themselves and so prejudge a verdict in defiance of all justice or law, what monsters of unreason those women would be?

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS vs. THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE TEST OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL.

THE APPLICATION TO SOCIAL ORDER.

No. I.

Every living person has certain natural rights which no law can take away, except such law is enacted in the interests of tyranny, and such rights are taken by usurpation of power.

Every person has the right to determine for him or herself what is for his or her happiness, and also the right to pursue it within the individual sphere.

No person has the right to pursue freedom beyond the limits of individual right, so as to encroach upon the same freedom to which some other person is entitled. So long as the choice of the individual interferes with no other person, no person nor any number of persons has any right to interfere with such choice. And any such interference is tyranny, because it is tyranny for one person to interfere in another person's rights when they do not affect him. Much which is called by the name of individual pursuit of freedom is nothing less than usurpation of others' rights.

While every person has certain human rights as an individual, the fact that all individuals belong to and make up the community must not be lost sight of nor never ignored.

The failure to properly and conscientiously distinguish between the rights of individuals and the rights of a community of individuals, is the basis of all false government.

The community, acting upon the well-determined and long-admitted principle, that the rights of the whole are superior to the rights of parts of the whole when they interfere therewith, proceed too far, and take away individual rights with which no number of persons have any right to interfere.

No community has the right to enact laws which interfere with individual rights, unless each individual of the community consent thereto. No rule of the majority is in this case justifiable, because each individual has the right to determine which of his rights he shall exercise, and which he shall allow to remain passive.

An individual has the right to enter into contract with another individual, and these two may thus perform whatever united action they shall choose, unless what they shall choose to perform shall interfere with the rights of a third person or persons, or with the rights of the community. Against such action the community has the right, and it is their duty, to guard by law.

Every law enacted by the community to protect its members from the unlawful acts of contracting individuals, should not only secure such protection, but should also secure to such contracting individuals immunity from unlawful action of other members of the community.

All the disputes between individuals and aggregates of individuals, or between them and larger aggregates represented by Government, arise from a conflict between the rights respectively claimed by them. The individual, feeling himself a sovereign in his own right, rebels against the control which Government seeks to exert over him. On the contrary, if aggregates of individuals cannot provide legitimate government to secure order among themselves, it follows that individual sovereignty is supreme and that no Government is legitimate.

If any have doubt regarding which is the superior sovereignty, there is an infallible test by which the question can be tried. This test is found everywhere in nature, and this it is which not only governs the simplest movements of the elements of matter aggregated in the simplest flower, but also the movements of all the elements of matter aggregated in the entire sidereal and solar systems.

If one law govern the movements of matter in simplest forms and in the most complex, it necessarily follows that the same law governs all intermediate forms. Did any other law prevail within the whole universe, what chance would our little earth have beside the vast planets among which it rolls eternally? It would have no chance did not a Prime Power compel harmony regardless of the proclivities of individual planets. Nevertheless, our planet has certain proclivities which pertain to itself alone, with which no other planet interferes. Reduce these principles to rules of law and they form a perfect test by which to prove the legitimacy or the contrary of all proposed government as well as the true relations between individuals and communities.

These principles can be observed in the action of all individuals and all communities, and, if well understood, every such action can be properly adjudged. That is to say: given any action of the individual strictly in reference to self, or of any two or more individuals strictly in reference to themselves, or of the community in reference to either of them, these may be proved just or unjust by applying the principles observed in all the operations of nature. If we look to nature for rules of action we cannot go astray; for,

"Honest nature's voice shall give
The laws to man by which he'll live."

TENNIS C. CLAFLIN.

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY AND THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

No. IV.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

No Republican form of government can be permanently successful unless its several branches are kept distinct and separate. The Legislative Department should have no connection with, control over, or influence upon, either the Executive or the Judicial Department. It is supposed that all law coming from Congress, from State Legislatures, and from city councils, is such as the majority of the people respectively interested approve; because such bodies are elected by the people sufficiently often to warrant this supposition.

After proposed legislation becomes laws by the approval of the Executive head, then the Legislative bodies who enacted them have nothing more to do therewith. All the duties which the people called them to perform as their representatives, are completed; they have made the laws. It now becomes the duty of the Executive to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The whole responsibility of carrying the laws into effect devolves upon the chief Executive, whether National, State or Municipal, and to them the people look for wise administration. But, above all things else, should that department of the Government which was intended to be the safeguard of the liberties of the people, be intact from all influence, so that its rulings and decisions shall at all times be the complete expression of the letter of the law. The Judiciary should know nothing but what is written law. They should never be called upon to interpret the meaning of law, if such meaning is obscure; for how can the Judiciary know just what the Legislative bodies intended to enact if the language is not plain. Their functions begin and end in deciding whether certain things are in accord or discord with the language in which the law is expressed. It is true that the practice of courts is not always after this rule, and that different Judges decide upon similar points differently. This we hold to be proof, either that there is some influence brought to bear in one case which causes a ruling not in harmony with the law, or that two constructions are possible of the law, in which last case it is clear that the Legislators failed in their duty to legislate plainly and definitely; and that such laws should at once be revised and rendered in such language as to make mistake in their meaning impossible.

The great difficulty has been, and still is, that the three departments of Government do not act definitely, but permit their respective functions to merge into each other. If a court render decisions upon indefinite law, is it not clear that it is legislating rather than acting judicially? This is a very important matter, as there is no doubt but the judgments of courts do pervert the will of the people as supposed to be expressed in the laws framed by their representatives.

There is also brought to light by a strict examination into the respective duties of the different departments of government, another momentous question. The judiciary are continually being called upon to decide upon the constitutionality of this or that law or decisions of inferior courts. Constitutions should be so plain and explicit that doubt regarding their true meaning would be impossible. The moment any circumstance arises among a people for which their constitution does not provide, that moment it should be revised and provision made for such point.

Nine-tenths of all legal proceeding come of defective legislation, and special attention is desired upon this point, because in it is found one of the most forcible arguments for insisting upon the radical changes implied in a reform in the civil service. Nearly if not quite all of the legislation of the present, is fashioned with the view to strengthen party interests, knowing that those who will be appointed to execute the laws will be in the interests of the party who enact them. Further than this; that no one will be appointed to execute the laws, unless he first pledge himself to administer them according to certain interests, and, even still farther, that if, when so appointed he fail to "serve his masters" that he can be replaced by some one who will. It is no new thing to assert that when a person is now appointed to office, he must give up his individuality and demean himself as the leaders of the party in power appointing him require.

The whole civil service is now prostituted to the interests of the administration party, and they who should be the servants of the people are the mere slaves of the few, who misrepresent the people. Even those who owe their positions to the influence of prominent members of the party in power, who are disaffected to the administration in the slightest manner, hold such positions by the most precarious and uncertain tenure. The spectacle of several changes in very important offices has been frequently presented, and no valid or sufficient reason for removal was either given or sought. It is quite enough to know that an officer does not indorse "My Policy" to secure his removal and the appointment of a more pliant tool. It is becoming a common practice among officials to assess the salaries of all subordinate appointees. In some instances this has been pursued so openly and shamelessly as to call down the comment of the opposition press of the country in such a manner as to make it impossible for their opponents to answer. But the people wink at the libel upon the name of a republican

government, and the practice grows more shameless each succeeding year.

Suppose that only twenty-five dollars per year is demanded of each appointee under the general Government, a sum would be realized in four years so enormous as to give the party possessing it an almost incalculable advantage over their opponents in controlling the election to their interests. Is this the manner in which the governing will of the people should express itself? What chance has honesty in a contest waged on such terms? And yet, when does an election take place, in these advanced times, into which such elements do not enter?

If such practice is not the vilest prostitution of a power which belongs to the people, it would be difficult to find for it an appropriate name by which to designate it from other practices which are thus denominated.

Here, then, we have a condition of things more at variance with the interest of the people than is found in the civil service of any other country. Under other and more despotic forms of government the people expect executive officers to administer the duties of their offices in the interests of the heads of the nation. In this country, however, entirely different things are presupposed, and the people as a whole still remain in the profoundest ignorance of the real state of the matter. Having a supreme confidence in a republican form of government, under which they suppose they live, and knowing that they vote for and elect all elective officers, their scrutiny of the operation of the system stops short, and they trust their real interests to their should-be servants with a blind faith which, to an analytical observer, seems to amount to the possibility of "believing all things, hoping all things, and enduring all things," to which nothing could be added more appropriately than to add, paying all things.

The people are not in the least aware of the real danger which is possible of the present condition. Neither do they seem to realize that the tendency of the administrative functions of the whole Government is in the direction of this danger. It has already been whispered, almost confidently, that there is a possibility that the exigencies of the situation may demand a Dictator. Have the people ever thrown off their blind infatuation for the name of a government to inquire whether such a step would be possible? Suppose the Chief Magistrate of the Union should at any time be an ambitious, unscrupulous man, and that a large proportion of the leaders of the party who elected him should be equally so, and that they should all become conscious that the power would pass from their hands. Could they not so arrange affairs as to have the entire government in their hands and subservient to their will? Should such a condition come, the only hope of the people would be in that portion of their servants who are not necessarily subservient to the party in power, because they do not give their positions to them, and their removal is beyond their power—and they are the Army and the Navy.

The earnest attention of the people is called to the danger, which is possible, of a system of civil service which virtually places the whole power of the Government in the hands of one man, to the end that a calm and deep consideration be given the matter in all its bearings upon the public welfare.

