

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

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

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

PAGE.	PAGE.
Memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull: The Women at Loggerheads..... 1	The New Year (Poetry): The Root of the Matter, or the Bible in the Role of the Old Mythologies; Charity (Poetry), etc. The American and European Steamship Company..... 2
Oh, Come to the Ball-Room—a Song: Some Under-currents of Modern History..... 2	Captain Codman's Address before the Committee on Commerce of House of Representatives; San Domingo; Revenue..... 3
The Owl (Poetry): Free Trade vs. Protection; Labor and Capital..... 3	Real Estate and Insurance: One Idea of American Shipbuilding; The Lady Brokers' Affair..... 4
Children—Their Rights, Privileges and True Relation to Society; Time and Labor..... 4	The South Carolina Election Law and How It Works; Gypsy Mary's Song to the Roses (Poetry); Truths that will bear Repetition..... 11
Christmas (Poetry): Financial and commercial; Labor and Capital (Poetry), etc..... 5	Miscellaneous..... 16
Put Yourself in His Place (Poetry); England and the English; Free Trade vs. Protection..... 6	

TO

NEWSMEN AND POSTMASTERS THROUGHOUT

The United States, Canada and Europe.

On account of the very extraordinary and widespread demand which has sprung up for THE WEEKLY since the exposure of the frauds and villainies which are practiced upon the people by iniquitous corporations having no souls, was commenced, which demand is evidenced by the daily receipt of numerous letters—too numerous for us to answer individually—from all parts of the country, we now offer the following liberal CASH TERMS to all who are disposed to avail themselves of them:

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This journal will always treat upon all those subjects which are of

VITAL INTEREST

TO THE

COMMON PEOPLE.

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

A FREE PAPER

FOR A FREE PEOPLE.

in which all sides of all subjects may be presented to the public, we only reserving the right to make such editorial comment on communications as we may deem proper.

Here, then, is a free platform upon which

THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRAT,

THE RADICAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE,

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE INFIDEL,

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND THE PROTESTANT,

THE JEW AND THE PAGAN,

AND THE MATERIALIST AND THE SPIRITUALIST

MAY MEET IN A

COMMON EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD,

which we believe comes from the fact that

GOD IS THE FATHER OF THEM ALL.

FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, December 22, 1870.

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

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

No objection was made, and it was ordered accordingly.

The petition is as follows:

THE MEMORIAL

OF

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Therefore your memorialist would most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to make such laws as in the wisdom of Congress shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the right vested by the Constitu-

tion in the citizens of the United States to vote, without regard to sex.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Dated New York City, December 19, 1870.

THE WOMEN AT LOGGERHEADS.—Miss Catherine Beecher and Mrs. Livermore, both women of strong minds, had a little tussle in Boston on the question of woman suffrage. They were both eloquent. They had each their strenuous supporters, but the genius of the Beechers was on the right side of the question. Her arguments were clearly to the point. What a woman can do to advance her position by obtaining the privilege of voting she can do as well now, by exercising her irresistible influence upon the men who have votes. Miss Beecher contended that woman can get all they require by keeping in their proper sphere and using their power over men—voters and law-makers—almighty Joves as they are. The answering argument of the enthusiastic Mrs. Livermore was but the old, vague, wearisome story of woman's "wrong" (in the abstract, half of which are imaginary, and the other half of which are probably brought on by the restless and discontented of their sex, who can never be happy unless they are the heroines of some little domestic trouble, which they delight to bring before the public in some shape, sometimes in the lecture room and sometimes in the court room. The common-sense view of this question of woman's right to suffrage is pretty fairly embodied in Miss Beecher's views—namely, that a woman to-day, in our community, can obtain all the rights and privileges necessary for her comfort and the maintenance of her proper position in society without the exercise of the suffrage. Rely upon the chivalry of the men, who are invested with the power to make woman a queen among gods, and there will be no disappointment. They have crowned her already and they are loyal to their professions. This is the philosophy of Miss Beecher's argument. It is a new and a strong point in this much-versed question of woman suffrage, and we commend it to the consideration of the dissatisfied males and females who are worrying the public with the incessant cry of woman's rights and woman's wrongs.—*Herald*.

We confess to not a little surprise to find such puerile words in a paper which advocates the comprehensive application of ideas to all subjects except this one of "The Rights" of one-half the citizens who form so important a part of the social body. It does not meet the question. It is an evasion. The real question is simply this: Have women rights under the constitution as it now stands, which the male citizens will or do not recognize or allow them to exercise. Either this is so, or it is not so. There is no other point to be met, and it is useless and a showing of conscious weakness or error, to resort to such subterfuges, twaddle and play upon words as portions of the above are. "The restless and discontented of their sex." The growth of principles of liberty, equality and justice in the confined soul always makes its subjects restless and discontented. Were not our forefathers restless and discontented when they felt the tyranny of the mother-country imposed upon them, when they declared they would not submit to taxation without representation? This is but one of the impositions "the restless and discontented" are obliged to submit to, and it illy becomes those who have genuine respect for equality to attempt to ridicule others who feel the oppression of unequal conditions. "That a woman to-day in our community can obtain all the rights and privileges necessary for her comfort and the maintenance of her proper position in society without the exercise of suffrage." So, too, thought King George; and, so, too, thinks every person who exercises an assumed power over others. But by what right do men or women, who have not yet felt freedom growing in their souls, assume to dictate what is "necessary for the comfort," etc., of those whose souls have enlarged under the precepts taught us by our fathers, who fought the Revolution, and by fighting won for their sons the right of self-government? And shall they now, in their turn, become King Georges, and deny the right of self government to others over whom they now exercise all legislative function? This is the "chivalry" that our forefathers did not appreciate, and those who possess it may rest assured that the "restless and discontented" of this day and age do not appreciate it. We confess we fail to see any "philosophy" in such statements, and that in our estimation it is entirely unworthy a powerful press to endeavor to "shirk the point at issue by resorting to such colored panegyrics as making woman a queen among gods," when all she asks is the opportunity to exercise her just and equal rights. With the logic of Miss Beecher's argument about the power of woman over man we have not done. Here we will simply say that the necessity for the exercise of just such power as she refers to is demoralizing the nation. But supposing that such exercise is altogether legitimate and proper, we would ask Miss Beecher if that power would be lessened should women exercise the further power of suffrage? It seems to us that if this influence is powerful for good without suffrage that it would be doubly so with suffrage.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

OH, COME TO THE BALL-ROOM.—A SONG.

BY C. M. F.

I.
Oh, come to the ball-room, thou dear one,
And come in thy loveliest splendor;
Oh, come, for I love to be near one
Whose glance is so touching and tender.
To night is a time for enjoyment,
And will bless the gay hours as they fly,
While the dance shall be others' employment,
I'll but bask in the light of thine eye.

II.
Oh, come to the ball-room, and bring, love,
Thy brightest of smiles, so subduing,
And lovers around thee shall cling, love,
With sighing and worship and wooing;
And thy beauty shall be as the gleaming
Of stars in the clear summer sky;
Still while others of blisses are dreaming,
I'll but bask in the light of thine eye.

III.
Oh, come to the ball-room, for many
Are longing to offer their greeting,
And hail thee the fairest of any
Whose presence shall bless the gay meeting;
As queen of the festival, dearest,
Thy charms shall from each claim a sigh—
While I to thy side shall be nearest,
To bask in the light of thine eye.

IV.
Oh, come to the ball-room to-night, love,
And the stars in the heavens may glisten—
The moon in her glory be bright, love,
And sages these oracles listen;
But thy PRESENCE shall be my enjoyment,
And I'll bless the gay hours as they fly;
While the dance shall be others' employment,
I'll but bask in the light of thine eye.

NEW YORK, Dec. 24, 1870.

SOME UNDER-CURRENTS OF MODERN HISTORY.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

No. IV.

Lord Bacon and his compeers prophesied of the coming of those commonwealth times, knowing that the people as they grew more and more instructed in their right duties and liberties must one day, before long, come into direct collision with the ruling powers. We shall never know to what extent that secret society aforesaid labored to diffuse liberal ideas among the people, but every now and then there turns up the magnificent evidence of state or family papers, to testify to the fact that their labors were unceasing. Thus it appears that prominent English gentlemen on the liberal side, belonging to the great county families, and equally opposed to the State Church, to Catholicism, and to all tyrannies of Ecclesiastical Courts and State Chamber Courts, were all, more or less, members of the secret association and accessory to its proceedings. In the house of the great John Hampden, who began the battle between the people of England and the King of England, by his refusal to pay ship money, as Boston folks began the Revolution by refusing to pay tea duties, and pitching the tea chests into Boston harbor—in the house of John Hampden there was a room set apart for an amanuensis, whose duty it was to copy certain manuscripts which were composed by Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower, and secretly conveyed, by a trusty hand, from that awful den of scrutiny, to the safe custody of the English patriot, for the purpose already stated. There is every reason to believe that these manuscripts were plays, belonging to the so-called "Shakespearean Literature," a piece of that Fourth part of the Instauration which appealed to "the eye" in "living diagrams" as well as to "the ear," and which, if those who wrote them, desired to live to write more, for the "relief of the human estate," must not only be copied so that no trace of the real authorship could be found, but must be fathered by a comparatively obscure person, such as Shakespeare was, when compared with the great statesmen of those times, authors of the so-called "Plays of Shakespeare." These men, as is well known, repudiated the name of poets, especially Bacon, who professed to see in the poetic reputation a barrier to his advancement. Both Sir Walter Raleigh and Bacon wrote wretched pastorals in their more youthful days, and desired that these should remain as the high-water mark of their poetic ability—the better to throw the keen dogs of the Court off scent of his grand trail, now so distinctly marked on the starry highways of immortality. If it be asked, Why all this secrecy? we answer, because publicity would be death to the writers. And, further, if it be likely that men—who had such a superb heirloom to leave to posterity, all of their own manufacture—would forego the splendor of its reputation on any public grounds? we answer again, as before, in the first instance and in the second, that these magistral intellects were well content to leave the solution of the problem of the authorship to "impartial times" that could detect from internal as well as external evidence, the indubitable marks of a profoundly cultivated genius and scholarly mind, such as could not belong

to any player or manager of any Globe theatre. For in these plays are not only those marks above indicated, but hints at an immense and fathomless mind, which had bot tomed all human learning, and was master of the best thoughts of ancient and modern times—master, also, of history, science, art, government and civil jurisprudence; equally at home in art as in metaphysics and religion, and as well versed in the Bible as at home in the ubiquities of the past and the present, if we may so express our meaning. Every year some lover of these priceless plays discovers their authors in some new character—and even so great a man as Lord Campbell, Vice-Chancellor of England, has written a book to prove that "Shakespeare was a profound lawyer and jurist." We know that Lord Bacon was a profound lawyer and jurist; but how good Master Shakespeare, with his neglected education and loose habits in early life, and his subsequent occupation in that masterly strategy which made his theatre so successful, could find time, amidst all these labors, to make himself a lawyer of such profound learning and ability as to attract the practiced and keen eyes of a Lord Chancellor who knew what a lawyer was, is a little too big a problem for us to solve. We are aware of the position—not very tenable—of some of Shakespeare's friends that all these things were given in his genius and his consciousness; but so far as we have seen or heard, there is no royal road to learning of any sort, and for a man to be a scholar he must also be a hard worker. Poetry comes by the grace of God; learning, by the bloody sweat of toil wrung from the brows, beneath the murky glare of the midnight lamp.

It was reserved for an accomplished and scholarly American lady to solve this, the great literary problem belonging to human history. The Letters of Junius were long while a mystery, and a vast amount of wit and critical and analytical ability was brought to bear upon its solution, as if it were a matter of great human concernment to have the thing settled. Taylor, a London publisher and literate, proved at last beyond doubt that the infamous honor belonged to Sir Philip Francis. But in this case all that was done was to fix the moral villainy as well as the intellectual brilliance, so that no good man's memory might any more be damned with either. In the other case of the "Shakespearean literature," it was the rendering of a mighty justice to the superbest intellects which the world had ever seen. Of course we are well aware how great a heresy this doctrine is to all who have been accustomed to consider Shakespeare the author of the Plays—and, assuredly, we mean no harm to Shakespeare—but we have examined the whole internal as well as external evidence involved in this startling problem, and our conviction is immovable. Moreover, we will venture to say that no competent man, who understands what evidence is, and shall read this evidence with the same impartiality that he would bring to bear upon the solution of a geometrical proposition, could fail to come to the same conclusion with us.

If Sir Walter Raleigh had been merely writing his "History of the World" he would hardly have taken such pains with it as to send it to John Hampden's house to have it copied. That "History of the World," however, was a subterfuge to enable him to write, without question, his true "History of the World," which those Shakespearean dramas are. The title, too, is a specimen of that anagrammatic mode of writing so much affected by this school, and it is certain that Sir Walter found employment enough for that distant and obscure amanuensis. What a glimpse is afforded us of those dark, mysterious and dangerous times by this example! The clerk was lodged in the chamber where he wrote. It was a dark chamber—a sort of secret room in the middle of the house—and was constantly lighted by dim candles placed on the table where he sat to do his copying. He was allowed to speak to no one nor to see any one while in harness. A trusty old servant used to bring him the MSS. sheet by sheet and carry off the original and the copy as soon as the latter was made. Among the household records of Hampden there is an item of payment made to an amanuensis for copying twelve hundred sheets of Sir Walter Raleigh's manuscripts. So that John Hampden, no doubt, belonged to that secret association, and he proved presently how willing he was to fight for the principles which they were organized to publish and to defend at the right time. The people were not now left to themselves. They had chiefs of high rank and position, who were ready to act with them and for them; and when Charles I. was dethroned and beheaded and democracy was triumphant, and the people were the democracy—all over the world rang the funeral knell of that unhappy monarch. He had pushed to inevitable issue the long-contending principles of absolutism and liberty, and he fell in the conflict. His fall was the knell of tyranny all over Europe and the world. Then sang the Libertats this song, by J. S.:

Awake! Oh Freedom! strike thy lyre
And break the slumber of the world;
Kindle every pulse with fire,
And let thy banner float unfurled,
O'er every land and clime and sea,
Until the earth shout, "Liberty!"

Awake! awake! the time has come
For groaning nations to be free!
The tyrant on his throne is dumb,
And every eye is turned to thee!
Oh, from thy long, deep trance awake!
And every chain in mercy break!

We would not sink beneath the sod,
And leave no sign that we have been,
Whilst all thy martyrs cry to God,

Against the crimes which thou hast seen:
The cruel wrong, the bloody might,
The horror of thy long, dark night.

For well we know in days of yore,
How inch by inch the ground was fought,
And how the earth with blood ran o'er,
And how the rights of man were bought;
And we are ready, might and main,
To fight those battles o'er again.

Our homes and altars thou hast given,
A sacred trust to thy brave sons,
Who cling to thee and hope in heaven,
Trampling Rome's ghastly skeletons,
And all her gods of paint and stone,
Believing in Thee, Lord, alone!

And as our forbears from the first,
Have kept their altar-fires a-flame,
Placing in God and thee their trust,
So we will ever do the same!
Ready to answer at thy call,
And give to thee our lives, our all.

The times are ripe for reaping men,
The seeds of Spring are fully grown;
Blow, Freedom! blow o'er wood and glen
Thy trumpets for our harvest sown!
And bring thy reapers in the field,
To reap, to gather and to shield.

Give us the liberty we prize,
To worship God and dwell in peace!
For lo! at last the despot dies!
And darkness goes and stars increase.
Till on a sudden comes the morn,
And a new world to man is born.

Then glory be to God and thee,
Thou deathless watcher of Time's night!
And thou, O world! shout, "Liberty!"
For the new day brings endless light,
And the dear land we love so well,
Shall be God's land, where men may dwell.

But the Commonwealth was also a despotism, although England's best and wisest man was the despot. And what a mighty seething time of great principles and beliefs it was! What a battle-field of ideas! The prelates and prelacy, still powerful, struggling for mastery—innoculated, too, by the semi-Romanism of Laud; his sympathies, and those of the foolish King, once his master, being all on the side of Rome. For he, also, had discovered what is now patent to all the world, after four centuries of trial, that there is no half-way house between Romanism and Latitudinarianism—between an absolute Pope, who shall think for the people, or an absolute people that shall think for itself. Hence Puseyism in these more modern days was but Lauds' rendering of the Prelacy and the Church doctrine and discipline revised. But although they saw the above truth they were not consistent, and did not act up to it, or—as so many of the Tractarians did—they would all have gone over to Rome! That is now the true place of the Pusey heretics. They belong not to this age, nor to these times, but to the powers that dwell in darkness, and are as much the enemies of human liberty and the human race as the most rabid Romanists. In the Commonwealth days there were the sturdy Puritans, the Brownists, Independents, Congregationalists—as they were indifferently called—with John Milton as their champion, to checkmate Prelacy, and crush every hydra-head of tyranny. Milton's prose compositions are among the noblest specimens of our great English tongue that literature contributes. He put all the learning of the ancients, and the eloquence of their finest orators, and his own profound thoughts and liberty-loving sentiments into his rhetoric, and made his sentences swell with music, which rolled in mighty diapacons, now like the tempestuous passion, the unutterable yearnings of the golden-mouthed organ, big with cathedral melodies; and now with a gentler swell and a sweeter sound, like the breathings of viols and flutes and harps. He and Jeremy Taylor, the great dramatic divine, divided between them, at that time, the honors of mastery over the English language.

Milton was a princely swordsman for the people. His plea for unlicensed printing is a new Magna Charter of freedom. For men could not yet say what they pleased in print, but must submit to surveillance, supervision and the imprimatur—so low were the manifold rights which we now possess in growing. But people were then what their rulers were, and steadily onward, even through the great retrogression of the next age, until the end of the accursed Stuart race, they persisted in claiming more and more, even while they had hard work to keep what they had got. At last the English Revolution of 1668 came, and from that time to the French Revolution and the American Revolution, and the English Reform Bill, until the present hour they have been enlarging the bounds of their liberties, increasing the power of the Commons, decreasing the power of the Lords, and reducing the Throne to a mere cypher in the politics of the nation and a mere pageant of the State.

When a rakish youth goes astray, friends gather to bring him back to the path of virtue. Gentleness and kindness are lavished upon him to bring him back to innocence and peace. No one would ever suspect that he had sinned. But when a poor confiding girl is betrayed, she receives the brand of society, and is henceforth driven from the ways of virtue. The betrayer is honored, respected and esteemed—there is no peace for her this side of the grave. Society has no helping, loving hand for her, no voice of forgiveness. These are earthly moralities unknown to Heaven.—*Independent, Jacksonville, Ill.*

More truth than poetry in the above and the more the pity that there is.

(For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.)

THE OWL.

BY JANUARY SEABLE.

O, thou most reverend owl!
With the large, wise eyes,
And the feathery scowl;
Flying in and out of the ruins,
From the dark into the skies,
With wild "Tu-whit," "Tu-whooings."

Whither away dost go,
Into the moonland of the mystic night?
Why pack and hurry so,
Thou flowery bird, with feathers all a-scare?
The dead sleep on until the morning light,
Beware, dark bird! Beware!

Is evil on thy wings?
Caught from the mould, and damp of yon gray tower,
Where wood-bird never sings,
And strange, uncanny creatures toll the bells?
Where ghouls delight and elf-kings make their bower,
And the foul spirit dwells?

If so, my bird of grief!
I prithee, hide thy head which I revere!
Be thou, if thou must be, a thief,
Stealer of light and jewels from the gods,
And emulate Jove's bird, of birds the chief,
And scorn earth's Ichabods,
As I do scorn the dam, and brood of fear.

There is enough of woe,
Shadow and substance on the earth!
Well sleep the dead below.
Sleep till the resurrection morning's sun,
In robes of fire walks thro' the gates of Birth,
And all the bugles of the angels blow,
And the sad dream of human life is done.

FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

No. II.

I said in my last that I had not yet done with the consistencies (?) of Felix Yellenik, though I must confess it is small game I hunt. So far as his so-called answer to my former communication is concerned, I have as yet found nothing but what I conceive to be arguments for Free Trade; while what remains to be looked into might be called anything but what it professes to be. I have often wondered what Protectionists mean by "developing our resources," which is the sum total of all their arguments to sustain. What is it that requires to be developed? Development means, according to Webster, gradual growth through a series of progressive changes. Now our resources are very extensive, in fact, unlimited. If they mean by developing our resources, to give them each and all the full measure of justice, there could certainly be no objection found to so doing; but if they mean by developing our resources, to assist a part of them at the cost and expense of other parts, it is quite a different thing. Why do they not speak the truth—say just what they mean? Why do they not say, that with all the natural advantages we have for producing woollens, cottons, iron, steel, etc., that we cannot do it and successfully compete with those of citizens who labor in our agricultural resources? Why can not the protectionists be honest for once and tell the plain unvarnished truth? Why do they not say that in certain industries they desire to be protected, not against the foreign manufacturer, but against the agricultural interests of our own country? This is the logic of the arguments of the protectionists. Do you say it is not, Mr. F. Y.?

It is a poor rule which will not work both ways, isn't it? Well, suppose we just turn this matter about and see how it would work if it was "my bull which had gored your ox." Suppose that from natural causes the agricultural interests of this country could not preserve an equality with the manufacturing interests—I mean certain manufacturing interests which now cannot maintain an equality with agriculture—they instead of you would be the ones demanding that they be protected, in order that their "resources" might be developed. And this demonstrates just what protectionists mean when they use that phrase. They mean just what the agriculturist would be obliged to say. He would ask that such a duty be put upon importations of grain, etc., as would raise the natural price sufficiently to enable him to continue in their production, and by the increased price you would be obliged to pay for them he could hold an equality with you of the manufacturing interests. Now, you see, Mr. F. Y., that it is not the foreign produce he would desire protection against, but our own manufacturing interests which by nature are favored above the agricultural. The cry of protection against foreign pauper labor is a fiction of the first water, and is maintained to deceive the people, who do not take time to look into the matter deeply enough to detect it.

But F. Y. says, "Were our resources as fully developed as those of Europe, it would be comparatively easy for us to compete successfully with foreign protection upon the basis of Free Trade," etc. Who are the "us" he speaks so comprehensively about? If there is a set of argument which deserves the appellation of ambiguous, it is that thread-bare set used by protectionists. To hear them handed round an outsider would imagine that the "Wees" and "Usses" comprised the whole people, where the truth of it is they compose about a miserable twentieth part of the whole people. Count them up, F. Y., and prove it to yourself, if you have never thought about it in "that light."

Not only in a personal vein do they attempt to deceive, but they pervert the logic of everything into sustaining their positions. Mr. F. Y., after the practice of his "clique," does this. And if all be presents was to be taken without analysis, we should have no ground left to stand upon. He wisely remarks that "Mr. B. probably recollects that some four years ago New England was a large consumer of imported cottons, for which she paid about three times as much as she does to-day—and why?" He proceeds to answer by saying, "Because the home producer, not having to pay the enormous expense of shipment, is enabled to undersell the foreigner."

Does Mr. F. Y. pretend to say that he would be understood to mean that the reason the price of cotton to the manufacturer is cheaper now than a "few years ago" is because there is a duty levied on imports of cotton, raw or manufactured? Is it the producer of cotton, which has been protected, or is it the manufacturer of it? Now, if Mr. F. Y. knows anything, he knows that "protection" has had nothing to do with the matter whatever. He knows, if he knows anything, that the reason cotton was high a few years ago was because the foreign manufacturer was obliged to have American grown cotton to mix with other cottons; and that it was this foreign demand which determined the price of cotton. And he also knows that the reason cotton is less now, as compared with then, is because the foreign demand is not so great, as it is now supplied from other sources, which they were compelled to "develop" during our late war.

Then how does it happen, according to F. Y.'s statement, that though the home consumer is benefited, as he says, that the home consumer of cotton cannot furnish cotton manufactured to the country as cheaply as English manufacturers do, and that they demand a protection duty upon cottons to enable them to "compete" with foreign labor? Consistency is a jewel by which it will be difficult to test any such controverted logic as thus advanced. Yet this is the rule of Protectionists. The whole theory consists simply of assumption and subterfuges, and when not these, of downright perversions.

Protection, as a continuous policy, is and must be disastrous, for the simple and unanswerable reason with which I began my first article: That under it a republican form of government, which is bound to guarantee equality to its citizens, cannot be maintained. Continuous Protection here means just what it meant to England: the production of immense concentrations of capital to oppress the immense masses of laborers. Continued sufficiently long, and its results will be the same here as in England, and when the wealthy have become so "well fixed" that no amount of energy practiced upon a small scale can compete with them in their own line, then they will want Free Trade, as they did in England.

It seems that this delusion of Protection really transforms its advocates into monomaniacs, who honestly stand up with black staring them in the face and deliberately declare that it is white. There is but one argument for Protection, and that is, that the interests in this country which are not favored by nature, desire Protection to make them equal with those which are thus favored. Can F. Y. make that application?

"B."

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

The first duty of a republican government is to take care of the general interests of the common people. A republican government in its strict sense originates in the people, is an organization dependent upon the people: first for its existence, secondly for its continuation. If a people formulate a government which is republican in theory and not in practice, the people themselves will some day claim and exercise the right to modify the form. A government formed by the people, for the interests of the people, is at all times the proper subject for change by the people. In other words, revolution is a right of the people, and successful revolution generally promotes the common welfare.

This government, as now administered, is not a government of its common people, although it is quite true that the common male portion of the people, seem to acquiesce in it. This, however, is that kind of acquiescence which borders upon being compelled. They nominally have representation through those whom they vote for and elect. But it has virtually come to be the substantial practice that these representatives, elected by the people to attend to the interests of the people, no sooner obtain their representative seats than they, either from preconceived motives or from a too powerful influence to resist, become degraded into representing their own personal interests, or the interests of those who can purchase them. No sooner do our legislative bodies—be they city, state or national—meet, than they are beset by a horde of prominent individuals in the interest or pay of some private or corporate scheme, by which its promoters will seek to gain power or wealth at the expense of the public.

Very much legislation of this class and special kind which is not obtained by the direct control of votes by money is by special contract among legislators. One legislator from one section of the county, State or city, who has a pet scheme on hand, agrees with another from a different locality, representing a different interest—neither of which should become law were the common interests of the whole to decide—that if he will support his scheme he will return the favor by giving his countenance to his scheme; therefore it comes, either by "hook" or by "crook," that a very large part of

legislation is based in corruption and not in the interests of constituencies.

All special enactments which in practice gives to individuals or corporations the power to impose upon the people, so that they shall be able to make anything more than a legitimate and legal interest upon their investments, are just so many methods by which legislation authorizes the stealing of the people's money. A good illustration of what is meant may be found in the Western Union Telegraph Company, which was so thoroughly exposed in our last week's issue. Here we have a company possessing certain property, the original cost of which could not have much exceeded \$7,000,000, represented by a capital stock of \$40,000,000, upon which it is said they will be able to pay regular eight per cent. dividends, or, in other words, the company will be enabled to take from the people who patronize it \$3,200,000 per year over and above its entire expenses. Either this is true, or the assumption is false, and made for the purposes of deception and fraud. If true, this company actually filches from the public every year the enormous sum of \$2,500,000 more than it should be allowed to. If it is not true, this proposition is made in order to find purchasers for the immense loads of stock its present shareholders are carrying, who know their pretensions are false.

Now why should this company be authorized by government to thus swindle the people whom it professes to serve? Why should the stockholders be enabled to realize forty per cent. interest upon their original investments, when government is itself asking the people to loan it money for four and a half or five per cent. Not only does the government enable such companies to virtually steal from the people, but it perpetrates a two-fold injury by placing these companies in a superior position to itself to command money. It is this knowledge which is developing so many wild-cat schemes, which are originated with the sole idea to obtain somebody's money without returning an equivalent. Thousands of persons are engaged in devising and developing these schemes who should and would, did not the government really foster such scheming, be engaged in other and useful avocations. It is these persons who are fattening off the labor of the country. They, vulture-like, eagerly watch for their prey, and when it appears, they pounce upon and carry it off, whether it be the orphan's inheritance, the widow's mite, or the hope of the aged. They publish their manufactured documents, by which, added to the respectability (?) which attaches to their former associations, they are enabled to swindle the unsuspecting, the credulous and their friends—for those who have the heart to make such resorts a way to affluence do not know a friend except to prey upon him.

As was stated above, the government lends its countenance to these schemers, and in many cases the law actually supports their nefarious transactions, and in this view the government is at least indirectly responsible for all their outrages upon the interests of humanity. But if this is so, it may be asked is there no remedy? must this process of absorbing the hard earnings of the laborer continue until they shall be reduced to virtual vassalage to the tyrants, which they have created, as represented by the classes in England and other old countries? We often hear it argued that those or similar interests which look in the same direction should receive protection until the grand resources of the country are developed, when we shall be able to compete with the "pauper labor" of Europe. This specious argument is likely to deceive any but the most wary. It is so apparently consistent and proper, and withal so reasonable, that many very thoughtful people are entrapped by it. They fail to see that the lending of protection by government to these class of interests is leading, directly to the condition of England in which the entire manufacturing capital is concentrated in a very few hands, who crush out all "interlopers" and who "enslave" the entire laboring classes by their power—a tyranny only second to that exercised by the most absolute of monarchies over their subjects.

A good illustration of the condition referred to may be found in our own city, where the Merchant Princes—the Stewarts, the Lords, the McCreerys, can, by uniting and selling at a loss for a time, crush out all smaller dealers. This is the spirit of all monopoly, and government favors it whenever it lends its support to any fraudulently-named "development" theories.

A world was never evolved in a moment, nor can a great and prosperous nation be evolved within a small space of time. Ours is undoubtedly as blessed by natural advantages as any country the sun shines upon. Permanent prosperity, however, does not depend upon any hothouse growth or high pressure development, but upon a gradual unfoldment, as demanded and warranted by all the circumstances taken into combined consideration. A rapid inflation of prices is certain to be followed by a disastrous reaction, which ruins all who are involved by it, and gives prosperity to none. So, too, of all interests which rise into a rapid prosperity by special means—the means used being abnormal, unnatural—the reverse, the reaction will surely follow and bring its consequent ruin. It requires but to look back to the history of protection in this country to make the evident application. Great reverses, financial ruin and wide-spread distress have always followed all unnatural prosperity which was fostered by special protection. It is but the natural result, and it will ever repeat itself so long as practiced.

The course by which all such disastrous results can be avoided lies in the strict admission and application of the principles of justice and equality—such equality as will place every living citizen upon an exact footing, both before the law and behind the law; and such justice as shall put it forever beyond the power of single or incorporated individuals to gain an undue advantage over any portion of the people. All that personal superiority, either of time, place or ability, can give, the individual is entitled to, but these, nor none of them, should be fostered by Government.

CHILDREN, THEIR RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND TRUE RELATION TO SOCIETY.

No. III.