The matter of reform in the Civil Service has been before Congress; but what chance has a measure in that body, which proposes at one fell stroke to take all their power from them and restore it to the people? Oh, no! The immaculate, patriotic and devoted statesmen who constitute Congress could not for a moment think of parting with such a power as this. They assume that they are better custodians for so dangerous a thing than are the people, because they are so well accustomed to its practice. And the subsidized Press of the country see no wrong nor danger coming; but quietly regard the mutterings of the coming storm as they did the coming of the late war, and facetiously christen it "Constitutional liberty."

If our public men to whom the people have intrusted their interests, and the public Press, to which they look for a daily history of the times, are combined against the public welfare, the people themselves, nevertheless, have a stern and solemn duty to perform—one which they owe to their fathers, who fought, bled and died that we might have liberty from an oppression, not a whit less terrible and odious than is that by which we are now threatened. The storm is brewing. In the near horizon black clouds already lower, and ever and anon, from their billowy folds, the forked lightning shoots and the bellowing thunder bursts, momentarily rousing the nation to a consciousness of impending ill. But the sun shines again, the people sink into their previous faith that "All is well," and the storm-cloud gathers in blackness and power. In spite, however, of all the apparent confidence, there are still some who have had sufficient insight into the inner workings of the present system, who will not permit the people to lie supinely upon their backs until the enemy bind them hand and foot. These will continue to sound the alarm until the people are roused to a full consciousness of the danger impending, and until they shall elect such representatives as will be their servants, instead of seeking to become their masters.

The servants of the people, who are chosen or appointed to administer the laws, must be entirely independent of all control from those who make the laws. There is no reason why such should ever have the confirmation of the United States Senate: for that presupposes there is some connection between legislation and administration. The absurdity of

Senatorial confirmation is apparent if the force they enact in its consummation is understood. It simply amounts to "parceling out" the offices among those whom Senators are pleased to think their most deserving supporters, and this they arrive at by calculating who can do most to secure future success to themselves and party friends. Nor is there any real grounds for hope in the possibility of the defeat of the Republicans by the Democrats. The first rule at the heart of the nation, and the entire Democratic press cry out against their outrages upon the people, thinking that in their implied arraignment of the Republicans the public will overlook the even greater damnation which Democrats deal to their constituency whenever they are so unfortunate as to be "served" by the party who make so free use of such hypocritical cant.

Rotation in office is fundamentally wrong, and is directly opposed to the entire practice of all business principles. The end to be gained is not that the greatest possible number of citizens shall hold some office under the Government during a given time, but that the duties shall be so administered as to best subserve the interests of all citizens. No one can be so blinded by customs as to believe that there should be a constant introduction into all the offices of the Government of persons perfectly unacquainted with their duties, who, after serving a short apprenticeship, must make way for others as ignorant as were they at first.

It does not matter so much how officers are appointed, so that they are not liable to removal, except for proper causes—such as would displace persons engaged by people in common business pursuits. Employers retain faithful employees a lifetime, and both parties are profited thereby. So should the people retain faithful officers a lifetime, and they would be equally profited thereby, and upon the same principles and for the same reasons.

Some object to the inauguration of such a system, that it would require too many engaged on "Boards of Examination." Such persons do not compare the proposed system with our military system, else such objection to it would be preposterous. No officer of the army or private thereof, can be removed or dismissed from the service except by judgment of a properly constituted Court Martial. For any misdemeanor of any kind to any citizen, all officers of the civil service would be liable to be tried under charges preferred by the complainant; so that it would be utterly impossible for any officer who should be inclined to abuse the powers of his office to practice his inclination to any considerable extent, or even to escape a single departure from the strict duty of his office to the detriment of a single individual.

Thus order would be secured throughout the civil service. And as promotion in the army is governed by regular systematic advancement, so also should it be in the civil service. Therefore there would be little need for "Examining Boards," except during the inauguration of the system which may well be endured by the people that they may rid themselves of the infamous practices of the present system, by which the will of the people is utterly subverted to the self-interests of their should-be servants.

In an article of this kind it is not to be expected that all the details of a proposed new system can be discussed. If the facts can be established in the minds of the people that our present system is open to all manner of corruption, and that a radical reform is absolutely necessary, our purpose will be reached. The minutia must be determined upon by those whom the people shall select to represent them. But we may be permitted to suggest that all Boards of Examination should be elected by the people, and not appointed by the Executive.

One of the immediate effects of such a reform in the civil service would be to check the rapidly-spreading contagion which is undermining the principles of honesty in the hearts of the general people. When it is respectable to be able to resign from a poorly-paying office with a stolen fortune it may be reasonable to expect that the standard of common honesty will depreciate, and that illegitimate practices to obtain money will spread among all classes of society.

We therefore propose, as the fourth plank for the platform of the

CEMOPOLITICAL PARTY,

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

It has been reported that Herbert Spencer, the famous English writer on philosophy, is not prosperous financially, and the Cincinnati papers, supposing he would not object to a settlement in America with a liberal salary, are urging the trustees of the new Cincinnati University—a consolidation of several already existing technical and classical schools of moderate resources—to offer Mr. Spencer the presidency of the institution.

THE WOMEN AT WASHINGTON.

Mr. Riddle will enter suits on behalf of the women who tendered their votes before the Washington registration officials. In this way we shall at least get an exposition of the law as it stands on the subject. Common law is called the perfection of common sense. There is a great deal of humor, dry, covert humor, as befits the dry theme of law in this definition. It is so purely abstract and theoretical that it never reaches the zone of practice. Law language, law ideas, law dogmas, are all *qui generis*. That which is suitable to ordinary, every-day life is unsuitable within the area of law life. Legal honesty and common honesty have no kinship.

Every person born in the United States is a citizen.

Every citizen is entitled to vote.

A woman is a person born in the United States.

Ergo, a woman is a citizen and entitled to vote.

This would be unanswerable in the schools of logic. It is plain English; and if applied in the common affairs of life by common sense would be an acceptable truth. But among lawyers—well, we shall see. If there were fewer lawyers in Congress and in our State Legislatures we should be better legislated and better governed. We should have less chicanery, less pettifoggery; less legal honesty and a great deal more national backbone. We have not much faith in the law courts. But it is well that Mr. Riddle should test them, if only experimentally. If the decision is favorable, good; if adverse, good again. The ground will have been cleared, and we can build on our own foundations, and not on a basis of word-splitting or gracious concessions.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN gives a course of his funny political lectures at Wood's Museum. He is as droll as ever. The very best eccentric comedian out. He paid the New York press his compliments as usual. The editors are all bought up. When Sweeney or Tweed whistles they all crowd round like hungry curs after a piece of seasoned meat in the hands of a dog-dealer. The State and Corporation patronage would turn any paper aside, except WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S—not far wrong there. He dares them to advertise G. F. T. and his peculiar form of craziness. WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S early platform affirmed that the Democrats were dead, killed by the war on State rights, and that the Republicans were effete and played out by the admission of the negro to citizenship. Train borrows our thunder and demonstrates our proposition, very satisfactorily showing the nine absolute breaks in the Republican ranks, and comparing the Democracy to the old farmer's fish-ball, which he thought a dough-nut, only not fit to eat because there was something dead in it. G. F. T. is justly indignant at the wretched characterless, imbecile conduct of the Grant administration at home and abroad; and he says that so low has the American name fallen, so contemptible has the American become in the scale of nations, that he has ceased to be an American; he is an Irishman, a Fenian, a French Red, he has sworn to free Ireland from the British yoke, and to set up the French Republic. So help him God, he will do it, after having first hanged all the moneyed men of New York, with the Secretary of the Treasury, on lamp-posts.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MICHIGAN.

At a meeting of the friends of Woman Suffrage, held on Monday, April 3, at the house of Mrs. N. B. Gardner, of Detroit, the following resolutions, drafted by Mrs. C. A. F. Stebbins, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That as we know, and the Board of Registrars acknowledge, colored men voted in Michigan under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments before the word "white" was stricken out of the State Constitution, therefore Boards of Registration, Judges of Election and other civil officers, are no more "violating law" in cases of women registering and voting under these amendments before the word "male" is stricken out in conformity to the same, than they were when colored citizens so registered and voted.

Resolved, That we re-affirm that the United States Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that we gratefully appreciate the acts and votes of those members of the Board of Registration, who, taking their stand by this great charter of our liberties and the confirmatory amendments, have justly accorded our demand, and our right as "persons" and "citizens" within the meaning of the law.

Resolved, That we are more and more satisfied with every fresh discussion that the arguments of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull in sustaining her memorial, that A. G. Riddle's argument, which is pronounced "unanswerable" by all who read it; that the minority report of Messrs. Loughridge and Butler, of which Wendell Phillips says: "Nothing more cogent can be imagined or desired," all justify our position and make added legislation for women a work of supererogation and expensive tautology.

Resolved, That Mr. Peter Hill, of the Board of Registration, and Geo. B. Smith, and B. C. Durfee, of the Suffrage Association, are particularly entitled to our thanks for excellent work in our behalf.—*National Standard*.

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 JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

When we call to mind the total absence of all public law by which, as a matter of right and without the danger of war, disagreeing nations may refer their disputes to friendly powers for settlement, and consider the value to the world of such a code, and then examine how far the friendly labors of the Joint High Commission (now about completed) go toward establishing such a code, both the United States and Great Britain will have cause of profound thankfulness that circumstances, though irritating at first, should have favored them so much as to place them in a front position for eliminating such a code of public Peace Law.