We have often wondered that, among all the medical authorities, there have not been more who devoted some part of their profuse writings to the ante-natal care and treatment of children. No more important addition could be made to our system of social economy, nor to our pathologic literature, than a strictly scientific analysis of fetal life for popular and familiar circulation. While so much has been said and written—much of which, to be sure, is very foolish and unprofitable—regarding children's care and treatment after birth, that part of their life previously has been entirely ignored. It would be just as proper to ignore their life after birth until some still future period, say three, five or seven years of age, as to do so previously. To lay a good foundation for a good life, it is required that the proper care should be bestowed upon it from its very point of beginning. The same rule should apply and govern, which applies and governs in all similar matters outside of and below the most important of them all. Even the tiller of the soil exercises special care and his best wisdom in the matter of preparation for the future harvest. He knows, from oft-repeated experience, how important it is, first of all, to have the very best seed of the very best variety, to plant. For this he selects the choicest and most perfect of his preceding crop or purchases from others who have better than he. He knows that seed thus selected, planted side by side with unselected seed, and receiving no more care, will yield not only larger harvests but also that it will be of choice quality.

Having obtained the best seed possible, his next step is to have the ground properly prepared, into which, at just the proper season, he deposits it. All these introductory and preparatory measures of care and study are a part of the process by which our fruits, grains and vegetables have been brought to their present state of perfection. Everybody knows that fruits and vegetables which grow wild and are poisonous, are oftentimes capable of being brought, by cultivation, to be useful and delicious articles of diet. Everybody knows that it has been only by the strictest study and care that our most celebrated breeds of horses and other stocks of domesticated animals have been obtained. Everybody knows that deep scientific research is constantly being made regarding almost every department of production, and that those engaged in the respective departments eagerly seek and systematically apply every new fact which science makes clear. And it is, scientifically, an admitted fact, that the future character of what is to be produced can be very nearly, if not absolutely, determined by those who have charge of the process through which it is to be produced. Even the color which the herdsman desires for his cattle can be literally obtained; and what is true regarding color is just as broadly true regarding all other indices of individuality.

Notwithstanding all these accepted facts which are coming to be the rules and guides of all people, when we approach the subject of making the same rules and guides so general in their application as to include children, the world stands aglance, and, with one united effort, frowns it down. Nobody denies the importance of the subject, but those who will speak at all argue that it is one of those things which the common mind is not prepared to meet. Not prepared to meet! And the whole Christian world has been preaching regeneration these eighteen hundred years! which they tell us is the one thing necessary. All the importance claimed for regeneration we willingly admit; all badly-produced persons require regeneration; but, as to it being the main thing, we beg to demur. If regeneration is an important matter, generation is still more so. It is to the consideration of this scientific fact, as demonstrated and practiced by the human, in all departments of nature below that the human must come, and acknowledge itself a proper subject of. Just so far as science can demonstrate and humanity will put its demonstrations to practice, just so far will the necessity for regeneration be done away with.

It is too true that the courage to face this question has always been wanting; and that when it is attempted, all society pretends to be outraged by it. Are Human Beings, then, to always be considered of so much less importance than the very things they make subservient to them, that they should forever be left to come into this world's existence as individuals at random? We know the obloquy that has fallen upon all who have ever attempted to hold the mirror so that society would be obliged to contemplate itself; but, notwithstanding all this, we feel there is no more noble object to which we can turn. We have deliberately considered all the bearings of this matter, and have as deliberately determined to stand by the flag we have reared so long as we shall have life and strength to do so. We have thrown to the world—"Children; their Rights, Privileges and True Relations to Society," and we shall maintain it argumentatively, if possible; defiantly, if need be, against all opposition, let it come from whence it may, or let its character be what it may. Argument we know we shall not have to encounter. Scientific hindrances we know we shall not find in our path. Common Sense we know will offer no word of reproof. We shall, however, encounter hoary-headed bigotry, blind intolerance and fossilized authority—and we are prepared.

It is laid down as an undeniable proposition, that the Human Race can never even approximate to perfection until

all the means which men make use of to produce perfect things are also made use of in their own reproduction. Let those who decry this proposition turn to their so-much-revered Bible and read—"Ye cannot gather figs of thorns nor grapes from thistles"—and learn wisdom therefrom. It must be remembered how great an "infidel" was he who first demonstrated Arterial and Venous circulation, which has come to be of the greatest importance in diagnosing diseases. It has generally been proven true, that those things which have resulted in the greatest benefit to humanity, met with the most blind and insane opposition in their first struggles for recognition. If this subject of children is to be judged by this rule, it is to develop into greater importance than any which has yet occupied the human mind. Were the inquisition, the rack, the stake possible in this age of the world, its advocates would be at their mercy, for they would be used unmercifully.

But, it is asked by those who have somewhat recovered from the first shock of the proposition that the propagation of the human species should be reduced to ruler, How can this be done? It cannot be done immediately to the fullest extent, but the recognition of its importance can be forced upon humanity, and the practice of its evident deductions can be attained by degrees. Once let it become divested of this absurd idea of "impropriety," and humanity will begin to practice by its teachings. It is only required that reason be exalted to its proper place and influence, and analogies, with which nature abounds, will become the great teachers. Almost everything which is required to be known and practiced to produce healthy, happy and good children in every sense of that word, is already known and practiced in every other kind of reproduction.

The great difficulty with which we shall be met at every step is, that it is nearly impossible to make people realize that their lives here are for any other or higher purpose than for each of them to acquire for him or herself the greatest amount of personal, and consequently selfish, gratification. They cannot yet sufficiently realize that each individual is made one of the means by which the whole of humanity is advanced. They cannot yet be brought to reduce to practice what all will admit, that he or she is the greatest man or woman who does the most for humanity; nor have they yet anything more than an undefined belief that in doing the most for humanity, they do most for themselves. Yet this has been the logic of the doctrine of Christianity near two thousand years.

The teachings of Christianity are all well; they have been taught persistently. But we have now arrived at that practical age of the world which demands adequate results as proofs of the validity of assumed positions. The Apostles taught that "certain signs" should follow them who believed. Do these signs exist within the heart of the professedly sole representatives of true Christianity? By their fruits shall ye know them. We do know them by their fruits, which are not so perfect as to warrant the conclusion that humanity has yet passed from being "professors" into being "possessors." That this process is not farther advanced is, because the laborers in "the vineyard," are endeavoring to compel scraggy, scanny, ill-formed, ill-tempered sources to produce perfected fruit.

Human life may be compared to a military campaign, in which no amount of valiancy and good generalship can overcome the defects of an imperfect organization of the "body"—army—with which it is to be made. We may as consistently expect a badly organized army to make a good military campaign as to expect a badly organized child to make a good social campaign. To this, the very beginning of organization, should all reformers turn who expect to produce any beneficial results, which shall be ultimate and lasting, and which shall mark the perfecting process of humanity.

"TIME AND LABOR."

A LECTURE DELIVERED BY

HON. JAMES D. REYMERT,

AT BREVOORT HALL.

[CONTINUED.]

Hordes of Goths and Gauls rushed from their forests to convulse and reconstruct. There followed a mixture of races, of languages and impulses; and although the moral law appeared to sink under the physical power, yet the rapine, robbery, treachery and murder which marked those times were but the flying demons who hurried off before the coming hosts advancing under the new birth song of labor and civilization.

Society has now reached its new phase, under the influence of "intelligence."

The first man, without society, beheld time, space and motion, and could perceive duration, distance, action; but now society itself perceives "the unity of all men" in one common destiny, vitalizing time, space and motion by *organism, labor, enterprise and industry*, and so also by the advancing ideas of female rights and the acknowledgment of women's influence in the affairs of men and the politics of nations. When society became tranquil—nay, even amidst the catastrophes of turmoil, in sharing the dangers, privations and the trials with her lord—he learned to admire her constancy and to appreciate her virtues.

The Greeks and Romans never understood the character of woman, even in the most brilliant martyrdom;

but the Northern barbarian, on equal terms with her in his home, softened under her tenderness, made her not only his equal but his idol.

The "people" made the discovery that in "union is strength," and they combined to protect themselves against their tyrants, and hence sprung independence, political as well as physical. This was the dawn of day for the poor man.

It is most instructive to study these epochs in history, and although I must confess I cannot subscribe to the stale doctrine that "history repeats itself," yet there are parallels in modern and in ancient days when, under similar circumstances, human nature will confirm the fact of unity in origin, universality of impulse, as well as of a common destiny. And as we mark the high tops and promontories on the long journey of history and dwell on the days of old lang syne, we discover a ray of light, a flood of fresh gushing ecstasy, carrying the soul onward and upward, buoyed with hope of happier and better days—for inspiration flows from God—bringing peace on earth and good-will to all men, and illuminating this very principle by constantly developing the harmonious elements in human nature. And as the Gnomes are said to toil in the inner earth and to bring forth its gems and treasures, so the great genius of intellect, inspired with wisdom, enterprise and industry, rough-hews our natures by the arts and sciences, by music, poetry and painting; by sculpture, architecture and machinery; by mathematics, astronomy and geography; by all the instruments of human progress in the hands of labor, lifting the soul from nature up to God, there to receive the inspiration of His will and wisdom, and then again to learn, with humbler minds, the discipline of order and obedience.

We may be saddened by the sight of suffering humanity, of misdirected energies, of blunders and of follies, of convulsions sweeping thousands to destruction, but we are compensated by the discovery that the oppressed are leaping from their bondage, that they become civilized by arts and sciences, enriched by industry, and powerful by association; we see them learn their duties from religion and their politics from cultivated reason: their souls receive the fire of truth, their impulses become electrified in action.

Feudalism was a glittering shell—a shield and helmet; but human justice broke the shell, and knowledge became a stronger weapon.

Henceforth history is not the simple record of the acts of crowned rulers and of bloody generals. It preserves the fact of new inventions, discoveries, advancements of the people and the progress of society.

And as the sun rose in the East to cast on yonder orient its earliest rays, so did the dawn of history first penetrate the East and scatter the morning vapors of obscurity. To Asia belongs the first glimmer of the world's first light of reason and the glow of soul in faith, which since has grown in brilliancy and power, till Europe caught the rays; first, upon the hilltops, among the great and prominent, then gradually lower down, upon the hill-sides and in the valleys among the lower classes, did the light of civilization penetrate, until it cast its long flashes even across the ocean upon a new world, and reached the distant wilderness, from whence it seems as if reflection sent again toward the East a vividness which quickens all the energies of human nature everywhere. Here is the pyramid of labor unveiled by time—America—reserved in the great panorama for the latest wonder. The world, surprised, may well exclaim:

"The three first acts already past—

Time's noblest offspring is the last."

To Vinland's dreamed-of shores Columbus led the way, and on the grand Coliseum which he spread before the world a ceaseless throng of men have moved and acted;

and thus a wilderness—a world,

Robed in stars and tinsel'd o'er with gold,"

fresh from the hands of the Creator, is found and formed by enterprising man. The cry is Wealth and Liberty—Equality—Fraternity! The masses move; each wave that dashes on the new-found shore delivering its passengers, the latest actors in this new drama.

Atlantides, from beyond the blue ether, calls his children of unhappy stars to dwell beneath the sevenfold tried and mystic shield of self-reliant manhood. The sunshine of civilization spreads over the whole surface, and man wakes up to manhood's rights and duties. The American Revolution marks the period. The genius of liberty descended and broke the chain of despotism. Free thought centered around the standard. Prayers went up to God, and measures and men leaped as from the brain of Jove to plant the spring of human hope, and to curse the tree of liberty. Out of the teeming loins of nations poured thousands, eager to aid the child of freedom in the struggle of its infancy; and the people, already self-reliant, made the discovery that "God helps those who help themselves," also, what forms an epoch in history, for they depended upon the "Great Jehovah," "the Continental Congress," and themselves!

Revolution has succeeded revolution in the history of man; each had its causes and its consequences. Human passions have ebbed and flowed from century to century, yet in our retrospect over the old world we see but little else than ruins of ephemeral greatness, the substance too illusory to be permanent. We have but lately seen the gladiators fight again on Roman soil, and the vapors rise afresh from blood-stained battle-fields in the Old World, and heaven only knows the agonies of crushed humanity. Still, what have we, and what are we to witness as a result of these renewed struggles by the wholesale traffic among cowed mercenaries, the empires, and the millions bargained and sold—the change of masters, and a despotism yet more subtle than before? Such have been all the consequences of their revolutions and of their convulsive struggles.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CHRISTMAS, 1870.

Nature is hushed and powerful morn awakes,
In beams of morning open daylight breaks;
The keen, clear air invigorates the soul,
And lovely Winter permeates the whole.
Just such a morn a little child was born,
And wondrous creation took another form.
The holy angels echoed it on high,
And fiery stars fell downward from the sky.
All nature paused, in zephyr's whispering note,
In everything the very Christ was wrote.
Men followed stars, and coming to the shrine,
Bent down in reverence to that Babe Divine.
That Babe to-day illumines the path of men,
And blessings on humanity doth send.
Man, in his nobleness, a God reveres—
God comes to man when Jesus Christ appears.
Changed fair-faced nature by his word,
Stamps in his soul the imagery of God;
And so we love the memories that cling
Like fragrant flowers around this offering.
Teach children in their happiness to say,
That this is Christmas, Christ was born to-day.
We've led charity to make faith strong;
And sung in love the merry Christmas song;
Pronounce the words that soothe the troubled soul,
And picture to despair a happy goal;
Warm the cold hearts to live in memory green,
In sweet delight make all around serene.
Is it not sad that in this joy we feel
That in the sunlight, fleecy clouds must steal,
And deepen into blackness of the night,
And on the fair escutcheon place the blight
Of war which man in cruel strife prolongs,
With cruel slaughter, murder, sin and wrongs.
Ye ministers that wait upon the Lord,
Pour in the hearts of men a love for God;
Restore in simple beauty Christian will,
And let the air be filled with, "Peace, be still."

C. H. CHILL.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

All things—subjects of legislation, under the authority of a Republican form of government—should look in the direction of ultimate equality for all citizens who comprise the basis of the governmental structure. Equality can never be reached or neared under any laws or customs which put it in the power of a class of individuals to dominate over another class, let that domination be of caste, class or wealth. Perhaps no part of the relics of antiquity by which we are "conserved" give opportunity for greater distinction among the people than the practical operations of our present system of finance. The use wealth makes of the power it attains is a more terrible sway than that of a monarch could possibly be, were pecuniary conditions equal. In other words, financial equality existing, very nearly all distinctions of society would be demolished.

The entire of questions which relate to the vital interests of the people may be said to have their origin in the financial questions; that solved, it will be the key to open the right to all others. We assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that one half the ills which we, as a people, labor under arise from the fact that we have no scientific financial system or representative of values. The day of arbitrary rule in all things has departed, unless that authority is founded in the deductions of science, which authority becomes the essence of justice, and such domination an assurance of complete equality. Arbitrariness does not legitimately attach to such authority or rule. It properly belongs to the rule of universal government. To set up an arbitrary money standard, which does not possess the possibility of a perfect standard, to which all finance must succumb, is like elevating a man to be a god—is to invest imperfection with the garb of perfection, and thus to label it. This has been done with gold.

As has been argued in this series of articles, gold is not, and never can be made to be, a satisfactory standard of value. It has always failed when pushed to the will. In this age of rapid advancement, when philosophy proposes problems and science solves them, it must come into the minds of those who have the interest of the public at heart, to submit this question of money to the test of analysis. When analyzed, it can never result in showing gold to be anything more than any other product of labor, and that its use has only been thus long tolerated because of the instability of governments and nationalities.