It is not favorable to the intelligence and to the Christian instincts of the world that such a code has not been absolutely formed, and is not now in existence. Neither is it a sign favorable to the justice of the world, and to the existence in States of that commanding, law-governing principle by which they claim to be regulated, that any of them should be willing (no matter how great the grievance) to war with each other in the absence of some definite code, the business of which would be to settle, with absolute certainty, the only grounds upon which it shall be lawful for one Government to wage war upon another. Whenever such a peace code shall be established, the only ground of war to be recognized by it will be a wilful refusal or failure of a nation to meet the award against it of the Court of National Arbitration. This will be the only ground of war recognized by a peace code whenever one shall be formed.

It is creditable in the highest degree to the intelligence and the advanced humanity of the two great English-speaking nations of the world, that their representative men upon the question of international law, brought together by the action of the two great Governments they represent, in Joint Commission, should recognize so fully by their actions (as unmistakably they have done), the value of such a public peace code, and the disgrace and outrage of going to war upon any grievances (no matter how burdensome) in the absence of some such code defining in detail the right; and that they should, in a liberal spirit of mental friendship, have agreed to conventions based entirely and alone upon the principle of arbitration for a settlement of their differences. It does not matter who, in the end, may lose money by this arrangement, it is equally honorable and creditable to each nation that the two should have met in friendly council upon such a principle. It is the highest act marking their progress which either nation has ever yet notched (let the others be as high as they may), and will reflect imperishable honors upon the Grant and Gladstone administrations.

There is but one graceful act left to complete the work so well begun by wise professional heads, and that is for the British Crown and the United States Senate to ratify so mighty an achievement of the professional heads in international law of the two great Governments.

Let us hope that neither the British Crown nor the United States Senate will be so boorish and clownish as to refuse to do it.

J. M. PETERS.

FRANCES WRIGHT, the pioneer woman in the advocacy of social freedom, who traveled and lectured in this country forty years ago, was once expounding her ideas of what should be, when a clergyman present shocked himself, and thinking by a bold question to silence or confound her, rose and said: "Madam, do you mean that there should be nothing in our social customs to hinder me from proposing to you to share your bed-chamber and bed to-night?" "I do mean that," she replied; "that there should be nothing whatever to prevent you from proposing it, and nothing to prevent me from declining."

The gross ideas of people on social freedom prevent them from seeing that freedom is a big word, and means freedom to decline—freedom to avoid vice as well as freedom to do. Everybody who considers free love to be something filthy reveals his or her own filthy nature—criticises and reveals himself or herself to the clearer vision of all those who truly comprehend freedom.

S. P. A.

SCIENTISTS are now reducing all the realm of Being formerly called the Imponderables, to various orders of vibrations of the particles of an attenuated material and ponderable substance which is supposed to fill all space, and which may still continue to be called Ether (though the old theory of ether was that it, too, was imponderable). The question remains, What vibrates the ether?

The answer of the Materialists is that it is the nature of matter to move; force and motion are mere manifestations of matter. The Spiritualists in science (not meaning the religious spiritualists nor the modern spiritists) retort that this is a begging of the whole question; that the truth of the matter is that force and motion exist as spiritual entities, and that it is they that manifest themselves as matter, and that the solidity of matter is merely the standing against each other of opposing forces, which are thus in a temporary state of equilibrium.

The Materialist replies that matter is a real thing, something palpable and cognizable by our senses, and, therefore, the true *prius* or beginning-point, and that force and motion are ideal entities, mere thoughts and nothings but as the attributes of matter. The Spiritualist replies, this is the gross primitive appearance, as that the sun rises in the east; and that such appearances are deceptive and certain not to

be the real truth; and that it is the business of science to go back of the ostensible fact and reveal the occult; that, in a word, if force and motion and form go back to thought, it is because thought is the true *prius* and more real than matter. The question is, again, does a thing produce its attributes, or do its attributes combine to produce the thing? Is the noun-substantive or the adjective anterior? Which is prior, which is posterior, which is the seat of absolute being? It is the old metaphysical and ontological question over again in a new field, and the Materialists reckon without their host when they assume that modern science has settled it. The question is no more settled now than ever; and as soon as the Spiritualists get the new range for their artillery, the battle will open on the new ground which the Materialists have chosen.

The settlement is, however, nearer, if it can ever be reached, as the issue is more defined and the scope of knowledge called into requisition for its discussion far greater than ever before.

STEPHEN PEARLANDREWS.

THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

In addition to the Radicals and Democrats, there are two other parties challenging our attention. These are embryotic, having never been organized into distinct, permanent, political bodies. The labor party, by virtue of its masculine constituents, may become a distinct political body; but the female suffrage party, with a disfranchised element, can only become efficient by the addition of that part of citizens who are recognized as having rights to be respected.

The labor movement, as now organized, is composed of special classes of skilled laborers, who, with laudable motives, are seeking to resist the oppression of capital by demanding higher wages for services performed. Unfortunately for its principles and final success, it is fatally at fault for the want of clear, comprehensive, universal, humanitarian principles, which will unite and harmonize all interests and efforts for the common weal. To this lack we must add the fact, that the combinations now existing, for the reason assigned, are readily converted into despotisms operating in the interest of the few and at the expense of the many. They utterly fail to comprehend that any movement which does not recognize the supreme sovereignty of the individual, in combination with the unity of all human rights, is necessarily partial, and can at best afford only temporary relief; for it necessarily inflicts on others the very wrongs it protests against. Hence it is the labor movement is divided and subdivided, feebly striking for partial freedom and justice at the expense of universal freedom and justice. In fact, it is not even a unit on the question of carrying their demands to the ballot-box, and thus practically into the Legislature. They allow themselves to be divided in the temperance and suffrage questions, while a large per cent. of them are bound hand and foot, soul and body, to the old parties, and, when the time of trial comes, will march up to the polls and vote the old ticket. With an organized force of 750,000, and an influence equal to 750,000, or one and one half million, out of eight millions of voters, they should control the Legislature of the country in the interest of labor.

Up to this hour they have failed to enlist the agricultural interests—by far the most important branch of productive industry—and the common or unskilled laborers, whose wants, necessities and rights are equal to their own, and whose poll counts vote for vote at the ballot-box. Toward these classes they have manifested only a verbal and limited sympathy in their organic efforts to better their own condition, and for this reason they cannot count on their aid on election day. The careful observer sees in the fore-front of this movement selfishness, force and personal ambition. Whoever attends the sessions of the Labor Congress will find each particular class of interests clamoring for pay and protection, while occasionally one complains of too much protection, their demands being governed by the cost of the raw material. Some of those, too, who cry most loudly against the wrongs inflicted by the laws, he will find engaged in the manufacture of articles damaging personally to those who use them, and generally to the wealth of the whole country, because they are an actual waste of wealth-producing power. Hence it appears that the movement recognizes the right of men to select "industries regardless of their effects on society, and then throw themselves into the arms of the Labor Congress and demand common protection with useful industries." Here ignorance, selfishness and injustice all combine. With this class it is only a question how they shall live and prosper, forgetting that no man has a right to live and prosper at the expense of another or of the common good. It is some palliation that they are the victims of a bad social state, but it is no reason for the violation of a great principle fundamental to natural justice and social safety. If we would build permanently we must build wisely.

Should the Columbus Convention nominate, the probabilities are that they will not find among their own ranks a representative man, combining a practical labor life with intelligence and statesmanship to match, and meet the exigency; and hence they will most likely fall back on some second-rate politician who has no hopes elsewhere, and will accept the honor and opportunity because he has nothing to lose. We thus write because, as we see it, there is too little principle—too much policy—too much desire for success on the part of the leaders in the movement.

They may rest assured that the other parties will either buy or attempt to swamp them. To rely upon the promises of either party is worse than folly—it is madness. Platforms are nothing; we must have principles and men. And just so long as the present class of men rule the country, we shall have unequal and unjust laws. We are in complete sympathy with the labor movement, and desire that every step it takes shall be forward and permanent, for all truth and right action must ensue to the common good. For this reason we desire to see it broader, deeper, higher; to see it willing to fail on principle rather than succeed by policy. Nor would we have the Convention fail to meet and nominate. All effort is educational and tends to final success—prepares the way for higher truths and better lives. But we are forced to predict no permanent success until they recognize and adopt a platform essentially Cosmopolitan.

T. W. HIGGINSON ON SHORT CUTS.

There are some persons who, having once got a crotchet in their heads, can never get it out until its foolishness is made plain by the hard argument of a knock-down blow. Such a person is T. W. H. He set up in his head, for some reason unaccountable to anybody but himself, or, perhaps, by some fossilized specimen of the human, a peculiar dislike to "Short Cuts," as he is pleased to designate the constitutional equality of citizens of the United States. Why, this is now the law, and not a reform, as he pretends to call woman suffrage. T. W. H. was once a determined advocate of political equality for the negro. Why did he not demand that this be defined, after it had been guaranteed them by the Constitutional amendments, until the "public sentiment" demanded that they should vote? What a jewel is consistency!

In the Woman's Journal of the 22d inst., T. W. H. makes a ludicrous attempt to force this crotchet into the heads of the readers of that journal. He states comparisons, but of which it is impossible to see the application. What have religious revivals, general reforms, Maine liquor laws, etc., to do with a point of Constitutional law? Will T. W. H. point out where these things are mentioned in the Constitution, or where, in that instrument, there is any foundation upon which to base them as legal questions?