The time has now come in this country when its people can rest in an assurance that our coherence as a nation will be continuous; and being so, that we can resort to a representative of value, which shall be formulated from the requirement of a currency and from its proper relations to the source from which all wealth emanates. It will be found, when it is reduced to the last analysis, that such a national currency as we have proposed will be found to meet everything which is required of money, and that it is not antagonistic to any of the forms of equality. It would be the people's representative of their own producing value. Every laboring man is worth just so much per year to the country. He can produce from five hundred dollars every year over and above his own consumption, which adds so much to the aggregated wealth of the country. This extra production is, to the individual and the nation, of just so much value as it can be sold for to other countries, the proceeds of which, not being needed here, would be used by the Government to retire its foreign indebtedness or to pay its interest, while the

producer would be left with its value in our own national currency, which he could either use in further business, loan for four per cent, or convert into four per cent National Bonds. Let this process become once fully established, our foreign debt would rapidly diminish, and we, instead of being a nation applying for credit abroad, should be in condition to extend credit to other countries, and should at once and forever be relieved from the financial bondage to the money kings of Europe, which has been our national curse ever since the establishment of our Government.

We have no use for gold among ourselves; it does not assist us in any way that can be mentioned, except that we produce so much of it every year, which we export, as we do our other products, and thus maintain the balance of trade. The world will always furnish a market for all the products of our soil and of our manufactures; but under this proposed national currency system we should not need its gold. In this also would be found the solution for all "Funding Systems," and it is to be hoped that the matter will receive the serious, unprejudiced attention of Congress before it involves the country in further impracticable schemes.

We have but to consider that had such a financial system been in full operation ten years ago, we should not now have a Bonded Indebtedness of thousands of millions of dollars in Europe, which, before maturity, will consume three or four times its own amount in interest. So that it will come down to this enormous fact: that for a thousands million of dollars actually received from the sale of our Bonds at large discounts, we must produce, ship to and pay Europe five thousand millions of dollars—a sum before whose gigantic proportions the people may well grow ghastly and pale, and inquire: "How can this be done, and we exist in the meantime?" When we look at the matter from the true standpoint and see that defective legislation has thus entailed poverty upon us for years to come, it is not to be wondered that the people grow restive under its requirements, nor that they begin to look earnestly about them for a road to deliverance from the "wrath to come."

This has been done, and it was done according to the best wisdom the nation could summon; under the circumstances which were precedent, it was perhaps the very best that could have been, and being so, there is no honest escape from it. It is a debt the people have incurred, and they must labor to pay it. One salutary lesson it has taught us, and that is, it has taught us that gold is not a necessity as a basis of credit, and has suggested the true money basis, which, had it been previously presented, the people would not have even given consideration, and without any inquiry whatever would have adjudged its originators "gone wild" upon the subject.

Thus through trials and sorrows are nations, as well as individuals, brought to better and higher realizations, to broader and nobler action, and to still more comprehensive conceptions of the true principles of life, liberty, equality and justice, in the practice of which, attained to, from time to time, they shall grow into such universal application as shall know no boundary except such as God and nature has set to this globe.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

LABOR AND CAPITAL: A DISCOURSE.

BY J. K.

LABOR.—No rest is mine, I plod my weary way
To toil, from year to year, from day to day,
At wakened dawn I wend with heavy heart,
As menial enact my lowly part,
An ostracized and a degenerate thing,
Ignominy without, despair within.
The brand of labor set upon me here,
Permeates me from my childhood to the bier;
And shall I cower 'neath the tyrant's arm,
Nor dare to sound the tocsin of alarm.
Or shall the hearts that turn from them the poor,
And spurn the hungered from their gilded door,
That bow to riches only treating worth
As 'twere a punishment upon this earth,
Shall they meet no reproof, no pen proclaim
That industry is now a badge of shame,
Productiveness a slave to speculation,
The dignity of labor degradation?
Behold to day how anxious war with acts
And adages are antipodes to facts;
Prosperity reduced down to an art
Of grasping other's due by being "smart";
While all proclaim 'tis no disgrace to work,
Yet each is striving might and main to shirk
The practice of the theory they teach
By straining every nerve to overreach
The laborer by grasping all the gain,
And in return to treat him with disdain.

CAPITAL.—It is your task to labor, very well!
For me, my friend, I much prefer to sell.

LABOR.—Yes, toil and toil for life a working man,
And, at the end, conclude where I began,
The dignity of labor—a decree,
Proclaiming, "You are doomed to work for me,
Nor gain sufficient while you force my wealth
For sustenance when you decline in health."

CAPITAL.—And why so discontented with your lot?
We each fill our positions, do we not?
You work, I pay you justly your reward,
Then why declaim, assail with angry word?

LABOR.—Let common justice judge 'twixt you and me,
For you the gains, for me the penalty;
I plant the seed, the harvest gather in,

I mine, I delve, I fell, I build I spin;
All that we have and hold through me accrues—
The opulence you bask in, wealth you use
From me arises: run your finger down
The list of national wealth and you must own
No item there appears to your account,
A cipher illustrates the whole amount
Of your productiveness, and you appear
A very drone that saps all labor here.

CAPITAL.—Stop, stop! I take your fashioned wares in hand,
Distribute them for use by sea and land,
I balance all the wants of all the earth,
From plethora I take and give to dearth.
What use were merchandise if left to rot
In makers' hands, while in some other spot
Gaunt famine wields triumphantly her might,
While in the distance plenty taunts her slight?
If you would know how well I take my part,
Survey within the ever busy mart
The craft of other people, other climes,
In proper quantity and at proper times
Brought hither by my aid for your own use,
Then justify your virulent abuse.

LABOR.—I will, and ask them how the people fare,
Who daily bend their necks to make them there,
And if they also labor day by day
And see their substance spirited away,
'Tis not at you alone complaint is hurled,
But all appropriators in the world;
All distributed—that, at least, is true;
But handed with great care from me to you.
I welcome as a necessary friend,
Who lends his service to the common end
Of interchanging goods creation through,
But what of hosts of others who pursue
An avocation, a mere go-between,
Expending energies to intervene
A toll 'twixt those who make and they who use;
A mine of speculation which imbues
Dislike for labor, taking labor's gains,
And seizing with avidity the reins
Of commerce, checking her free intercourse;
See combinations form designed to force
The values of commodities to rise,
Exchange from hand to hand before our eyes;
By Jack or Gill conveyed from store to store,
No nearer the consumer than before.

CAPITAL.—Good man, these people only use their brain,
And use it just as you do, to obtain
A living, and if they thereby succeed,
I cannot see that they by such a deed
Harm you indirectly or direct,
And think you do injustice to object.

LABOR.—I learn an art, expending time and thought,
And brain and labor ere I'm fully taught,
Receive a pittance that will scarce repay
The cost of livelihood from day to day,
And when the vigor of my youth is past,
Age and decrepitude creep on at last;
My life I find is gone, and gone for what?
To gain subsistence, yet I have it not.
I point to you, my labor it is there,
A clear gain to the nation every year,
While they who not an atom have produced,
Whose avarice and smartness have seduced
The proper flow of trade, have wealth obtained;
The profit of my labor they have gained,
And they who only barter what I make,
Alone of ease and competence partake,
And I of course have no cause to complain—
Content to work and sleep, then work again.
The system is all proper, just and right
That gives you all, me nothing to requite
The labor of a life, while you retire
From business, must I toil till I expire?

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WARS OF THE WOMEN.—The Woman's Journal asks

What does the *Revolution* mean by the following statement? In enumerating Woman's wants, it states, among other things, that one of them is "freedom to marry, and be mistress of herself after marriage; freedom to sunder a yoke which she has freely bound," etc. If this language means anything, it means that woman shall be as free to sunder the ties of marriage as to form them; shall be as free to divorce herself from marriage as to marry; that there shall be as large a freedom in going out of marriage as in entering it. If this be the meaning of the *Revolution*—and we can understand no other—we dissent from such a demand for women in toto. We believe in marriage for life, and deprecate all this loose pestiferous talk in favor of easy divorce. Let it be observed that this plea for free divorce comes from the organ of the "Union Woman Suffrage Society," and is not the voice of the "American Woman Suffrage Society," with Henry Ward Beecher at its head. Our friends who deprecated the formation of the "Union Woman Suffrage Society" a year ago have at last come to see, in the recent utterances of the *Revolution*, a vindication of the wisdom of their course.

ASTRONOMICAL.—A curious and very rare planetary position will occur on the 8th and 9th of next month, to which no attention has hitherto been called, and it seems to have escaped the notice even of the compilers of the Astronomical Ephemerides. For the space of two whole days and five hours, the planet Venus will be behind the sun as viewed from any part of the earth's surface. The planet is then on the further side of her orbit, and her relative motion is only 15½ minutes of arc daily, while at the instant of conjunction she will be within 48 seconds of the arc of the sun's centre. The bright planetary spot will apparently touch the western edge of the sun at 11 o'clock P. M. on the 8th of December, Chicago time, and emerge from behind the solar disc, on its eastern edge, at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 9th. The phenomenon of immersion and emersion will not be visible at Chicago, the sun being below our horizon on both occasions, but the bodies may be seen through the telescope as almost in contact late in the afternoon of the 4th and early in the morning of the 9th of December. The emersion will be visible in Europe. The phenomenon is about as rare as the transit of the same planet across the sun's disc, which occurs only once on the average in 58½ years. The next transit will occur in December, 1874.—Chicago Tribune.

PUT YOURSELF IN HIS PLACE.

It's a very good rule in all things of life,
When judging a friend or brother,
Not to look at the question alone on one side,
But always turn to the other.
We are apt to be selfish in all our views,
In the jostling headlong race;
And so to be right, ere you censure a man,
Just "put yourself in his place."

It is very hard to be just—to know
The reason another may give—
How much he has struggled and fought and striven,
How honestly tried to live;
How much been cheated—how sorely tried,
Ere the wrong he was forced to embrace;
And if you would learn these things, the way
Is to "put yourself in his place."

There's many a man crushed down by shame,
Who blameless stands before God,
But whom his fellows have utterly scorned,
And made "to pass under the rod;"
Whose soul is sustained by the thought of sin,
Who will yet find saving grace,
And who would be praised where you now condemn,
If you would "put yourself in his place."

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH.

EXQUISITES AND COMMONERS.

BY JANUARY SEARLE.

[CONCLUDED.]

Do you not all see that in all things we are becoming too aristocratic? That it is getting more and more fashionable to imitate the splendid sins of Paris, London, Vienna! and that all this is treason to the Republic! Have we not seen enough of aristocracies in history, not to like them? I fear not. There is a terrible looking of eager eyes and empty heads that way, as if there were indeed the Delectable Mountains and the City of Zion, instead of the Valley of Jehosephat and its dead men's bones. Why, here is a republic, founded upon human rights and human liberty, self-ruled and self-sustained, which is the hope of the world. All the crushed and broken nationalities, with their wallings and infinite despairs, their aspirations and noble endeavors, look over the vast expanse of Atlantic waters to these shores, and the institutions which are founded here, for guidance, succor, sustenance and a regenerated national life. Even England, which is more free than any European country, has looked upon the face of the American Republic, and can rest no more until England also is a republic. Already the millions who constitute the working classes there are republicans in heart, and are working ceaselessly to cast themselves into that great form of human government. Shall we then, children of the American Republic for which our fathers, and now, during the late war, our sons and husbands have so freely given their blood—shall we prick it to death with pins, or kill it with effeminacy, or undermine it with aristocratic notions?

Nay, many of the English nobility themselves are thawing out so wonderfully into liberalism that they begin to think the people may really be trusted with the franchise to an extent which no lordly ancestor of theirs could ever be made to believe possible or practicable. Lord Morpeth, of whom we all know something, came to this country when a very young man and traveled nearly all over it. Mixing freely with the people, liking their plain, blunt ways, and their respect for men, and not caring much about their disrespect for rank, he was one of those men who could learn a lesson and was not above being taught. He used to say that this was the best country in the world for a man to get the nonsense knocked out of him. There was a showman somewhere up Lake Superior way who had a panorama, and in it was a view of Howard House, the seat of his ancestors, the Earls of Carlisle, one of whom he (Lord Morpeth) became before he died. This man advertised his show, and the Earl went to see it. It was exhibited, he said, for I heard him relate the story, in a kind of barn open to the rafters, a very primitive sort of place where one of his stamp might have gone to secure a vote by flattering the voter, but hardly on any other occasion, in England at least, of his own free choice. But then, you know, there was something very flattering to the pride of the cheery nobleman, who had as good a heart in him as ever beat, to find a portrait of his father's house on exhibition for money in the wilds of America. He was very pleased with the representation, and as he sat on a front seat, the showman saw that he was much interested in it, by the manner in which he kept on talking with his Secretary who accompanied him. But now the difficulty with the showman was to tell whether it was genuine approbation, or rank disapprobation taking the form of a humorous quizzing of it, that occupied the busy talker. So he went up to his lordship and asked him whether the picture pleased him. "Oh, yes! my man," said he, "it pleases me well. I feel as if I were once more among the old trees in the park, and I expect to see one of my people come out of the house or up the avenues every minute." This convinced the showman that he was quizzing him all the time. So he said to him, "As if you knew any thing about it. To hear you talk a man would think you was born or bred there, and was Lord Carlisle himself."

"Well," said his lordship, who very thoroughly enjoyed the fun, "a man might not be far wrong if he did think so."

"That cock waint fight, old chap," the showman replied. "I see English born myself, you see; and I see Yorkshire, to boot. I dare be bound you was never out of Merrikay in all your life. Why, you are a real live Yankee! any body can see that."

"A Yankee!" he exclaimed at the top of his voice, now laughing immoderately at the good man's conceit. "Why, I'm no Yankee! I see Yorkshire, too, mon! an' what I told yer wur true and all. I see Lord Morpeth; I is the varry mon himself."

The showman was at first fairly bewildered; but he was soon convinced that his lordship spoke the truth. He was not at all alarmed, however, or abashed, by the presence of so much dignity; but, like the bold Yorkshire bote that he was, he looked into his face with a most self-complacent smile, and said:

"So yow be Lord Morpeth, be yer! Well, I'm dommed if that ain't the queerest thing that ever happed to me f' my loaf! Well, mon, g'fe us yer flipper. I see reight glad to see yer. I be, indeed."

So they had a hearty good shake; and when his lordship left he would have given the man a sovereign, but he would not take it: "Nae, nae, mon! No countryman o' mine s'all iver pay a ha'penny for seeing my show; 'specially thee—for looking at thy ain huse (own house)."

"Well, then, call and see me when you return to England, and send me word that the showman wants me. I shall know who you are. So good-bye, my man, and good luck."

"Same to you, Lord Morpeth. I see heerd o' ye afore in't West Riding—I bes; and mind, I s'all cum and see yer."

"All right," said his lordship, as he left the barn.

Well, the man did call on him, and, what is more, he was well received; and Lord Morpeth gave him some bailiff's place on the estate.

It was this kind of rough-and-tumble life—this knocking against all sorts of persons—which made Carlisle so liberal and democratic. I believe, indeed, that the Yorkshire nobles are naturally more affable and better hearted than those of most other shires. They are, at all events, more liberal in their views, and more condescending in their manners. This county is the largest in England, and is divided into Ridings. Yorkshire and Lancashire are the strongholds of the English operatives. They are the seat of the great manufactures of England—the woollens, broadcloths, fancy goods, stuffs, merino, bombazines, calicoes, iron, steel and the rest. Here, also, are some of the chief coal mines—iron and coal, the two great evangelists of modern civilization, lying side by side until they were wanted for human use, and then taking sudden shape in steam engines and railroads, which have made the remotest cities neighborly.

What I wanted to say, however, was this: that democracy prevails in these shires. Man is a good deal of a man there, and asserts and maintains his own. He will not duck nor dodge, nor fawn to, nor flatter a lord because he is a lord. He, too, must be a man or he shall get no recognition from the Yorkshire and Lancashire operative. In the boldness, brusqueness and freedom of their speech and manners, they remind me of the American Western people. The same stuff is in them—the same love of liberty and fair play. Courage and charity and neighborly love—hospitality and abundant social and moral virtues are theirs. Whereas, the agricultural classes, in the southern shires especially and, I am sorry to say, in parts of Yorkshire, too, are sunk so low in the scale of humanity as scarcely to be men at all except in form. Manhood means manliness, and those other virtues I have named, and these poor souls have none of them. Dark, squalid, ragged and hungry, they toil their miserable lives away that lords and their tenants may keep hounds and kill foxes and drive gigs! I am ashamed to say it; I am more deeply pained to know that it is all sorrowfully true. Whole families live in hovels not fit to keep pigs in—herd together in them like pigs—from eight to twelve, and more, in one hole, or mud den of that sort I spoke of! Eight shillings—two American dollars—is the pay of a Dorsetshire laborer for a week's work! Think of it! Not the wages of an American child of six years of age, could he do anything at all. But out of that this poor wretch must pay hole-rent, fire-money, taxes, and find food and clothing for his family! As for education, books, newspapers, they know not what they mean. They are blotted out as human beings—they are mere effigies of men! And who, think you, is to blame? Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymers, well called England the land of paupers and palaces! Do we wonder any more at rick-burnings, murders and the nameless crimes that are set down against them. Who is to blame? Where is relief to come from? Is this infernal reign of oppression and wrong to last forever? Has God become, indeed, a gas, as that bitter Frenchman said?

The aristocracy must live on the top of a volcano, one would think, where such things thrive. Where there is no justice there is no God. He has abandoned that people. But I tremble to think of the avenging Nemesis that is in store for a country that can so wrong its poor children.

I do not mean to say that the aristocracy do not think of these people. Alas! they think of their dogs and horses more; but this is a national evil, and—like Southern slavery as it was—not to be remedied by individuals, but by the wise legislation of the Government. Let them send them here. There is abundant room on our prairies and forests for millions of such. This is the only speedy, safe and sure remedy. They gave a hundred millions of dollars—these telescopic English—to free their black slaves in the West Indies; let them give a like sum to free their white slaves and send them here—for slaves indeed they are, whom we should convert into profitable freemen.

A Young England party rose up in that land of social Runes, some twenty years ago, which took the workmen in

hand in a patronizing way, and were going to make they knew not what of them. They were good Englishmen and earnest also, which are great characteristics; but what could they do? A sort of liberal conservatives they were, who sought to revive the old English sports, pastimes and feelings, and to introduce a sort of culture among the people through the medium of lectures, classes and libraries, I believe. We radicals had already tried that, and had our mechanics' institutions and literary societies all over the land. They failed everywhere to do the good contemplated, except in the great industrial districts, and especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where they flourished abundantly. In the rural districts they were composed of clerks, shopkeepers and shopmen, and often largely of the females of the middle classes. The institutions themselves consisted of a library, a reading-room, occasional lectures during winter season, and, here and there, of reading, writing and other elementary classes; the cost about a shilling a quarter. In the manufacturing districts they were of the same constitution, only the classes were their chief feature.

The workmen used to have summer Sunday meetings in the woods, from ten to fifty miles round the city, where they all went by the penny-a-mile train. The date of meeting and the places were arranged at the beginning of the season, and printed on a little card. Their studies were mathematics and botany. All the rest of their lives was literally consumed by toil and self-instruction. Their hours of labor were from 6 A. M. in the winter until 6 at night, and in summer from 5 A. M. to 5 P. M. At half-past 6 every evening they came to their classes, and remained until half-past 9. At 10 the college was closed.

When mechanics' institutions were first established by Dr Berkbeck, and indorsed by Lord Brougham, they were very meager affairs, and did not attract much attention. But they have now become the platforms from which, at the annual soirees, it is fashionable for great lords to unfold their principles, and for statesmen to give hints of coming Parliament measures. The chief authors and poets of England are also wont to appear at these gatherings, and make themselves known to the people. So that they are often delightful meetings. I have met most of the celebrated people of England on these platforms, in the various cities which it was my duty to visit. Among them, and very often, for he was a great favorite, was Richard Doddington Milnes, the poet, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this article, and who has since been raised to the Peerage as Lord Houghton.

FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

There are two sides to every question, says an old adage, but it generally occurs that they who discuss one become partisans and hence so absorbed in their pro; that they cannot perceive any virtue in their opponent's con. We however propose to present both sides of this question confining ourselves to the principles that underlie them, but which have been somewhat obliterated by the mass of detail and extraneous matter which have been brought to bear upon it, having a tendency to bewilder, and to divert the mind from the fundamental propositions at issue. Beginning then with the free trade theory it is advanced by its advocates to the following effect.

Our capital is a population of some 40,000,000, with which to develop the natural resources of our country; we hold that this end can be best attained by devoting our energies to the production of those articles or that produce, in which we are competent to successfully compete with other nations in the competitive markets of the world; and we hold that by this means we shall get more return for our labor inasmuch as we shall have expended it in producing that which we can surpass our opponents in. Furthermore, we contend that if foreign nations can send us certain manufactures at a less cost than we can make them, it is self-evident that in the matter of such manufactures we are at a disadvantage, and that whereas any import duty we may put on, is paid by the consumer, thus enhancing its cost. The end subserved by protection is merely a diminution of the comforts of the people by reason of their inability to purchase such manufactures at the enhanced price. We also urge that you cannot legislate natural advantages into this country any more than you can legislate them out of other countries, and that, by endeavoring to create manufacturing interests under a disadvantage as compared with other nations, we are not using our labor in a field that will yield us so large a return at the end of the year as it would have given if applied to those employments wherein the absence of a tariff proves us to be more proficient than they. We ask, is it not better to make use of advantages already possessed than to endeavor to create others by artificial means? or, in other words, shall we employ our population in developing those resources wherein we have already decided advantages, or struggle to create others in which we have the advantages of others to overcome, and can only surmount them by increasing their cost to our consumers, and thus partially deprive them of the necessities or comforts of life?

The protectionists, on the other hand, advance that our mineral resources are unrivaled by any nation; that we must develop them as other nations have done theirs; that is, by shielding them in their infancy. That, by leaving our manufactures and mineral resources in embryo to contend against the matured growth of those of other countries, we are simply declining to develop the vast wealth nature has placed in our hands; and that if we protect them for a time they will

mines and our blast-furnaces are languishing for the steady support which iron-shipbuilding, well and thoroughly established, would give them; our mechanics need the work; our miners are destitute and starving; our merchants are forgetting their good names in that haunt of thieves, the "Stock Exchange"; our seamen are not to be found; our officers have left the quarter deck for any other occupation they can turn their hands to. Congress has it in its power to re-establish shipbuilding, to give us American ships, built by American hands, with American, not foreign material, and thus revive commerce, give employment to American workmen, utilise American mineral resources, deal a heavy blow at false values and fraudulent speculation by creating and supporting an honest institution which the country can be proud of, and which, asking no unfair advantage, going neither to the right nor to the left of its allotted line, will be all that the country wishes, simultaneously aid our manufactures and commerce, and, seeking no monopoly, be no oppressor to other steam lines, but their support and well-wisher. The proposed "American and European Company" will be an incubus, a nightmare, a robber, and will never give a single benefit to this country—never! And, for the reasons we have named, we protest against its receiving any consideration at the hands of Congress, though it might be well for any Senator or Member to enquire at the Navy Department concerning the ability of the engineer who is represented as the "figure head" of the project, and the contemplated designer of its ships, should it gain its impudent requests.

Captain Codman's Address before the Committee on Commerce of House of Representatives.

The Solicited Charity to the Pacific Mail Company to make up for the Wasteful Extravagance of its Officers, and its General Mismanagement.

EFFORTS OF WEBB AND GARRISON TO PALM OFF ON CONGRESS, FOR SUBSIDIES, THEIR OLD FASHIONED, WORN OUT AND USELESS SIDEWHEEL STEAMERS, OR "TUBS."

The Last Attempt of Adventurers to get up a Bogus Monopoly Steamship Bill, yclept "The American and European Steamship Company."

We are specially requested to publish the following extract from the address of Captain Codman before the House Committee on Commerce on the 20th December, 1870. The Captain shows that it is misapplied charity to aid the wasteful Pacific Mail Company. In speaking of the Mediterranean and Oriental Steamship Company, which was so completely exposed and exploded in the debate thereon in the last session, he might well have applied the same remarks to the recent humbug or bogus bill which Gen. Schenck was seemingly deceived into introducing into the House and having it referred to the Committee on Commerce, where it will be likely to sleep so soon as that committee find out its origin and designs, and its flimsy arrangement for smuggling upon a grand scale of fast freight by fast men, who have gained some knowledge of Custom House business abroad and at home. Captain Codman said: "The President has fully recognized the superiority of iron ships, and has declared that they have taken away our carrying trade. But in the same paragraph of his message he recommends a subsidy, to perpetuate an old, effete, unprofitable style of naval architecture, which he acknowledges the world has outlived! Surely the President cannot have been informed of the bad management of this particular Company (the Pacific Mail) for which he solicits charity; of the little money earned by their steamers, when steamers adapted to the trade would pay handsome dividends, and how even this little money is divided among the officers of the corporation, instead of among the stockholders! Most of the subsidy schemes continually coming before you are of the same character. One is that of a well-known operator who owns a fleet of old sidewheel wooden tubs, lying idle in the ports of the Pacific. They are to run between the West Coast and Australia, where an occasional English screw steamer now scarcely finds business enough. But a 'Company' would have been formed; the 'stock' would have been in the market; the enterprising originator would have 'unloaded,' and the ships never would have loaded at all. Not to mention all these patriotic offers, do you not remember the great Mediterranean and Oriental Steamship Company, that was to build its ships of American

iron, by American hands? There was to be a dozen and a-half of them, 3,000 tons each, to sail from all the ports on our Eastern coast to all the ports in the Mediterranean just now, and eventually to all the ports in India via the Suez Canal! That Mediterranean business is now done by occasional small screw-steamers of the 'Anchor line of Glasgow,' which are actually obliged to return via England for freight, while the 'enormous emigration' they bring to this country is made up of a few organ grinders, who could be stowed away in their long-boats! And yet this 'patriotic' Company, who of course never intended to lay the keel of a ship, modestly asked you to indorse their bonds for millions, to go 'where the woodbine twineth'—as Mr. Fish has since explained his simile to mean: 'Up the spout.' It is useless to recapitulate other propositions of the same character, for they are all of the same kind, though differing in degrees of turpitude. I only refer to them to show how utterly selfish they are, and to hold up their threadbare cloak of patriotism to the light."

SAN DOMINGO.

The completion of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads across the continent, however valuable to the internal development of the country, has produced a serious effect on our South American mercantile relations; for the weakening of the Pacific Mail Service, via the Isthmus, and the necessity of exacting high charges to make up, in a measure, for the immense amount of watered stock, combined with the general mismanagement of our American companies, have had their natural results in diverting commerce into other channels. Great Britain, always watchful of opportunities in extending or preserving the interests of her merchants, has long struggled for the trade of the West Indies, the Spanish Main and the west coast of South America. It appears now ready to fall into her lap. From the west coast she has a line of steamers via the Straits of Magellan, direct to England. She has a thoroughly organized system of mail, freight and passenger steamers circling through the West Indian Islands and the shores of the Caribbean Sea, and connecting at St. Thomas with a line to Liverpool direct. On the east coast of South America she has steamship lines to Rio and coastwise and river steamers from the Amazon to the Magdalena Rivers.

These are some of the preparations of our great naval and commercial rival, and we are now beginning to notice some of the results. Our foreign trade is in her hands; our shipping and ship-building interests have departed from us; our wheat is carried in English ships; and our immigrants—our future citizens—in their passage here, are involuntarily largely contributing, yearly, to the support of British manufacturers and shipowners. The loss of the West Indian and South American trade is very mortifying. It has, in times past, always proved a very profitable one. It opened markets for our manufactures and gave our merchants a most desirable business, and we have, besides, always cherished the idea of our "prestige," naval and commercial, with the other nations of the New World.

It will be, then, a source of sincere congratulation if the measures to be debated in the present Congress should result in the acquisition of the island of San Domingo, under such circumstances as will at once make its ports great entrepôts for commerce under our own flag, giving the material benefit of that commerce to the merchants of the United States, and through them increasing the income of the Government—the dignity and importance of the country. Should the annexation of San Domingo be made, a naval station will undoubtedly be placed there; this of itself will attract commerce, but the true way to establish the lasting support of all our industrial as well as commercial interests has been pointed out to us in England's course. Our Government, by lending its assistance to private ship-yards, would encourage ship-building; this once fairly started we should have American steamships making San Domingo their principal place, as St. Thomas is of the English steamers. These various steamers running on the north and east coast of South America—to all the West Indian Islands—connecting, by some cheaper isthmus transit than that of Panama, with American steamers on the west coast, would utilize our own iron resources; enrich our manufacturers and find them customers through all the ports of the West Indies and South America; develop the coal-mines of San Domingo, and to the leeward the almost opposite coal-mines on the isthmus, and thus give our naval power an actual supremacy over any thing England could place in these waters; in an incredibly short time repair our broken fortunes—make San Domingo the garden of the world, the source to us of vast revenues—and place us just where we want to be and just where our geographical position, the character of our people and Government, and our, as yet, scarcely touched mineral resources entitle us to be, in advance of England in industrial, financial and commercial interests.

REVENUE.

Until the race be very much improved we shall need government. So long as we have government we must pay; paying necessitates something to pay with. How we shall get wherewith to pay is the question.

Stealing was a favorite means in olden times. Some nations of to-day borrow with no prospect of paying; a means not far removed from stealing.

In our country we have two parties upon this as upon most questions. One party wish to kill two birds with one stone—that is, raise a revenue and give protection to our infant manufactures; the other party are not willing to kill but one bird with one stone—they desire a revenue from the trade of the outside, but do not desire to protect manufactures in our country.

This quarrel about the adjustment of the burden of taxation, is an interminable element in our political world, and makes much more fuss than it has magnitude.

Men talk about it in grand generalities and pay willingly their separate allotments. There is an indefiniteness about the present methods of gathering a revenue that is a fertile field for demagogues. The imperfection of our knowledge prevents us from developing a system which will command the respect of all honest men.

The profits of banking presents the most simple source for a revenue that civilized society offers.

In a country like the United States, where there is such large demand for capital, and where the growth of the country gives the best assurance of safety for loaned capital, there would be no difficulty in securing not only the means to defray the current expenses of Government, but enough to pay the debt of the country in a reasonable time.

Let Government take all the banking and finance of the people in hand, employ one-half of the men now engaged in the business and turn the other half into the productive industries, convert the stock-gamblers into honest men—if such a transformation be possible, then reduce the rate of interest to five per cent. and loan to all honest men who can give four good names as security for twice the amount, and the income of Government would be such that ten years would see us free from debt, ready to lower the rate of interest.

The objections to this method of raising revenue are the same that can be brought against every other method. The advantage is that it would be paid willingly, gladly even, and it would reduce all the quarrels from generalities to individual cases, and thus simplify political affairs.

ROVER.

The advocates of female suffrage have, evidently, begun the campaign which they threatened to prosecute with unusual vigor in Washington during the present session. The petition presented on Wednesday takes up the ground that the word "persons" introduced into the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments may fairly be taken as a generic title for both sexes, and that, therefore, women "born or naturalized in the United States" are as much citizens as the men who have, up till this time, monopolized the distinction of being "persons" and voters. We think a careful study of the Constitution as a whole, will convince the ladies that they must adopt broader ground than this, and that a seventeenth amendment will be required for their admission after all.—Times.

Perhaps if the Times editor will carefully examine our argument in the last number of the weekly, he may possibly come to the conclusion that he might gain some information in point by a "careful study of the Constitution as a whole." Will the Times please inform us what the term "race and color" mean in the constitution, and whether "race" does or does not include sex? Also, whether white is a color and whether females are not white and black, besides other colors?