Equally unfortunate and inapposite is his reference to Spooner's argument made in 1845 on the unconstitutionality of slavery. Article III. section 4 of the Federal Constitution provides as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party, to whom such service or labor may be due." Of what value were arguments against slave labor and the execution of a fugitive slave law, when the right to them was plainly recognized in the Constitution?

Will T. W. H. pretend that the status of the negro is the same now as it was previous to the Constitutional amendments, or that the section of the Constitution quoted above is now of any effect? Let T. W. H. try again.

The Constitution declares that all men and women are citizens. Does it require any popular conviction to give that significance? If so, of what shall it consist? It also recognizes the vote as a citizen's right. Does that require to be expounded and argued until popular conviction is accomplished before it is Constitutional law? The Constitution provides otherwise, as between which and T. W. H.'s vagaries a child need not stumble in making the proper distinction.

It is also quite amusing that T. W. H. in one column of the Woman Journal should be found asserting that Woman Suffrage in Utah and Wyoming is a "perilous experiment," while in another column of the same journal there is a lengthy editorial article on "Practical Results of Woman Suffrage," in which it is not only argued that woman suffrage is no longer an experiment, but in which there are lengthy quotations from Wyoming papers all proving the same fact. The said editorial winds up by saying: "The evidence is not only cumulative on this point, but triumphantly sustains the advocates of woman suffrage in all they have said in regard to the beneficial influence of this movement on individuals, society and the affairs of State." In another column of the same paper, the talented lady editor remarks: "If one woman can register her name and vote under the Fourteenth Amendment, why not hundreds and thousands? Why not all women? Is it possible that the Fourteenth Amendment is to prove the open door through which women may walk into enfranchisement?" To all of which we re-echo the question, "Why not?" Verily, T. W. H. will soon be compelled to find some paper in which to give vent to his old line notion, less fossilized than is the Woman's Journal. We would suggest to our Pennsylvania friends, among whom we understand T. W. H. is soon going, to demand of him when he attempts to expound matters to them, whether women are or are not citizens, and if they are whether it is not by the usurpation of such as he that they are debarred from exercising the citizen's right to vote? Also, if the Constitution of the United States, in plain and unmistakable language, declares a law, whether that law should not be enforced?

With these suggestions we for the present wish T. W. H. a respectful adieu, hoping that before we have an occasion to again call upon him, that he may have succeeded in getting rid of his "Short Cut" crotchet.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

An old proverb says, "the way to hell is paved with good intentions." It would only be respectful to our statistical oracles, to give them the credit of good intentions, but unless the present statements are more correct, than those herein examined, there awaits the country, and that at no distant day, a depth of insolvency which has never entered the mind of those who give credence to the monthly statements as representing the entire truth concerning our trade with foreign countries.

We take the six years, running from July 1863 to July 1869, because we have reliable data of the country's standing at the commencement as well as at the close of the period ex-Commissioner Wells gives in his report, Dec., 1869.

At the breaking out of the war in 1861, the distrust felt by nearly all foreigners in the future of the United States was so great that the larger portion of American securities—National, State and Corporate—held in foreign countries, were returned for sale at almost any sacrifice; and to such an extent was this the case that the country in 1863 may be said to have exhibited a clean national ledger in respect to foreign indebtedness.

The same authority in same report places the amount of American securities which had gone abroad in the settlement of our commercial balances up to the summer of 1869, as one billion four hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars. This statement was indorsed by all the leading foreign bankers in New York at that time.

It was generally understood that railway and other obligations, to the amount of five hundred millions of dollars in excess of this sum, were found, but were not counted in the nation's liabilities, because of their present and prospective worthlessness.

We give the annual statement for these six fiscal years reduced to gold values.

Years	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Re-Exports
1864.....	\$329,562,295	\$243,991,847	\$20,256,940
1865.....	248,555,652	195,045,647	32,561,633
1866.....	445,512,158	418,196,492	14,742,117
1867.....	417,833,575	329,733,725	20,611,508
1868.....	371,624,868	352,881,658	22,601,126
1869.....	437,314,255	318,038,624	25,173,414
Total.....	\$2,250,403,343	\$1,857,938,033	\$135,949,738
	1,993,887,771		1,857,938,033
	\$256,515,572, adverse bal. Total exports \$1,993,887,771		

We have here an official statement that the adverse balance in six years was only two hundred and fifty-six millions of dollars, yet it required pledges which are a constant drain upon our industry to the amount of one billion four hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars, without counting those worthless securities, although they had gone out for value received. This bad faith on the part of our statisticians in exhibiting monthly statements of our foreign commerce to a confiding public, as revealing the whole truth when it does not even approximate thereto, cannot be too severely censured.

It misleads most fearfully the business interests of the country, and must ultimately shipwreck those who trust therein.

The department well know that the imports are simply the declared value by shipper on invoices prepared for custom-house appraisement in this country, and is not the cost price to purchasers. So great is this difference that last summer the American Consul at Sheffield had almost an open rupture with the merchants for issuing fraudulent invoices, which, he stated, did not cover half their cost.

To this must be added the freightage, now almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners; the large profit of which once accruing to American shipping is now lost to it, and goes to swell our European debt.

Another and large item in closing this gap between Government reports and facts is smuggling.

So extensive is this that Mexico has appropriated a belt of country along our frontier for the express purpose of trading without custom houses. So profitable has the business been to her people that the past winter the tract has been largely extended. Our Canadian neighbors, more politic, are equally busy in taking advantage of a tariff averaging 46 per cent.

This enormous duty offers such temptations to the cupidity of human nature, which nature has one thousand miles of land and water border to operate upon, that it inevitably leads to great violations of the law, more especially as it is powerfully aided by political officials who have well learned the national motto that "to the victor belong the spoils."

These are the sources which in a great degree account for the difference between the statistical reports and the actual reality which is requisite to settle balances.

Unfortunately these facts are totally ignored by the general public, but they are rapidly leading to the greatest financial bondage the world has ever witnessed, one that has already reached a point in which the yearly interest to foreign countries is one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, while the total balance of shipments of coin for thirteen years has been six hundred and nineteen millions of dollars, showing that we have been able to export less than forty-eight millions annually.

To-day we stand with this enormous European interest, in addition to a commercial balance that has averaged two hundred and fifty millions annually, staring us in the face, our labor more poorly rewarded, our business interests more prostrate and higher taxes than ever before. Worse than all this, those who have been furnishing us with goods on these pledges are unwilling, or at least hesitating, about receiving them any longer.

Surely these are facts worthy of attention rather than of concealment, for a settlement must come sooner or later, nor will suppression prevent its consummation.

OUR INDIAN TROUBLES.

THEIR CAUSES, COST AND CURE.

BY JOHN R. 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.

No. II.

One of the first movements, on the accession of Grant to power, was an attempt to transfer the Indians to the War Department. This was his first idea of a policy. To his mind the military arm of the Government was the only arm it had. The potency of his suggestion was manifested by an overwhelming vote in the House to make the transfer; but the measure was lost in the Senate, because it militated against the private interests of certain members, and not because of their competency or willingness to deal wisely and justly with the subject. At this period of our history Grant was then without any policy. Meantime a committee had met in New York; issued a circular or petition which specially aroused the attention of the Quakers, who deeply considered the subject at their general meeting in Baltimore, and appointed a special committee to visit and labor with Congress and the President. But this did not stop the inhuman and treacherous massacre of Black Kettle and his band by Custer, under Sheridan, the record of which will go down to posterity as one of the foulest blots on our nation. Black Kettle was an Indian who had never lifted his hand against the white man, and had done many noble acts in rescuing captive women and children, and restoring them to their friends and liberty. Only three days before the fatal morning he was at Custer's camp; procured provisions; interchanged assurances of peace and kindness; and left in good faith that no evil was meditated against him and his band. But instead of this, his footsteps were dogged by hired Indian spies, and, before he was aware of it, his camp was surrounded at twilight in the morning, when, all unconscious of the impending danger, and an indiscriminate slaughter of old men, women and children commenced. History will be searched in vain for greater perfidy and barbarity.

Then came the massacre of the Piegiens by Baker, under Sheridan, on a pretext the most flimsy. At the time of this slaughter many of the Indians were down with small-pox it was in the dead of winter; their tents and provisions were all destroyed; a hundred, chiefly old men, women and children, were taken prisoners, and afterward turned loose in that destitute condition to care for themselves. So far, then, as Grant had a policy, it was indicated by the facts herein set forth.

The moral sense of the nation revolted at these barbarities, and demanded more humanity and justice. This pressure compelled a change, and we got what was known at the start as the Quaker or Peace policy, which was widened so as to embrace other orthodox denominations, who constructed it so as to exclude all counsels and aid of all men not in their ring, no matter how wise or valuable. It must be conceded by all candid minds that, however far they have fallen short in comprehension and management, the result has been a decided improvement on the past—more justice to the Indian and less stealing by the white man, and an improved feeling among the tribes which were giving so much trouble. From necessity, Grant executed the behests of Congress, and so has come to inherit the credit of a policy which never entered his brain until after it was announced by Congress, under the pressure of popular demand. The plain truth is, that this policy of Grant in handing over the Indians to religious sects, is a confession of the incompetency of the men in power to grapple with the problem as statesmen—a transfer of the duties of the State to the Church—a sop held out to the sects for political effect—an insult to the common honesty and intelligence of the country. Secretary Cox said Grant "has a policy which he will not alter." It is presumed he knew what he said. That special policy has never been revealed; but it is safe to say that it is a mixed policy—partly destructive, partly preservative; a little peace, a little war. For there are two elements to be conciliated—the pious and the profane, the Church and the army.

No more humiliating spectacle was ever witnessed in this country than the transfer of this great problem to a commit-

tee of men almost totally ignorant of all the facts and conditions essential to the proper execution of their trust, and the demand of the President in his instructions, that the shall, at their Board meetings, "devise and recommend plans for the civilization of the Indians," etc., etc. All this looks very fine to those ignorant of the fact that all this display is simply to divert attention—appease the public clamor by making a show of doing something; whereas the aggregate of Indian expenses is not diminished one cent, while these ignorant men, with the best of motives, are educating themselves into a knowledge of the cause and cure our Indian troubles. Meanwhile, General Blunt, of North Carolina Cherokee fame in Indian matters, found means to rob four tribes of Indians out of \$126,000 in cool cash for services which he, on oath, alleged cost him only \$6,000, and which never should have required his aid. If just, these claims should have been paid without his intervention; if unjust, the Government has been swindled, and General Blunt must be in some measure the Government. This money was paid to this plunderer under the nose of Government officials, and the Government at Washington was fully advised of Blunt's claim and intention, and allowed him, without molestation, to rob these wards of the nation of this immense sum of money, which he added to other and even more heinous plunderings. Thus we see that, while the Indians are getting more justice in their goods, they are getting less in their money, under Grant's policy, as it is called. This policy retains as Commissioner an Indian, who was on his staff during the war, and wholly lacking in the essential qualities of a good Commissioner; a man who was a notorious drunkard before he was appointed—has not abandoned his potations since—had full knowledge of the operations of Blunt, and has treated other Indians with the grossest injustice, as well as obstructed the operations of a law of Congress, especially enacted for the purpose of punishing some of the villains who have taken advantage of their official positions to deceive and defraud Indians, some of them to the extent of 66 per cent of the amount due, and paid into their hands, as special agents of the Government, for the Indians.

With these preliminaries, we shall proceed at once to the discussion of the specific causes of our Indian troubles.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.

It may not be generally remembered how early and able an advocate of Woman's Rights was the subject of this sketch, nor how much her early advocacy did to advance the general movement.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton says of her that "Several years before the first Woman's Rights Convention, when women lecturers were unknown to the public, Mrs. Davis delivered a course of very able lectures on Physiology and Anatomy in all our chief cities to large classes of the most intelligent women in the country."

"To these early efforts more than to any other instrumentality we are indebted for the prominent place women hold in the medical profession."

"She first roused public thought to the importance of these sciences in woman's education and a deep interest in her mind to pursue them."

Nor did her interest in woman's advancement cease when she had roused the interest referred to by Mrs. Stanton. At all proper times and in all proper places since then she has labored thoughtfully, earnestly and effectively. Perhaps no other woman has done more to educate the general mind up to the importance of the equality of women with men in all things pertaining to life and its duties. Wherever she goes and upon all whom she meets she exerts the healthful, holy influence of a true woman, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of truth and thoroughly devoted to its behests.

No person can regard her calm and dignified features without instinctive feeling that within her reside purity of character, consciousness of right and fidelity to her convictions.

Our personal acquaintance began during the past winter in Washington, where she was a most efficient co-worker in the cause of Constitutional equality. Many there have good cause to remember and to love her. Her voice was always heard when the weak and unfortunate of her sex required assistance or protection from the domination and false judgments of the should-have-been "wise men," some of whom will never forget her withering rebukes. She has done a great and noble work which will live to be the admiration of future ages. She is devoted to the cause for the sake of humanity, and being so, puts a stamp of greatness upon her character to which few persons ever attain.

AT NIGHTFALL.

When in the evening's solitude
My thought has leisure to be free,
The purer life, the higher mood,
The nobler purpose wakes in me.

But in the cares that through the day
Constrain the mind from hour to hour,
The nobler purpose fades away,
Grows faint, and loses all its power.

So some pure star's exelling ray,
With all the beauty of its light,
Is hidden by the glare of day,
And only shines with fall of night.

MURDER: HOW IT IS ENCOURAGED.

THE CAREER OF A DESPERATE SCOUNDREL.

PATRICK DUFFY AND TAMMANY.

The recent killing of an unoffending citizen in so public a place as a street-car, and by the hands of one of that large and dangerous class so carefully fostered in this community by the leaders of its dominant political party, is well fitted to call for more careful consideration of the abstract features of such tragedies, after the transient feelings of horror at the event have worn off, and those who have any idea of "government" beyond that one of Pip's sister in "Great Expectations" cannot but shudder on investigating the form provided for New Yorkers by "Tammany."

Foster, after leaving his victim, struck down by a cowardly blow from a man of double his physical size, went to his home and was there arrested and taken before Alderman Plunkett. That worthy acted in such a Dogberry style as to create the impression that Foster was to be his protégé, but the general surprise at his course might be a little lessened if it were known to be true that its origin was perhaps but "fellow-feeling"—that Plunkett himself, the virtuous administrator of law, some time ago was the hero of a ruffianly brawl, in which ex-Assemblyman Alexander Ward was beaten on the head in a brutal manner with an iron bar, and that Foster appears to have been one of those smaller lights of their political party so fond of assassinations and dastardly assaults in this city, and so fearful during the war of exposing their precious lives in an honorable manner on the battlefields of the South.

We now see the difference, as those who were in that war often remarked, between the cool, calm, contemptuous disregard of a gentleman for personal danger, and the excited, low-lived, passionate frenzy of a ruffian seeking a quarrel for the quarrel's sake, but keeping on his side, with the instinct of a scoundrel or a Washington lobbyist, all the advantages of a surprise—of arms—of physical strength and a bully's habitude in dealing blows and running away.

The public feeling is that had Foster been taken from custody on the very night of the murder and hung to a lamp-post, he would have got his just deserts, and the people at large have been rid of a pest and the expense of his prosecution. But this would have been illegal, demoralizing, and against which sudden action in any case we protest. This would be anarchy. Well, this sentiment is just where all this system of "Tammany" rule tends. Blackguards escape the full measure of punishment that thieves whom they have elevated to office may remain in office, with their arms to the elbows in the people's money, and revelling in corruption and "taxation," sustained by these fellows whose "repeating" and "shoulder-hitting" abilities thus purchase exemption or mitigation of the consequences of crimes.

It was but a while ago that a police officer was convicted of manslaughter for using his club on a person who died from the effects. Every one knows the characteristic brutality of a policeman, yet, will it be credited that a citizen having first complained of an officer and then not attended to press the complaint, from some cause or other, but a day or two since the Commissioner told the officer that he should have used his club, and then the complainant would have been likely to have appeared! Fancy the ultimate result of such advice on a stupid Milesian, dressed in uniform and armed with a heavy locust club, when he next has some slight difficulty in his walk. It is a regular official incentive to indiscriminate murder, neither more nor less.

A daily paper lately announced that Governor Hoffman, at the instigation of William M. Tweed, had pardoned a notorious malefactor. The statement was false, and the account of the criminal was erroneous also; but the real history of the man is "eloquent as any sermon" on the stuff of which the rank and file of the New York (Tammany) Democracy is made; and why? We shall show.

In Beach street, between Varick and West Broadway, there lived the keeper of one of those small grogeries—those detestable holes which line the river fronts of New York—one O'Grady, an Irishman and, inevitably, a Tammany man also. Domesticated with this O'Grady was another distinguished member of Tammany, who, with his family, occupied part of his brother Democrat's house. The second "political light" rejoiced in the name of Duffy—"Pat Duffy"—and it is, perhaps, the worst sin of omission in the long career of General Butler that when he had the power to do so, he did not have "Pat Duffy" tried by drum-head court martial and shot dead. Of this man Duffy, this "relative of the Tammany Hall General Committee," traitor, murderer, bounty-jumper, brother-in-law of "Billy Wilson," that disreputable commander of a disreputable Tammany regiment during the war—gambler and associate of thieves. Of this man Duffy, who is now most fortunately for the city in jail for almost, and no thanks to him for not altogether, murdering policeman Dyckman, by stabbing him with a bowie knife in the course of a fight, at the corner of Broadway and Houston streets, which fight Duffy and a thief named Casey had brought about with the officer. We shall now speak, and in briefly reviewing some of his more prominent acts here, we think no one can fail to admire the ap-

propriate and skillful judgment which shaped his political creed, and in all likelihood has up to now saved his neck from the rope. About the commencement of the war he was arrested for an assault on the captain of a steamer, whom he had almost murdered, but for which act he had only meted out to him as punishment the enormous fine of six cents. In 1857, while riding down West Broadway in a hackney coach on one of his drunken frolics, and accompanied by two "good Democrats," he noticed a negro named Sackett sitting quietly on the stoop at the corner of Thomas street. Drawing a pistol, Duffy said to his companions, "See me pop that d—d nigger!" and deliberately shot Sackett through the head, killing him instantly. For this Duffy was arrested, bailed (!) and "political" influence prevented further proceedings.

During the war, he enlisted in his brother-in-law's (Billy Wilson's) regiment—the most infamous and disgraceful regiment that ever shouldered arms. After various outrages, in one of which he dangerously wounded an officer and in another shot two men for expressing Union sentiments and refusing to sing the "Bonnie Blue Flag"! Duffy was stripped of his uniform by General Butler, imprisoned, and finally forced to leave the city of New Orleans. Returning to New York, he is said to have engaged largely in the congenial occupation of "bounty jumping," which was pecuniarily so profitable as to enable him to purchase, at Port Chester, a house costing some \$8,000. In 1867, so bold had he become that, merely for the fun of the thing, and without any provocation, he shot down an unknown man, directly opposite the station-house in Prince street, and with the same result, as far as punishment, as in the shooting of Sackett, detailed above. And no result, to himself, followed the next shooting affair by Mr. Patrick Duffy—the brother of ex-Alderman Peter Duffy and brother-in-law of Billy Wilson—which was simply a pistol-shot fired into a peaceable colored barber named Varrick, who was quietly walking in Houston street. "Only this, and nothing more." See some of the advantages enjoyed by "small politicians" embraced in the folds of Tammany!