Jenny Lind's husband has at length run through the splendid fortune with which she retired from the lyric stage, and she is compelled to teach music for a living. The ill-matched pair have separated by mutual consent, and the spendthrift must now shift for himself.

The above is but one of the thousands upon thousands of existing illustrations of the beautiful practical operation of present social systems. Should not our wisdom, concentrated in legislation, devise some law which should forbid such separations? Should not those unrecognized members of society, as represented by Jenny Lind, be compelled to ever continue their labors to maintain their lords and superiors? Will not the conservators of all that is pure and holy raise their hands in horror that the sacredness of marriage has been thus violated?

In Commissioner Eaton's report of the operations of the Educational Bureau for the current year occurs a table showing the amount expended for educational purposes by each State for each child of "school age" so suggestive that we give it place in these columns:

Nevada	\$19 17	Wisconsin	\$4 98
Massachusetts	16 45	Maine	4 78
California	11 44	Maryland	4 30
Connecticut	10 29	New Hampshire	4 46
Pennsylvania	7 85	Arkansas	3 97
Illinois	7 83	Louisiana	3 84
Iowa	7 21	Delaware	2 70
New York	6 83	Missouri	2 65
Vermont	6 47	Nebraska	2 65
Kansas	6 45	Florida	2 37
Ohio	6 40	Alabama	1 42
Michigan	6 40	Tennessee	.97
New Jersey	6 38	Kentucky	.78
Rhode Island	6 30	North Carolina	.48
Minnesota	5 71		

REAL ESTATE AND INSURANCE.

NATIONAL LAND GRANTS.

The remarkably heavy losses by fire which have occurred within the past few weeks have justified our fears, expressed repeatedly, that we were entering on a "bad season" for insurance offices. Inadequate net premiums—made so by extravagance, reckless underwriting, competition and foolishly high commissions, will now cause a very serious inroad into any surplus which may have been put by by any of the various companies. That surplus exhausted, "capital stock" will be impaired, and then comes bankruptcy—inevitable under the State law—and the appointment of a receiver.

There is an element not often thought of outside of insurance circles, but which experience proves to enter largely into the causes of what are known as "bad seasons." That element is called the "moral hazard" and it is now very great indeed. The depreciation in stocks of goods—the anxiety of traders and manufacturers to be out of an uncertain or losing business—the fall in real estate, which has in six months depreciated at least thirty-five per cent. in value—all these causes are joined to increase the ordinary risks which an underwriter is paid to assume, and it requires but little reflection to imagine how vastly these risks are increased when the least laxity of principle on the part of the insured enables him to make a cash sale at a high price to the underwriter, even though he does it at the chances of detection and State Prison. But carelessness, willingness for such a thing as a "fire" to occur, will do almost as much as premeditation; and how often have we heard such expressions lately from owners of unproductive property or country places as, "How we wish it would burn up, and then we would have the insurance."

The organization of new fire insurance companies, under such a state of affairs, certainly promises little to their shareholders. We hear of two or three being pressed on investors, but we cannot recommend persons to put their means into such undertakings. A new company has always many disadvantages to contend with, and business and the general management of it ought to improve materially before there is occasion made for further competition in fire risks.

The real estate market is still falling. There were fifteen additional foreclosure suits filed in five days about one week ago. Attempts made to sell property under foreclosure have, in some instances, not brought the face of the mortgage, and almost all real estate offered at auction has been withdrawn for want of bids. A valuable property on Twenty-third street, renting for \$3,000 per annum, was offered at auction at a "put up" price of \$25,000, but no bid was made.

This is right—people are beginning to see the nonsense of paying out a *small fortune* for a single house in New York. In Philadelphia, or Baltimore, or London, a house equal in every respect to this one, in just as good a locality, could be easily purchased at private sale for \$15,000 or less. There is room for a considerable fall yet, and the logic of events, will prove it in spite of the whining of brokers and speculators. This attempted sale is significant, too, as showing no confidence in the present rents continuing.

As for the value of real estate investments at ruling prices, there can be no two opinions amongst sensible persons. There is no investment more undesirable, none more certain to involve heavy and constant expense, none less certain to produce revenue. We were the first to point out the nature of this "real estate bubble," and to circumstantially prove it. The city journals and the brokers both decried us, and declared there was no reason for depreciation in price. We appealed to very stubborn facts and the result is apparent in the "fall" of the last sixty days. Real estate, we now say, will fall much lower. It will not, in this generation, reattain such inflated prices as have been existing until lately, and we advise speculators and persons who are holding merely for investment, to sell out in time before the market is further weakened by the sales which must take place in the spring under the foreclosure suits now in court. Another cause which will have a depressing effect is the increasing and UNEQUAL system of municipal taxation. We have frequently alluded to the heavy burden which is thus imposed on the inhabitants of Brooklyn. Some idea can be formed of it when we read that in that city "lots on Eighth street, assessed at \$4,760 are taxed \$1,573. Three batches of lots on Fourth avenue assessed respectively at \$3,800, \$2,000 and \$1,200 are taxed respectively \$1,174, \$900 and \$1,029. The assessed value is in each case fully three-fourths of the market value, and the taxation thus ranges from 30 per cent. to 80 per cent. This is very near to confiscation without proclaiming it." The taxation of New York city is asserted to have been reduced. This is not so. The percentage of taxation was somewhat lessened, but on the other hand the assessment valuation is increased, which, practically, makes it worse than before; and besides this there are par-

ticular assessments for special "jobs" such as "poultice pavements," which make owners feel very uncertain and uneasy.

Tammany has fairly commenced its intrigues in Westchester county, and the wrangling over the tax lists is prodigious. Work is being done in "boulevards," the results of which will doubtless be pleasant and agreeable to our grandchildren, but which it is rather too much to ask us to pay for, for the present benefit of "rings." According to the report of the committee on equalization of assessments, it was proposed to decrease the tax assessments in the upper parts of the county, where great improvements have been made, but to increase the assessments in the lower towns over a million of dollars! The supervisor of Morrisania denounced this as an injustice to his constituents, and asserted that there were scores of dwellings and stores unoccupied in the town he represented, and that the value of taxable property there was less than it was a year ago! This can be said with far more truth of the city proper of New York. Of unoccupied, unproductive stores there are instances beyond number. At the corner of West Broadway and Franklin street is a very handsome iron store, built some five years since at a large cost and never once rented! Its cost has been almost doubled in that time by taxes, interest and insurance. It has not given its owner the first cent of revenue. In Brooklyn, around Prospect Park, there are quantities of unoccupied brown stone dwellings. On Staten Island properties are offered for \$3,000 for which \$5,500 were demanded a year ago.

While on the subject of real estate, it may be proper to add a few words of the nation's lands—the real estate which belongs to the people, and is held, or ought to be held, as a sacred trust for it by the Government. Unfortunately it seems it is not so, but is being dissipated and squandered in the most wasteful manner by the agents of the people. One hundred and eighty-two millions of acres of land have actually been given away to the Pacific railroads—lands worth at least four hundred millions of dollars—and to this free gift has been added concurrent loans of national money or credit to build the roads.

The author of a "National debt a National Blessing" evidently believes in national lands being turned over *gratis* to private parties as quickly as possible, for, from the interested standpoint of a Northern Pacific Railroad owner, we find his congratulation on that Company's having secured from the public a territory as large as all New England and Maryland put together! Other corporations, railroad or not, scent the game and there are now over thirty applications before Congress involving "land grants." In another column we have mentioned the "American and European Steamship Company's" attempt to enter the real estate business. This is not the only steamship company asking land subsidy! and as for railroads their petitions are in by dozens. The Texas and Pacific Railroad Company ask for seventeen million two hundred thousand acres. The Southern Pacific asks for twenty-six millions of acres, and so on. And these lands are to be given to monopolies to "lock up" or to demand extortionate prices on from settlers, or to turn over to "immigration companies," composed of railroad directors, by which means two or three profits can be made for "rings!" The public domain will soon exist only in name, and the people be under the control of these "artificial beings," these great monopolies they have so heedlessly created. We were also the first to expose the dangerous tendency to consolidation, political power and private wrong-doing of the great corrupt railroad companies. At first we met no belief, then the idea began to grow, the subject was investigated and better understood; the wrongs that were put upon the community in every way were at last apparent, and now from Chicago to New Orleans, and from San Francisco to New York, our words are producing comments. The Western papers are already asserting that the Government should seize these roads, and by declaring them public highways, disfranchise the companies, as the only means of protection to the public. Such act of expropriation will not answer. The remedy is in strict legislation—making penal offences of frauds now tolerated—in a purer judiciary; and, above all, in the prevention of that consolidation which puts so much power into the hands of one set of men.

Instances of the evils of the present system are coming to us from all directions. We are told that the practical failure of Reconstruction in South Carolina is to be laid to the door of the "railroad rings" formed in the South. A body of citizens have even joined in a memorial to Congress to investigate the political condition of matters brought about by unprincipled "carpet-baggers" catering to the ignorance of colored men in the Legislature, and leading them to pass private bills, of the most flagrant character, in the interest of railroad men; so that the State has been nearly bankrupted, private property depreciated, business prostrated.

From the West we learn that on the Illinois Central Railroad a farmer brings his wheat to a station to ship to

Chicago. The station-master cannot tell when it will be forwarded—perhaps in a week, perhaps in a fortnight, perhaps in a month; but he will buy the wheat at eighty cents a bushel, say, when wheat is selling at ninety cents in Chicago and the freight there is but two cents per bushel. The farmer sells, for storage, until forwarding can be had, would ruin him. The agent, of course, represents the great railroad owners, and what the farmer is robbed of goes into their pockets. Once in a while a car may be sent through for appearance sake. Now and then a merchant may start out to buy, but the same man never does so twice. Substitute cotton for wheat; use the same consolidating, watering operations on the Southern railroads, as we have seen exemplified in the history of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad; add the shameful grants of public lands, and see how the people are swindled and to be swindled by these means, without taking into account the danger from the control—in many instances now almost openly asserted—over legislatures and judiciaries, which the corporations aspire to.

ONE IDEA OF AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

The New York *Sun* has an article advocating the admission of foreign shipbuilding material free of duty and prohibiting the register of foreign-built ships, in order, as it says, that our shipbuilding interests may become entirely independent of other nations.

We don't see the sense of this at all. If we encourage American shipbuilding in such a way that our mines and collieries may be always certain of a steady market, instead of the present precarious and fluctuating one, which is one cause of high prices, the cost of building material will soon come to an understood and satisfactory level, but, if we are to depend on the admission, free of duty, of foreign material so that our manufacturers have no inducement or aid to progress, then in what are we independent? What is the great difference, as far as "independence" is concerned, between bringing a ship from abroad by piecemeal or as a whole? We shall only create a race of "tinkerers," not of shipbuilders.

People who talk as the *Sun* does, don't seem to remember that ships are not now built, as formerly, by cutting timber, but that collieries, great iron blast furnaces, rolling mills, trained mechanics, miners, skilful engineers, are all prerequisites for a shipbuilding industry, and when these do not exist, or their development is not liberally encouraged, all the talk in the world of independence and bringing over in any quantities, free of duty, of the products of Great Britain's "yards" or iron mines or mills, will not build up a real American shipbuilding interest.

THE LADY BROKERS ATTACKED.

An ill-spelt, poorly-edited sheet—owned by certain so-called New York Democrats, who have read themselves out of their own party, and the general correctness of whose editorial information is shown in its statements that an "off shore" gale will "bring many wrecks on the beach!" and that "Messrs. Tweed, Sweeney & Co. have brokers in Bond street!"—closes an ungentlemanly article on the *Lady Brokers* with a mockingly-put quotation from a *Book*, which it would be well if its editors read oftener and to more purpose: "As a jewel in a swine's snout so is a fair woman without discretion." We commend to this editor a better passage:

"If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given to him."

The journal in question was started with the avowed object of exposing and attacking the municipal frauds of "Tweed, Sweeney & Co.," only lately the close political allies of its owners. There is an old saying about certain people "falling out," and we gratefully acknowledge that, since the quarrel, the public has been less fleeced than usual in the matter of "poultice pavement jobs." It may be from fear of exposure, or it may be because there was a less number in the "ring" to be provided for. In either case we are grateful for the result; but we can hardly congratulate this remarkably "Free" paper—so free as to get circulation by *gratuitous* distribution through the post-office—on its evident dislike to the exposure of Southern frauds, and the possibility of repudiation by some Southern States of bonds obtained from them by swindlers.

Politics, when adopted as a trade, is a mysterious and dirty one, and we need not be surprised at any revelations. When self-interest, and not conviction or patriotism, is the moving spring, a Democrat is apt to resemble very closely the hero of "Table Mountain" "in ways that are dark;" but can it be possible that O'Brien, Judge Hogan, Honest John Fox, or the Democrats they profess to represent, can have any secret sympathy with the men who are robbing the South and endeavoring to ruin the Republican party they deceitfully profess to belong to? Do the owners of the journal, which devotes its columns to the ridicule of things they cannot perhaps comprehend, still claim fellowship and acquaintance with the *Copperhead Democrat* who represented a *Copperhead* constituency in the Albany Legis-

be enabled to stand alone, and make us the foremost nation on the face of the globe; that no nation ever became great on an agricultural productiveness alone, and that it is unfair to place our well-paid laborers on a footing with the pauper populations of Europe. That a tariff prevents an undue use of the articles purchased abroad, and thus tends to keep the balance of trade as much as possible in our favor; for if a lady purchases a foreign shawl for \$10, and purchased a home-made one costing \$20, in the course of two years, when these shawls are worn out and *non est*, the \$20 is still in the country, while the \$10 would be gone abroad (or else an amount of produce equal to its value).

The protectionists also argue that with the material all here and the means at hand to work it, it is folly to assert that we cannot, if enabled by protection, develop it as other nations have done; and they point to the significant fact that no single branch of manufacture or agriculture ever advocated the abolition of any tariff that protected them.

England has been brought in as evidence by both disputants, but we cannot see with what justice; for it is merely a matter of history that she protected her manufacturing interests and subsidized her shipping interests, and that even then her prosperity has been attained by a system of semi-slave labor, that neither free-traders nor protectionists have as yet been bold enough to advocate as desirable in this country; and we certainly do hold that the enrichment of a country is not desirable at any such a cost. England can neither feed nor clothe herself, hence trade with the outside world is a *sine qua non* of her natural existence; and having legislated her working population to be as poorly paid as possible by means of granting class privileges, and developing her resources by protecting them and dealing a blow to her rivals whenever practicable, she can very well afford to turn round and advocate free trade, to prevent other nations from entering the lists as competitors to her. She being compelled to buy wheat, tea, coffee, cotton, sugar, tobacco, timber and other necessities, will naturally advocate any policy that opens foreign markets wherein she can send her manufactures to pay for her purchases.

In conclusion, we have before us a vast steel, iron and cotton manufacturing trade which free trade would destroy, and every pound of these materials that has been made and used here would have had to have been paid for if imported; and we will see how we are any worse off for the keeping of that money in the country.

J. P.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

THE NEW YEAR.

FROM THE FRENCH OF H. PANTHIER.

I.

The stormy hours are dying
In the twelfth dwelling where they made their short abiding;
The sun has ceased to burn,
And seeks the Western shore,
The light of the last year will shine on us no more—
'Tis gone without return.

II.

To the tomb we're drawing nearer!
The year has fallen like all things which our fancy held as dearer
In the remorseless past,
Like sweet sounds lost in air!
An ocean tune that lingers, and murmurs round the mast;
A falling star—how fair!

III.

'Tis a shade that mocks the vision,
A day that nothingness devours out of the days' elysian!
A song heard in our dreams!
Illusion full of woe—
Yet still 'tis a foreshadow, that's offered to us so,
Of Future's brightest themes.

IV.

Thus, as we start not, viewing
The leaves of autumn which the ruthless winds are strewing,
But smile at forests bare;
So see we fall each year
Some hope that lit our brow, and music-filled each ear,
But is no longer there!

V.

Thus, by its sovereign power,
The jealous time drags all the pleasures of the hour
Toward eternity!
Each sound that strikes our ears
Is but a signal from the mystic spheres
To poor humanity!

VI.

O, Time, that midst thy storm
Ingulfs poor mortals in thine awful arms;
Dispenser of our day—
The worms that are thy sport,
Who, thine, forget thee, thou wert all so short,
Say do they sink for aye?

VII.

Hast thou no brighter shore
On which thy wrecks are cast to drift no more—
A distant land of light,
Whither our bark may steer,
And that uncertain bark no farther veer
Toward sorrow's night?

VIII.

Time, blemisher of youth!
Thou still dost hide our sorrows in thy ruth;
Thou throwest them in the grave!
And in that grave the proud
In gorgeous purple clad—the beggar in his shroud—
An equal level have.

IX.

Thine hand falls on the bust
Of sculpture fine, that gives a pleasing hope to dust—
A hope that cheers his days
When tempest-tost he lies,
And his frail soul from the dire shipwreck flies
In search of crowning bays.

X.

How often in my thought,
Sweet hope! thou'st come with consolation fraught
Throughout this dying year,
And to my ardent soul
Hast offered brimming full of nectar bright the bowl
The future meant to cheer!

XI.

How oft 'times in my dreaming
Hast thou seduced me by thy brilliant seeming!
Illusions traced in air!
Yet, idol of my heart,
Even from those sweet phantasmas I must part—
A loss without repair!

XII.

Sweet memory will embalm
Each hope that on the surface pure and calm,
Lay 'neath the morning beam,
Reflecting all its light!
Ah! thus thy brow was crowned with chapters bright
For me in that sweet dream!

XIII.

May sadness never press
Her withering hand on thy dear loveliness!
Nor paint her dark hues there.
Still let thy days be full of bliss,
And as flowers ope their cups the morning dew to kiss,
For joys alone prepare!

XIV.

With thy sweet image blest
Let every dream of love present thee what of best
For homage they possess.
Let the enchantment live
In visions holy, pure and glad, as joy herself can give,
Till mother earth I press!

XV.

O, charmer of my youth!
Wilt thou still ornament with seeming truth
The future of my days?
Or with the year depart,
And leave me with a broken, bleeding heart
To weep thy withered bays?

XVI.

If thus thou leavest me,
Dark shadows, sorrows, griefs my lot will be,
My days in mourning pass;
And, looking to the grave,
I'll say to falling leaf and murmuring wave,
"The Tomb a refuge has!"

JOHN T. ROWLAND.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1871.

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

BY C. B. P.

No. VI.

It were to have been wished that Muller had unfolded biblical mythology in connection with that of the other nations, but, like so many others, being within the grip of the Church, he must be silent over Jehovahdom and snake-dom of old Jewry. He sees how readily the old heathen myths became more or less Christianized from the ancient stock, as grafted thereon, while presenting another name, though in the change the root remained the same. Some of the early Church fathers discovered that what was called Christianity was as old as creation. But Muller is rather chary of the least look of his mythology in this direction. Sometimes, however, he makes a close cut upon the flanks of God's Word, as if the same blood and water might issue therefrom, as if there were parallel tongue and grooving along that plane as applied to the growth "of epic and tragical poetry, Greek, Indian and Teutonic." He says: "It may take the different colors of the different skies, the different warmth of the different climes, nay, it may attract and absorb much that is accidental and historical; but if we cut into it and analyse it the blood that runs through all the ancient poetry is the same blood—it is the ancient mythical speech." Agreed. As we cut into the Hebrew poetry, as written with God's finger, we discover the same blood from the root to the tip as flowed from the purple and scarlet Dawn as she wrote her everlasting Word upon the morning sky. But why should Muller shrink from a cut on the raw of Hebrew as upon other poetry? Why not require the pound of flesh and the same blood from the one as from the other, if he would have the right come uppermost and justice done? Why not weigh, with equal scales, the many parts of the same word made flesh with the same blood permeating all its parts? The God of Israel was from the east, as per Ezekiel, the same as the lightning coming out of the east and shining unto the west, and thus, in personification, the Son of Man, interchangeable with the sun shining in his strength. When awaking, as one out of sleep, from the bosom of the Virgin or the Dawn, he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called the Word of God, because written in such ineffaceable letters on the sky; and the armies in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white

and clean. The white horses are the horses of the sun, and the robes of the saints and the vesture dipped in blood become washed white in the blood of the Lamb, as with his sharp sword he cuts loose from her who sitteth on many waters.

Why, when Muller finds that same old serpent called the Devil and Satan, does he not show that he had the same wriggle in the garden of Eden, and elsewhere on Hebrew ground, as in the Elysian fields, among Job's sons of God, and in St. John's Sun mysteries? Why did he not cut into this same old serpent, brazen or otherwise, and show him to have been of one blood with all other snakes to dwell upon the face of the earth? In Grecian mythology, as per Muller, "The old story was this: Eurydike is bitten by a serpent (that is, by the night); she dies and descends into the lower regions." Orpheus follows her, as Adam does Eve, when both mythologically die in the wisdom of the serpent. Both are of the old Sun mysteries, with a physiological significance on earth as it is in heaven, of head-and-beel bruising in the mystery of Adam and Eve—parallel to which, in the drama of night and day, the serpent bruises the heel of the Sun, and the Sun the serpent's head. When Dan was a serpent in the way, or an adder in the path, to bite the horse's heel so that his rider shall fall backward, a double meaning was embraced to include the bite in the *morsus diabol*, or the serpent may have bit the chariot horses of the Sun, so that the snorting of the horses were heard from Dan, and the rider fell down and broke his crown, and the virgin came tumbling after, like Jack and his wife in Mother Goose.

In Christian mythology, Judas would appear to have been the representative night, or serpent betrayer, of the Sun. "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" Christ and the Sun are identically one in the role of the mysteries, though such a person may have been; nevertheless, it is startling to find him and the Sun so inseparably one, each answering to the other as with all the ancient Sun heroes.

Says Muller: "There may have been an old poet of the name of Orpheus; for old poets delight in solar names." It is curious to find Jesus and Christ to have been solar names, or personifications of the Sun; and when so much of the gospel story is in mythical language, who can say here was, or is, the true personal history of Him who "was, and is, and is to come" within the Alpha and Omega or solar scope of the heavens? "Behold, He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they which pierced Him." Certainly, for He is the same at whom the archers shot and sorely wounded. But in whatever wise the life or spirit of nature may be draped—in whatever dress the Virgin may be clothed with the Sun—though the Bride and Bridegroom come to us in parable and dark saying, in person, or in wisdom's name, the truth is none the less to be prized; for wisdom is justified of all her children.

God is love. How should they of old time personify or incarnate it? Says Muller: "If they wanted a name for it, where could they look? Was not love to them like an awakening from sleep? Was it not like a morn radiating with heavenly splendor over their souls, pervading their hearts with a glowing warmth, purifying their whole being like a fresh breeze, and illuminating the whole world around them with a new light? If it was so, there was but one name by which they could express love—there was but one similitude for the roseate bloom that betrays the dawn of love—it was the blush of the day, the rising Sun. 'The Sun has risen,' they said, where we say 'I love.' 'The Sun has set,' they said, where we say 'I have loved.'"

So in old Jewry—the blushing morn as the Virgin of Israel, or Jerusalem of the skies, and the Sun as the Day-star at the same time rising, kept step with the Virgin to the music of the spheres.

And well the spirit and the flesh agree
In these fresh fields and pastures new to feed—
The mother of us all, her children fed
Each morning, coming with her heavenly bread;
So lovely was she in the good work done,
That we, too, love the Virgin and her Sun.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CHARITY.

When you meet with one suspected
Of some secret deed of shame,
And for this by all rejected
As a thing of evil fame,
Guard thine every look and action,
Speak no word of heartless blame,
For the slanderer's vile detraction
Yet may soil thy goodly name.

When you meet with one pursuing
Ways the lost have wandered in,
Working out his own undoing
With his recklessness and sin,
Think, if placed in his condition,
Would a kind word be in vain?
Or a look of cold suspicion
Win thee back to truth again?

There are spots that bear no flowers,
Not because the soil is bad,
But the summer's genial showers
Never make their bosoms glad.
Better have an act that's kindly
Treated sometimes with disdain,
Than by judging others blindly,
Doom the innocent to pain.

SELF-RELIANCE.—The success of individuals in life is greatly owing to their early learning to depend upon their own resources. Money, or the expectation of it by inheritance, has ruined more men than the want of it ever did. Teach young men to rely upon their own efforts, to be frugal and industrious, and you have furnished them with a productive capital which no man can ever wrest from them.—*An Exchange.*

Would not the same practice recommended for "young men" be equally applicable and beneficial for young women?

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To CORRESPONDENTS.—All communications intended for publication must be written on one side only. The editors will not be accountable for manuscript not accepted.

All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

44 Broad Street, New York City.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

CHRISTMAS VS. NEW YEAR'S.—Many thanks for the

kind Christmas remembrances, and many regrets that we were not present to receive and return them. We shall be happy to receive our friends—whom we failed to see on Christmas and who may honor us again—at our residence, No. 15 East Thirty-eighth street, on New Year's.

The American and European Steamship Company.

A MIRACLE OF IMPUDENCE.

Land Grabbing—Smuggling—Monopoly—The Custom House General Order Business—Steamships Owning

Real Estate—Over Thirty Millions of Dollars to be Thrown Away.

IS THIS A SCHEME OF THE RAILROAD COMPANY, WHICH REFUSES TO CARRY THE UNITED STATES MAILS?

In our article on American Commerce, which we published last week, and to which we ask our readers to refer, we had occasion to mention, incidentally, a project introduced into Congress by special request, but in no way farthered or endorsed by Mr. Schenck to grant the most unheard of and dangerous privileges to a body of men under the corporate name of the "American and European Steamship Company." We denounced then the bill introduced as tricky in the extreme, unconstitutional and anti-republican, ruinous to all hopes of commercial advance, and in the interests of a set of men who are ex-rebels—agents of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company—or men who know nothing whatever of foreign trade.

Information, that we have received since then, of the efforts made to carry this bill in Washington, has been such that we are impelled to make more than a passing allusion to the enterprise.

In the first place, the corporators named, and who, in section 3 of the bill, have carefully provided, in the regular "Erie" Railroad style, for their continuance in office, and for facilities to carry out the usual frauds and plunders before any thing else is done, are not exactly the kind of men to be the recipients of Government patronage in so important a matter as, to use their own language in the bill, the building or purchasing of all manner of sail or steam vessels ("propelled by steam or other motive power), to be used upon the oceans, seas, rivers, lakes and waters of the United States for the transportation of passengers, freights and mails from the ports of Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, parts of the Chesapeake Bay, and on the South Atlantic Coast, of the United States to the ports of Liverpool, Southampton, Havre, Antwerp, Bremen, etc., etc."

Here is the commencement of a most shameful monopoly, intended to deprive the sections of country named of their inherent right of commerce, which, put in operation, with the privileges also given in the bill, including those of issuing bonds *ad libitum* and shares to the extent of twenty

millions of dollars, would do more to destroy all individual commercial enterprise throughout the entire country than years of desolating war. What is to prevent such a corporation from driving off private merchants and forcing small coastwise companies to be swallowed up by it? Just precisely what its great prototype and originator, the "Pennsylvania Railroad Company," has done on land, until last winter it gathered influence and audacity to attempt to rob the State which had created it of its sinking fund, and would have done so but for the veto of Governor Geary, who was forced to make a public appeal to the people of Pennsylvania to sustain him against the "great machinery of organized theft."

The bill provides also "power to purchase, hold, mortgage, lease and convey such real estate, vessels, or other personal property, as the 'PURPOSES' of the corporation may from time to time require."

In an article on real estate, in our issue of last week, we spoke of the great injury resulting from giving existence to companies which can swing the "brute force of their millions" from one industry to another, trampling the fortunes and spirits of citizens; we instanced particularly the practical results in Pennsylvania companies, whose charters allowed them to engage in two different branches of business. Here, however, is an open provision for a "chartered ocean carrier and a chartered land proprietor," and a covert provision for using its funds in any other manner—perhaps in buying the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad for its friend the Pennsylvania Road. But what are the "PURPOSES" of the projected company? They are really unlimited, but these are particularly named: (Sec. 6.) To place the whole foreign mail service under the control of one uncertain and incompetent monopoly at a rate of SUBSIDY enormous and far exceeding that at which it should be done, and under its concealed powers or purposes to bid defiance to the Post Office Department in transmission of ocean mails. And this is carefully hidden under a mass of circumstances already provided for by law. (Sec. 7.) To directly prepare the future for a centralization of power, opposing the interest of each Atlantic State and the formation of other companies. The service should be performed from each Atlantic port under State charters. (Sec. 8.) To establish a smuggling express company under the sanction of a Congressional act. The whole plans so arranged as to permit the "purchase" of any Custom House officer, and thus smuggling at will and to any extent. Such a law in the hands of dishonest and able men (and who guarantees these corporators or their successors?) would, in a few years, deprive the United States of a third of its import duty revenues. (Sec. 8.) To supersede the consular duties abroad in verifications; this has probably been suggested by some one in, or who has been in, the Custom House, and has a full knowledge of the illegal facilities thus to be granted, particularly in supplying the excuse for suppressing, on any fall in price, an invoice, so as to cheat, in the duties, if the examination is too close for smuggling. Or the plan has been designed by some one of the revenue detectives sent to Europe by the Treasury Department, and whose experience thus gained has enabled him to seek to prey upon the Government's income. (Sec. 10.) To provide that the whole operations of opening, examination, appraisement, assessment and collection shall take place in the company's building! The practical operation of this ingenious provision is too apparent to need comment. But in section 11 we find a cunningly hidden provision for giving this corporation a business and a fortune—"the richest plum in the fat pickings of the Custom House," the one item which has caused more wrangling and discontent in New York politics than all others put together—that which is known as the "GENERAL ORDER" business! This is infamous! This is a monopoly with a vengeance, not only on sea but on shore, not only for one port but for all, not only for one ship but of every one; for, if this odious bill is passed, with its outrageous advantages, there will be no use in competing with the Company's vessels. All other American ships and companies had better hasten to crawl under its cutthroat flag at once, and American commerce—what there is of it—give up the ghost.

One would naturally suppose that a request for such concessions as we have spoken of would then stop—not from modesty, certainly, but from want of breath. Oh, no! Section 12 demands that for every ton of iron steamships built by the Company for the next ten years it shall have the right to purchase eighty acres of the public domain, now open under the pre-emption laws of the United States, on paying therefor one dollar and twenty-five cents in United States money, and, furthermore, that the said lands may be "locked up" by the Company, anywhere in the United States, for five years after the completion of each ship, before paying for them.

Thus this "ocean carrier" proposes to take away the pre-emption rights of individuals, and to remove from their reach enormous bodies of the best lands, depriving the Government and its citizens of their increasing value—keeping off industrious settlers, or robbing them of the

little money they have, under the false pretence of "re-establishing commerce," not one principle of which is there a single corporator named who has the least practical knowledge of!

The whole bill is a fraud, and never was there one to which would apply better the language lately used on another subject in the House of Representatives: "The American Congress that will pass an act like this is not removed one single degree—I say it with all respect—from those conspirators who, ten years ago, organized deliberately that revolt which filled this land with dead."