In 1868 Duffy's irresponsible career of terrorism and brutality, supported morally by "party" and pecuniarily by means known to himself and the police, was brought to a slight interruption. We find the record thus: Accompanied by another vagabond named McCormick, he entered a restaurant kept by a German and his wife in Courtlandt street, called for food and drink, and, when they had finished, refused to pay. The proprietor remonstrated, when one of the men, seizing an ice-pick, stabbed the poor German in the eye, killing him. Duffy and McCormick then fled, and remained away until the German's wife, the only witness against them, unaccountably disappeared, when Duffy returned to the city to continue the same shameful life, until, becoming too bold for further protection, the attempt to murder Officer Dyckman sent the scoundrel to the jail where he now lies, no unfair specimen of the way in which crime is not nipped in the bud by our immaculate city rulers.

MORE ABOUT INSURANCE.

THE GUARDIAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY IN COURT.

HOW A NEW YORK FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY HAS BEEN MANAGED.

The manner in which insurance companies use every subterfuge to evade fulfilling their obligations is pretty well understood now, and, coupled with the very rotten condition—we use the term advisedly—in which many of these companies have been—well, *decaying*—has awakened very considerable uneasiness with the public.

The last example in which a jury had been compelled to step in and enforce a specific compliance with the terms of a life insurance policy is that of the Guardian Life, which had insured a joint policy on Mr. Kolges and Gertrude Kolges. The time for paying one of the premiums having passed by, Mrs. Kolges called at the office of the company and inquired if she could make the payment. Being answered in the affirmative, she said she would call with the money the next day. The clerk, finding that she lived in Williamsburgh, volunteered to save her the trouble and call at her house, which he did, with a receipt from the company, for the payment. The receipt he gave to Mrs. Kolges and received the money from her. Subsequently Mr. Kolges died and Mrs. Kolges was coolly told by the "insurance" company that the clerk had no business to give the receipt or to receive the money. This was set up by the company as their defence when, at last, Mrs. Kolges was forced to sue them, and what the jury thought of the defence is shown by a verdict for Mrs. Kolges of the full amount of the policy.

The Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company, quite an old concern, is now also in trouble; an examination into its affairs is progressing, and in due time will probably be made public.

The lately defunct Commonwealth Fire Insurance Company, of which we spoke some time since, has given some strange evidences of insurance rascalities in its dying

agonies. Its capital has been impaired 67 per cent. Its liabilities, if its capital stock of \$250,000 be included, are \$415,478 40. The unpaid premiums, some of which have been outstanding over a year, are \$19,063 11; \$13,940 cash on hand by previous statements dwindle down, on examination, to \$1,749, while, in the same process, losses which were sworn by its officers to be \$25,665 have swelled to \$73,161!!

The secretary, D. M. Daughy, said to be a nephew of Darius R. Mangam, the President of the National Trust Company, of this city, and who we believe is, or rather was, also a director of the Insurance Company, has done some very extraordinary acts in the way of book-keeping. What, for instance, is to be thought of the ingenious alterations by which real charges were so changed in the Company's accounts as to make an extraordinary deficit in its funds? The following are examples which have been traced:

A payment of	\$175 altered in books to	\$1,775
"	984	1,984
"	102	2,102
"	49	1,049
"	649	1,649
"	550	1,550
"	450	1,450
"	150	450
	\$2,170	\$12,070

making a difference (or a theft) of \$8,900 in only eight entries.

Besides all this, shareholders are making plaintive inquiries concerning a certain check for one thousand dollars, which the president of the company directed the secretary to charge to the expenses of Mr. Miller! (the Superintendent of Insurance), and there seems to be lamentations over some thousands of dollars of Government bonds, the property of the company, which have turned up missing!

Here must be sad reflection for the newspapers which have this last winter so sedulously "proved" (?) that the insurance companies were just as they should be, and deprecated any interference with them. There are more exposures coming soon, and meantime we just recommend these newspapers to think of the famous "Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace!" The newspapers may cry "honor, solvency!"—it's all poppycock! Look at the "Great Western," "Farmers' and Mechanics," "Peabody Commonwealth," etc., all exploded in the first few months of this year, and in this city alone.

Two dogs may hunt in couple with mutual help and advantage; and it is not, perhaps, very important whether one leads the other, or which leads, or whether the two go abreast. All this may change from time to time with increase of advantage. But chain the two together by their collars and they gather obstacles at every step, pulling at the same time and jerking upon each other, galling each other's necks, blaming each other for the whole fault and finally falling out by the way and fighting each other instead of pursuing their game (of life).

The woman's rights advocates have always made the mistake of claiming, as the great thing, the recognition of the equality of the man and the woman, or insisting, on the other part, that the two should always go abreast, not comprehending that the real wrong was in the dog-collars and the "tie" between the two dogs, which they, with the rest, have combined to defend as necessary and to sanctify as "a divine institution." They have not seen that what is wanted is freedom. They have lacked the true sublime faith in the self-regulative potency of freedom. Break the dog-collars and the question what dog shall take the lead will be a mere question of which dog can run the fastest. Everything will be harmonious on that score. But the best-natured animals in the world will loose their tempers and become outrageous if married or tied by the neck to each other.

Some people say, "I believe in true marriage, spiritual marriage, etc.," that is to say, in the natural disposition of the two dogs to hunt in couple. Very well, all the less necessity for the dog-collars and chain to keep them at it. The natural disposition will settle the whole matter in freedom. The true question is hidden, disguised and falsified by introducing this other idea under the name of marriage, as if the natural disposition to pair were in some sense the same as the dog-collars and chain (legal marriage), instead of being nature's all-sufficient institute and the very reason why the collars and chain are not heeded.

Nobody need be "in favor of true marriage," for if the permanent pairing of one with one be the intention of nature, it is exactly that which will execute itself in freedom without their leave or favor. It is strange that Americans—who are teaching the whole world to trust in freedom as self-regulative and safe just where it has been feared and dreaded as licentious and dangerous—to trust in freedom as a principle competent to regulate and to evolve order out of chaos—should themselves distrust and fear it in its next logical application. Half a century ago "free thinker" was a term of opprobrium; to-day free thought is the boast of the age we live in. Of late it has been "free love" which was opprobrious; but that is changing already, and it is beginning to be understood that true free lovers are the most virtuous part of the community, and that they are free lovers because they are virtuous. In another generation everybody will be ashamed that they were ever anything else than free lovers. Slavery is no longer in any of its aspects respectable. Slaves are not respected, whether "niggers" on the plantation or unwilling husbands and wives in the leash of matrimony. If people behave well under constraint, there is no virtue in that. In a high moral sense, people cannot do right unless they are first free to do wrong. It is only in freedom that true virtue and morality can expand. "Let us have peace," and in order to have peace let us have freedom.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

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—*New World*.

New York, April 7, 1871.

ISABELLA G. POLLICK.

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CAPITAL.....\$500,000
Subject to increase to.....1,000,000

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This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLECTIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.

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MRS. HELEN EGIN STARRETT has prepared and will deliver, during the ensuing season, a new lecture, entitled "HOUSEKEEPING AND HOME-KEEPING." She will also deliver her lectures entitled "MEN AND WOMEN," and "REALITIES AND POSSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN WOMANHOOD," which received the most flattering testimonials wherever delivered during the past seasons.

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RESOURCES OF THE COMPANY.

Full paid stock subscriptions, about.....\$6,500,000
Subscriptions to convertible bonds..... 600,000
Mortgage bonds, \$20,000 per mile, on 345 miles..... 6,900,000
Total.....\$14,000,000
Equal to \$40,000 per mile.

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

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

New York, Dec. 2, 1870.

Messrs. GEORGE OPDYKE & Co., New York:

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

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

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

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

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

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

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

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LIGHT COLORED STRIPES, in all the New Shades
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A Full Assortment of
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YEAR 1870-71.

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ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

AT NIBLO'S the management are bound to startle the public. Mr. James Mace, the champion pug, made "As You Like It" tolerable by the display of his magnificent physique. It was a success. But Jarrett and Palmer missed an opportunity when they omitted to give us a real wrestling scene. Walter Montgomery, the Antinous of the stage, was no fit rival to cope with the mighty Mace. Why did not the enterprising managers give us a real contest of real athletes. Orlando, the precocious boy, might have triumphed vicariously, and gone on with the part in his own proper person. A very little cooking of Shakespeare would have sufficed; and the Swan of Avon is used to being cooked by this time. Perhaps Jarrett of the velvet coat does but reserve himself. Mace himself is sufficient "draw;" when he stales upon the public gaze it will be expedient to augment his attractions. A notable idea was that of putting Count Johannes up as *Richard III.* Everybody was tickled, and the house was filled with a laughter-loving crowd. But those who came to scoff remained to—well, not precisely pray, but to be surprised. Count Johannes, the American nobleman, is no fool; a little eccentric, perhaps, and not a little egotistic. Faith in one's self is, however, half way to greatness; moreover Count Johannes (Mr. Jones) is to the manor born. *Richard III.* is precisely one of those parts in which if no man can hope to achieve greatness with the traditions of Garrick and Kean (Edmund not Charles) staring him in the face, he yet may realize mediocrity and escape ridicule. Very strongly marked parts give a broad footing for common sense. Count Johannes was remarkable for his moderation. Those who expected to see the lightning defied and the gods reviled were disappointed. There was nothing foolish about it. Jones is well advised to abandon his dreams of nobility, adventitious distinction unworthy a free-born Republican, to eschew law and lay aside the detective calling, for which his outspoken egotism so eminently unfit him, and stick to pasteboard crowns and mimic passion. The appearance of E. L. Davenport in "Sir Giles-Overreach" and other master pieces gives the public a chance of seeing them done by a finished elocutionist and a versatile actor.

FIFTH AVENUE.—The unbounded success of Charles Matthews at the Bijou theatre justifies a regret that he had not been at a larger house. There is, however, a popularity in a house and a management, as well as in an actor. All Mr. Daly's tact and pluck might not be able to manage the Fourteenth-street Theatre or the Academy of Music into an acceptable temple of the Muses. Apart from management, the success of the veteran actor is an answer to the depreciation of the legitimate and the deterioration of public taste. Where the actors are there will be the public. Judicious management and liberal advertising are means to an end. People require to be informed where they will find what they want, whether the *utile* or the *dulce*. The good wine does need a bush, despite the proverb; probably always did, but in this day more than ever. But the good wine being kept, and the thirsty being invited, there will be no lack of custom. Here is Charles Matthews playing to this generation the same parts in which he delighted their fathers, and he draws. The first light comedian, for over forty years, appearing in pieces a hundred years old. Contrast this long lease of public approval with the ephemeral fame of "Horizon," "Pluck," "Saratoga," "Across the Continent," and all the trumpery May-flies of the hour, which flutter their little life and then pass away into oblivion, and bring nothing but present pennies to either author, actor or manager. Mr. Boucicault says this is the stuff the public wants. It may be so. And seeing that the public gets nothing better, the public does well to take pleasure in its misery. Not he that has much is to be accounted happy, but he that, having little, is therewith content. The average actor of the present day is as good, probably better, than the average actor of the past. What we want is the great artist and dramatist, as much above his day and generation as Quin, Macklin, Betterton, Siddons, Shakespeare or Sheridan were above the men and women of their epoch.

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, with its new Italian opera season, is a case exactly in point. Miss Kellogg is a very charming artist; being also an American she has all the prestige of nationality in her favor. But with such a company and such an orchestra how is it possible to galvanize the public into enthusiasm? They are not bad, certainly not. But New York is the wealthiest, and, if there were no Boston, might be called the most cultivated musical audience on the continent; New Orleans being in reality superior to either, just as dilettantism is more refined in Paris than in London. If the Academy of Music is ever to be reclaimed from its funeral character and to wear wedding garments of light and fullness, the manager for the time being, whatever his name, style or title, must be prepared to justify public approval before he can command it.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

The attendance at the Gallery still continues. It is one of the most agreeable resorts in the city. Five rooms, furnished with the pick and choice of art, and elegant and intellectual company, gathered together by a common impulse of love for art and beauty—can there be a more pleasant way of spending an hour, to say nothing of the encouragement given to the simplest and most refining of influences—education by the eye?

The landscapes are, as usual, the best features of the exhibition, although a few portraits of more than average excellence are worthy of attention. Landscape is generally the *pièce de résistance* of a young school. It is easier in composition, it is more showy, and more appreciable by the average public; models are to be found in every bush or on the common highway; the pecuniary results are more immediate.

Figure drawing and composition is a long, laborious road to fame, and the mighty rivalry of the great dead is so absolutely insuperable as to discourage the student who vainly strives after their incomparable excellence. In figure composition, too, there is nothing new, while nature is ever fresh, and modern life in its uniformity of externals and its absence of emotion offers no point of contact for the artistic hand and eye.

Albert Bierstadt has two landscapes with his usual excellences and defects. Bierstadt has become famous too soon. This picture of wooded knoll and placid water, rifted crags and rocky pinnacles piercing the skies, contains half a dozen lesser pictures, all perfect in themselves, and yet not harmonious as a whole. The bit of sward and trees on the left foreground is exquisite; the nearer distance falling off into indistinctness is beautiful and suggestive. Then we come to the middle distance, with the ascending masses of rock, pile upon pile, lost in cloud and fog, and the effect is not satisfactory. Bierstadt does not paint clouds—he paints loose cotton; his near distance is more receding than his far distance, which seems so far and yet too near, and by a little more opacity would come into the foreground. But whatever his faults, Bierstadt is always *Salvator Rosa*-like and picturesque, not only in choice of subjects but in broad, vigorous treatment, while he dashes in minutia with a lavish hand, that seems to revel in its own strength and can afford profusion without exhausting itself.

McEntee has two fine pictures, one of which is particularly striking—the approach of a railroad train at night through a blinding storm. The strong blaze of the head-light is almost as blinding as the lantern itself and attracts the observer from across the room. It is but a trick, but a dab of white. Thackeray, in his Roundabout papers, noticing the facility with which the expression of the eye may be varied, remarks to the supposed art critic, "Yes, my friend, it is only a little dab of Paris white, laid on perhaps with a palette knife. Now you know the trick, go and do it. Bring out that dying eye." Just so with McEntee. The light is wonderful, while the long curve of the train, darkening away into gloom and the blinding snow, are admirable: every traveler must know the scene. It is ungracious to comment on small defects, yet we would wish to see a good picture perfect. The distance between the rails in the foreground is excessive, besides their being out of line with the wheels of the approaching train.

E. J. Perry has two of his *genre* pictures, farm-house interior, with old furniture and fixings. The subjects are a specialty with this faithful and painstaking artist. Everything, from a curly little towhead to an old milk-pan, is a study from nature. The old clock-maker, tinkering up a clock, is wonderful in its care of details as well as management of effects. The subject is so unpromising, there is so little of the picturesque in such homely matters, and yet the man's earnestness, the boy's intentness, the very fixedness of purpose, give value to the subject, while the choice of attitude, the exact reproduction of incident, even to a crease in the coat or the coloring of a Windsor chair and the graduation of lights and distances, invest the picture with the characteristics of art. Ostade, Mieris, Teniers are not less art than Delaroche or Millais; the repulsive vulgarity of the subjects is forgotten in the consummate purity and perfection of the treatment. True art elevates and ennobles common life, investing it with all the forms of beauty of which it is capable. Perry is particularly happy in his treatment of firelight and his disposal of his centres away from the middle of the picture. In "The Thanksgiving" he has put in a bit of indoor flower-pots and bloom, with a free hand and rich color, that bespeaks the enthusiast in flowers.

PAGE'S "Head of Christ" I have already noticed, but in the south room is his head of Wendell Phillips. Can that mild face, that pleasant smile, that magnetic eye, large, open, luminous, really belong to that master of invective, to the terrible assailant of princedoms, dominations. The painting itself is Pagey, transparent, yet rich of color and full of vigor, more pleasing and more real than the "Head of Christ." That same Head of Christ has, by the by, one point of recommendation which I failed to note—its strength—its manly vigor—it is, if less sweet, so much more forcible, so much more capable of doing the work to be done, than the weak, effeminate, dreamy, purely good "Christs" we are accustomed to see. This Page's "Christ," if He have only intellect and motive, can do much. Roused to energy he might be a scourge, a whirlwind. It is just this predominance of physique that seems to counterbalance the ideal spiritualism.

Above Page's "Wendell Phillips," is a head by a young artist, Von Schalk, the most promising thing in the exhibition in figure-painting, suggestive of great work to come.

Eastman Johnston's children at play in the old coach is a capital picture—full of life and color—child joyousness and earnestness in trifles—after all, though, what is all life but trifles? The variety of attitudes, the bold foreshortenings of the boy on the coach box; the lady-like enjoyment of the little girls in their imaginary ride are excellent. All the business of the scene is admirably done. A picture with twice the art and twenty times the meaning of his "Boy Lincoln," in which I never could detect the youth pregnant with a great future of the good President.

The *Evening Post* has been rather savage on the Hanging Committee. The Hanging Committee of an art exhibition is almost as unthankful an office as that of the sheriff. It is so hard to satisfy the party hanged. A certain picture of two cats making night hideous on the top of a city house, with peaceful citizens "cussing" the intruders from their garrets, may have something to do with the *Evening Post's* acerbity. Because those cats are not virtuous the Hanging Committee shall have no cakes nor ale. That picture is away above the line. Its Chinese perspective and literal fidelity would have entitled it to the line in a Pekin gallery, only that the Chinese are better and brighter colorists.

W. H.

A CORRESPONDENT is much aggrieved by Count Joannes in his recent appearance as the crook-backed tyrant. If Count Joannes could condescend to borrow anything from anybody, even an idea, he might take the irrepressible G. F. T. for an example. G. F. T. having, in his vivacious way, asked the company whether he should proceed at a late hour, the house responded, "Aye, aye!" "Thank you, my friends—now for the noes?" "No!" shouted one individual. G. F. T. skipped toward him in his most buoyant manner: "You may go out!" The house roared.

Our correspondent says of the great American Count:

The most remarkable event of the season, dramatically speaking, occurred on Saturday evening last, at Niblo's Garden, and a vast crowd were amused to more than the extent of their money's worth, if not instructed, by the frantic, though futile, efforts of one George Jones, alias Count Joannes, to play the part of *Richard III.* No broader farce can be imagined than he made of Shakespeare's great tragedy, and we would suggest to him that, before he essays a public appearance again, it would be well to study up a few of the decencies, not to mention the elegances, of the English language.

"Hen-ne-ry" may be a good way to pronounce Henry, but we incline to the belief that Shakespeare had no such intention, and much prefer two syllables to three. Then, again, "sharp-pointed sword" is quite too vulgar to pass muster with an intelligent audience; likewise "dorg" and sundry other little eccentricities of pronunciation, in which the noble Count frequently indulged. It would be folly to attempt an accurate account of this funny performance, for through the five acts it was simply absurd, and lacked every element of dignity and common sense. Who ever heard of a flippant, winking, giggling *Richard III.*? And this man actually had the audacity to make jokes and wink at the audience, especially when he spoke of the exceeding elasticity of a lawyer's conscience. His gestures were quite to the point, and so very personal, it was evident he applied the words to himself. The crowd burst into a roar, and enjoyed the joke hugely; but this wonderful dramatic genius was in no way disconcerted, and paraded up and down the stage with the air of a conqueror. His sword was too much for him, and he tripped over it whenever he became emphatic; and between it and his dagger, which he dropped on the smallest provocation, and a very new, stiff and common muslin handkerchief, his time and energies were fully occupied.

He looked serene and happy, however, and seemed to ignore the fact that he was a laughing-stock and an object of derision. The scene on horseback, which better actors wisely omit, was worthy Barnum's circus, and the wag our hero gave his silly part when he said, "Off with his head," and, after a fearful pause, "So much for Buckingham," would have made the fortune of a clown. The great fun of the evening, however, was reserved for the closing scene, when Richmond stabs the king and the latter dies. A bloodless death was not to the great Jones' mind, and though he was stabbed to the heart, he smeared his face with some bloody preparation he held in his left hand, and the effect was gory and wonderful to behold, as he must have discovered by the yelling and screaming that followed his act. Upon being called before the curtain, he said he was too exhausted to make a speech, but, quoting Washington Irving, he said he would write one and the *Sun* should shine upon it, but we have beheld no such illumination, though Monday's *Sun* had a wild panegyric on the rare talent of this George Jones, rating him above any living actor. Probably, he thought it would pay better to sing his own praise than to write a speech. His occasional Hamlet and semi-occasional Richard are really worth seeing, if only to show an admiring public how nearly allied are the tragic and comic mimes, and how very short the step is from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Theodore Thomas will take his position with his magnificent orchestra, at Central Park Garden, early in May, and then our real musical carnival will begin. We may confidently look forward to a succession of beautiful programmes, old favorites, popular, with gems from the undying classic authors, and a long list of novelties, both popular and classical; for Mr. Thomas is constantly supplied from abroad with every new orchestral composition that makes its mark there.

Theodore Thomas has had a wonderful career since his last concerts at Central Park Garden, in the fall of 1870. He has given some two hundred concerts in the principal cities North, East and West, and has been hailed everywhere as the greatest missionary of orchestral music. He has given over twenty concerts in Boston alone, crowding the vast Music Hall with the elite of the city, and winning from the press such encomiums as were never passed upon orchestral performances before.

Among the secret papers found at the Tuilleries was a bill of the Prince Imperial's traveling expenses. It contained, among other items, the following: "Several triumphal arches, erected on the other side of the river, 335 francs." Triumphal arches paid out of the pocket of him to whom they were dedicated! what a humiliation to royalty.

Among the notables in London for the present musical season, we notice the names of Alfred Jaell, the distinguished pianist, who is to play in May at the Musical Union and New Philharmonic Society Concerts. Sivori, the great violinist, who is engaged at the Musical Union, with Lassere, the violinist from Paris, and Waefental, a viola player of reputed talent, also from Paris.

Patti, "La Diva," has been engaged at the Italian Opera, at St. Petersburg, for four months of the coming season, at a salary of \$10,000—the first month of the season will be at Moscow, the other three in St. Petersburg. In each city she is to have a benefit, or the sum of \$3,500 for each benefit.

Wherever he carried his superb orchestra, a perfect *furore* was created, and the halls were crowded. At Chicago, so great was the enthusiasm aroused that for several nights the receipts were over three thousand dollars, and, on one evening, four thousand two hundred dollars!

Mr. P. S. Gilmore has written quite an elaborate history of the Boston Peace Jubilee of 1869, which will be read with great interest by those interested in the progress and advancement of Musical Art in this country.

London has thirty-eight theatres, and twenty-six music halls, besides the Opera, Cremorne Garden and several Circuses. Over seventeen hundred performers gain their living from the music-halls alone.

Madame Ceilleg, who left this country in disgust a few months ago, will make her first appearance as Donna Anna in Don Giovanni, and in other first-class dramatic parts during the season in London.

The celebrated writer, Guizot, is confined to his bed, but dictates to his daughter, who acts as his amanuensis, sometimes for eight or ten hours at a time.

Mr. Ayneley Cook has been engaged to accompany Madame Parepa Rosa and her opera troupe in her tour through the United States next Fall.

Mrs. Barrows, portions of whose interesting history have been laid before the public, had previously been lecturing with great acceptance before the University, and has recently performed a surgical operation on the eye in so skillful a manner as to elicit warm commendations from those witnessing it.

[From the Cleveland Herald.]

PLAIN LANGUAGE BY TRUTHFUL JANE.

Which I wish to repeat,
And my language is plain,
That in ways of deceit,
And in tricks that are vain,
The "girl of the period" is lively,
Which the same I would rise to explain.

Lily White was her name,
And I need not deny,
In regard to the same,
What that name might imply;
But her cheeks were provokingly rosy,
And bewitchingly penciled her eye.

'Twas in Lent, week third,
With most penitent skies,
Which it might be inferred
Lily White was likewise:
Yet she humbugged Johannes my lover,
In a way I shall always despise.

Which we had a small game,
Called by some hide and seek;
'Twas flirtation. The same
She thought sinful and weak;
But she smiled as she ogled Johannes,
With a smile that was saintly and meek.

Yet the game it advanced
In a way I detest,
And my sorrow enhanced
At the state of John's vest,
Which heaved like a wave of the ocean,
When the same has a turbulent breast.

But the tricks that are played
By that girl of the P.,
And the progress she made,
Was alarming to see,
Till she twirled on her left hand forefinger
What Johannes had promised to me.

Then I looked up at John,
But he looked not at me;
And I rose with a groan
And said, What do I see?
We are ruined by harmless flirtation,
And I went for that girl of the P.

In the scene that ensued
John amazed did not speak;
For the floor was bestrewn,
In the height of my pique,
With the "cards" Lilly White had been playing
In the game she thought "sinful and weak."

Of those "exquisite charms"
I laid bare in a trice
"Paddings," "paniers" and "forms"
Of most cunning device;
And there fell with her tresses so airy,
What is frequent in hair, rats and mice.

Which is why I repeat,
And my language is plain,
That in ways of deceit
And in tricks that are vain
The "girl of the period" is lively,
Which the same I am free to maintain.

MRS. MACREADY has the honor to announce that she will give a series of Easter subscription recitals, similar to those which created a furore among the higher circles of Europe.

Mrs. Macready recites entirely from memory whole Shakespearean plays, impersonating each character, and her retentive memory will enable her to give one hundred entertainments of different selections without referring to book or prompter.

In reference to these recitals Mrs. Macready will give a series of three—two evenings and one matinee. The programmes will be entirely different and selected from the most popular poets and dramatists.

Entertainments to take place at Steinway Hall, Thursday evening, May 4th, at 8. Saturday matinee, May 6th, at 2. Friday evening May 12th, at 8.

Mrs. Macready, at the request of many of her friends, has consented to give a series of entertainments, similar to those which she gave so successfully in London and other cities abroad.

A short time ago some of Mrs. Macready's literary friends proposed getting up these entertainments for her by subscription, although it was neglected for a short time, which will make them come off rather late, it now promises to be a great success.

The subscription list has been signed by Mayor Hall, Rev. Dr. Chapin, Peter Cooper, Cyrus W. Field, Richard O'Gorman, Gen. Tweed, Geo. Shea, A. S. Hatch, Pitt Cook, etc., etc.

Among the prominent ladies are Mrs. Charles O'Connor, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Mrs. Geo. W. McLean, Mrs. Jennie C. Croly, Mrs. S. A. Jameson, Mrs. George Hoffman, Mrs. Abner Mellen, Mrs. J. J. Crittenden, Mrs. Ralph Meade, Mrs. Wm. J. Peake, Mrs. T. J. S. Flint, etc.

Subscription price for season ticket, admitting lady and gentlemen to reserved seats, \$5.

Admission \$1. No extra charge for reserving seats. Subscriptions received, or seats can be secured at the Fifth-avenue Hotel, or C. H. Ditson's music store, 711 Broadway.

HAIR-DRESSING having become a very important part of a lady's toilette, it is necessary that ladies should know where they can receive the attentions of genuine artists. This is necessary, not merely in its arrangement, but, what is of still greater moment, the health.

Some hair-dressers will ruin a fine head of hair in a few months, by the use of injurious dressing preparations, which disease the scalp, and finally cause the hair to fall.

We can recommend to ladies who wish to escape all the above ills, to intrust their hair to the care of Wm. DIBBLEE, 854 Broadway, up stairs. He has devoted his whole life to investigating the nature and wants of the hair, and thoroughly understands them. His Dibbleeana Japonica and Magic Salve are the *ultima* *thuis* of hair preparations.