How much land does this American and European Steamship Company want? Does it want it for shipyards or wharves? Eighty acres of wharfage for every ton of shipping!! For the service contemplated, in three years there would be required, at the very least, twenty ships of 4,000 tons each. 20 x 4,000 x 80 is six millions four hundred thousand acres of Government land, and selected land at that, not land lying along a particular railroad, mind, but selected here and there—the best land!! And the amount to be indefinitely increased as the Company builds vessels!!

The pretence of paying \$1 25 per acre after five years is very bald. It is a tattered garment, to hide the nakedness of the most impudent job that ever came before Congress. One dollar and a quarter an acre, payable in five years!! Why the worst lands ever granted by Congress or owned by the Government, were given to the Union Pacific Railroad, which Company, in the year ending last July, sold 182,000 acres of them for \$835,000. The sales of the "Kansas Pacific" lands have averaged \$4.31 per acre, and of the "Illinois Central" lands \$11 per acre, and selected lands are certainly worth, at the very lowest, \$5 per acre; so that for the first three years, besides "subsidies," "general order business" and "smuggling," issuing of bonds *ad libitum*, and "speculation in stock," this Company is to have a gift of lands, robbed from the pre-emption rights of citizens and immigrants, and worth over thirty-two millions of dollars, on the promise of paying one dollar and a quarter an acre in five years after the completion of the ships! Does Congress want to give away the public domain until immigration will have to stop or be under the control of these extortionate corporations? Does it expect to revive American commerce by instituting a gigantic machine to crush every particular merchant? Does it expect to encourage shipbuilding by Americans, from American material, and teach our manufacturers to compete with England's, by making it useless to build ships except for the use of one offensive monopoly? Does it expect to make the name of American merchants honored and respected, and to bring back honesty to preside over business, by giving such privileges to men, or to the representatives of men, who are amongst those who have committed acts of fraud and treachery unparalleled in the financial history of the country? Does it expect to restore purity to the land, to replace, by productive industry, that class of ignorant, idle, swindling stock speculators and brokers who are ruining our young men, and of whom an English writer says: "The stock speculator is in everything, save decency of appearance, on a par with the haunter of the Casino. He may, if he so pleases, designate himself as an investor, but in reality he is a common gamester" by favoring in fact, if not in name, the very men who, more than all others, have made this class?

Is there, in this projected enterprise, the first element of public advantage—in morals, in commerce, in facility for defence in time of war? Is this the way we propose to rival England in her navy and ship yards and commercial steam fleets? England, whose Government has built up private yards that would economically and thoroughly build a war fleet in a month to overpower our whole navy, and troop ships that would transport an army and its supplies to Canada—England, which has subsidised steamship lines which encircle the world and repay the subsidies in commercial and manufacturing advantages a thousandfold, and yet has confined each company to its own sphere, exacted its strict honesty and created no monopoly—England, which has thus brought tribute from every quarter of the globe, developed her mineral resources to the utmost, created a class of sea and shore engineers of which we can scarce form a conception, of trained seamen and scientific officers, who, in an emergency, could step right into her navy without preparation—England, which has done all this quietly, surely, without strain, profitably, without the toleration of fraud or unfair advantages; whilst we have been drifting backward, supine, ignorant, thriftless, and are now discussing such "jobs" as the "American European Steamship Company," which the legislators of England would have detected in a second's examination, and, possibly, punished the effrontery of the projectors.

We want a first-class American steamship company to be established by the Government. There is a desperate and wailing cry for it from all the Atlantic seaboard. Our citizens want its advantages and protection; our

lature during the war, and, not being re-elected at its close, moved to South Carolina, disguised himself as a *Radical of Radicals* and, as a land commissioner, stole \$50,000, and then stole \$50,000 more, and then—quietly resigned?

THE SOUTH CAROLINA ELECTION LAW AND HOW IT WORKS.

BY PALMETTO.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Dec. 15, 1870.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

The United States Court, sitting at Columbia, has before it a long roll of indictments for illegal voting.

Upon the general character of the State canvassers let me quote the language of Hon. Frederick A. Sawyer, Senator in Congress from this State. Senator Sawyer is a Republican, native of Massachusetts, and a man of character and ability. He is discussing the action of the State Canvassers in rejecting evidence of the illegal election of De Large to Congress, submitted in writing by Bowen, submitted at the written request of Cardozo, the Secretary of State and Chairman of the State Canvassers. Senator Sawyer says:

This year, this same Board of State Canvassers, consisting of the Secretary of State, Comptroller-General, Attorney-General, State Auditor, State Treasurer, Adjutant and Inspector-General, and the Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of the House of Representatives, assemble to perform their official duty in deciding who are "duly elected" to the various positions which were to be filled by the votes of the people. Personally they were as follows: F. L. Cardozo, J. L. Neagle, Niles G. Parker, D. H. Chamberlain, Reuben Tomlinson, F. J. Moses, Jr., A. J. Ransier.

Mr. Cardozo is a candidate for the United States Senate; he is understood to have been largely, if not entirely, controlled in his action by the probable influence such action would have on his chances of success in his Senatorial contest. To decide according to the evidence would give the seat to Mr. Bowen. This would array against Mr. Cardozo all the power of the Land Commission, the Comptroller-General's office, the Gubernatorial chair, and the hungry horde of his hangers-on, to whom Mr. DeLarge's success, as they think, promises the sweets of office. Mr. Cardozo could not face this force. He yielded, and forgot his official duty, his official oath, the promise given under his own hand to "receive" any communication Mr. Bowen had to make, and voted not to hear or read the testimony.

I did not expect this pusillanimity from Mr. Cardozo. I had hoped that he had so far withstood the corrupting influence of the State Capital as to retain his manhood. What sort of a representative of the enfranchised Africans of this country (for it is as such a representative that Mr. Cardozo thinks he has the strongest claim for the Senatorship) would that man be who can, in an hour of trial, thus crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning?

I had supposed that Mr. Cardozo was one who understood that to be a good citizen, or a good Senator, one must first be a man, and not a craven.

Mr. Neagle is understood to have asserted openly that he had spent a large sum of money, to wit, \$20,000, to aid Mr. DeLarge in his canvass. I am not surprised at his vote; nor should I be surprised at any violation of official or personal rectitude in a man of Mr. Neagle's antecedents. Let him pass. He intends to go to the United States Senate, and, it is said, openly declares his intention to spend \$60,000 more, if necessary, in the contest. Where did his money come from?

The next, Niles G. Parker, besides being bound by his oath to render a just decision, was bound to Mr. Bowen by personal gratitude. But Mr. Parker's gratitude slept soundly by the side of his regard for justice and his oath. The special opiate which suggests itself is the possible threat, on the part of some members of the "Ring," of impeachment of the State Treasurer. Could this be so? Did anybody suggest such an event as possible in the peaceful path of our prosperous Treasurer? Could he have feared such an event? It must be an error; yet the air was stirred by a rumor of this threat. Mr. Parker's calibre is not such that I can have the heart to say very hard things of him, but I must be permitted to pity him.

F. J. Moses, Jr., is the next on the list. Being a military man, I should have supposed he would have had courage to face the facts and decide fairly. But the Speakership of the House of Representatives is in his eye. The Executive influence is mighty; and inasmuch as the distinguished man who wields it did all in his power to defeat Mr. Bowen, it is not to be supposed that that influence would especially favor for Speaker one who was honest enough to vote according to the evidence, when that evidence would seat Mr. Bowen in Congress. So Mr. Moses' courage did what Bob Acres' did, "oozed out at his fingers' ends." We can pity him too, but not admire.

The last among this batch of worthies, though not the least, is the Lieutenant-Governor elect. He was known to be a violent partisan of DeLarge, during the canvass, and as he had aided him to the extent of his ability, he might be supposed to have done his duty by his friend, if he did act as an upright judge when the law devolved the decision of a question of fact upon him. A just decision had no terrors for him; he had certainly been elected to the position he coveted, and could afford to be honest. But, probably, on the principle that it would not do for such men to "fall out," he went with the majority, all of whom by their action would clearly find themselves under the penalties provided in section 36 of the Election Law, which are a fine not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, if they were called upon to plead before a fair and impartial jury.

Messrs. Editors, I have nearly done. This contest is not

closed. The unjustifiable decision of the canvassers will be reviewed elsewhere. A jury, *not packed*, will try this issue, and one which does not fear the wrath of the little great men who are leading so many smaller great men by the nose in this State. Possible United States Senatorships, Speakerships, impeachments will not play a part in the trial before that jury. No money will succeed in corrupting the judges when this case is decided in its ultimate place of trial. Mr. Bowen can afford to wait for the triumph of right and justice, which he will surely attain. Let the people mark the acts of the five State Canvassers, who have refused to consider a case they are bound by their oaths to decide. Let those acts not be forgotten when these men again ask the votes of the people. Republican Government is a farce if such action as theirs is tolerated in those holding the position of the highest judges of elections.

Such is the opinion of Senator Sawyer, as good a Republican as is in Congress. He has printed his argument in full, and has furnished every United States Senator with a copy. Let him who doubts refer to that *brochure* and he will understand of what metal our Scott ring is made. The proofs can be presented here but that space does not allow.

The Land Commission is another grand swindling machine, and so is the Financial Agency in New York City. These shall both be explained in due time.

In the United States Circuit Court (Judge George S. Bryan), sitting in Columbia, the Grand Jury, a majority of whom are Republicans, presented the following points:

1. The present election laws, as unfair and unequal, and calculated to open the door to fraud and to breed strife. They recommend that they be amended.
2. The employment of the military to superintend civil elections is pronounced a fruitful source of mischief.
3. The constabulary force in the State is presented as an evil of great magnitude.
4. With respect to the late disturbance of the public peace in Laurens, the jury attribute this to the violent and incendiary speeches of certain parties.

The reply of the judge was in the same spirit.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

GIPSY MYRA'S SONG TO THE ROSES.

BY JANUARY SEARLE, AUTHOR OF THE "GIPSIES OF THE DANES' DYKE."

Oh, roses, sweet roses!
You have ravished my heart,
Your red blood is on my lips,
I die in your sweet breath!

Die a delicious death.

I plucked you from the bush,
Whose green bosoms bore you,
The sun and the dew were on them,
My hands dropped with bright pearls,
As I drew them away.

You were my maiden loves,
My sweetest sweets of the flowers,
My crimson darlings of light;
The dew of my garden worship!
The garden of my soul.

Oh, passionate wild roses!
Oh, burning hearts of love!
Thought you never more to find,
A burning lover to love you?
Behold! I am the maid!

TRUTHS THAT WILL BEAR REPETITION.

LINE UPON LINE AND PRECEPT UPON PRECEPT.

ARTICLE II.

BELIEF AND UNBELIEF—THE MARITAL RELATION—THE FAMILY.

3. Belief or unbelief is always involuntary, dependent upon the weight, preponderance or lack of testimony, or evidence presented to or withheld from the mind of the inquirer. To offer a reward for believing, or to threaten a punishment for not believing, is therefore simply to offer a premium for the most debasing hypocrisy, and authorize the infliction of the most cruel, because unavailing and useless penalties. Especially is this true of what is denominated *religious* belief or unbelief; since the word religion is usually made to apply to worlds and beings concerning which men do not know anything, and can never learn anything; a condition of life in this world which should teach men the duty of according to each other untrammelled liberty in the utterance of their speculations or conjectures, or otherwise impose upon all the most absolute silence, but which has, nevertheless, under the direction of their religious teachers, in all ages, and among all peoples, been made the pretext of the establishment of the most arbitrary and terrible despotisms.

4. So, also, of the feelings and affections involved in the meaning of the word "love," which is supposed to constitute the basis of the marital relations (so called). They likewise are involuntary. To attempt to regulate in any way by customs or by law, the character or duration of this union of the sexes, is simply to engender prostitution, inflict upon society the most loathsome diseases, encourage child murder, and perpetuate, through successive generations, infernal discord.

"But what shall society do in view of the consequences of according perfect freedom in respect to scientific and religious belief, or the love relation?" demands the half-frightened conservative. *Do?* Why, nothing, except to secure to the child

and the matured man and woman the means of *perpetuating* that freedom by providing, *first*, that no religion shall be taught by law, and none at all in any way to a child below the age of fourteen years (even by a parent, if it is possible to prevent such instruction), while securing to all alike the benefits of the fullest secular education that science can afford; *secondly*, that the progeny of the sexual relation shall, in all cases, be deemed the children or the wards of the State, and educated (and supported, if either parent be unable or unwilling to provide for their support) at the expense of the State.

The recognition of any religion by law, except to protect freedom of speech, being in direct violation of the individual right of each human being to make his own religion, or to do without any, no religious tests or oaths should be required to qualify a juror or a witness or a candidate for any office; and the necessity of the employment of a minister of religion (so called) to sanctify the formation of the sexual relation, should be dispensed with, anything in the creed of the parties thereto to the contrary notwithstanding. Such power to bind on earth and in heaven belongs to no fallible man.

It may be said, perhaps, that man has a religious nature which the State should take cognizance of by providing for its proper education and development. If this be so, the *love of the truth* must constitute the principal element in this nature, and the State should, therefore, concern itself only with those truths which all can equally verify, or exclusively *secular* truths. Any other system of education must beget privilege, and privilege tyranny, with the same pernicious consequences which have hitherto resulted from the establishment of privileged orders. It is certainly true that at least one-half of the actions of human beings are the direct result of their belief, or of what they think is their belief, and that in this view it is important that each person's belief should be sound or orthodox. Notwithstanding, it is not within the power of a majority vote to determine that belief. It is determined by the knowledge directly acquired by each person, and hence the education accorded by the State should be such that the truths imparted thereby will admit of no doubt.

And it may be said also that the family is a sacred relation which must disappear, if indissoluble marriage as by law established be abolished. But if the parental and filial feelings let alone be not powerful enough to perpetuate the family, then that relation is not sacred whatever may be said in behalf of its sanctity. At all events, indissoluble marriage, as it to-day exists, serves only to perpetuate distinctions of rank and class, and sect and race, separating those whom nature had otherwise united, and filling the world with woes, domestic, social, religious and national, which defy the power of the keenest imagination to depict. Some better and more efficient guarantee of the preservation of the family, if it be indeed incapable of preserving itself, must, therefore, be devised. Can there be any better guarantee than a purely voluntary sexual union, dissoluble at the will of either party, with such provision for the offspring as herein suggested? If there be, caution and reason and judgment are absolutely of no utility. In all other relations of life involving contracts which are not suicidal in their nature, ordinary wisdom and prudence, are deemed sufficient to secure the fulfillment of such contracts. Why should these contracts which are entered into to consummate a purely natural relation be made an exception to the general rule?

Is it possible to supersede the order of nature by a statute of human enactment? The pages of history are written all over with proofs of the absurdity and failure of such attempts, applied to the ordinary pursuits of life. Why should it be expected that religion and marriage and the family thus interrupted will yield more reasonable and happier results? Must a false religion be retained because it was that of our ancestors? Is an ill assorted match never to be broken because it is written, "What God has joined together let no man put asunder?" Shall the selfishness and clianism of families forever estop the reconciliation of the nations? May all errors be corrected except those that are herein supposed to be involved?

These be questions, my masters, in theology and politics, which some day, not far distant, must be answered, if there be in the body politic sufficient vitality. In the natural order of human progression, they come before other deeper and more fundamental questions. If the answers thereto be long delayed, there will be found no sound minds in any sound bodies capable of rendering them. Trodden under foot by innumerable brazen pretenders to supernatural knowledge and authority (both of the vulgar and refined patterns), who are and will be aided by the obsequious enactments of corrupt legislators, the people will see and think and act only as they are hidden by the "powers that be" in Church and State. Let the few devoted ones, "faithful among the faithless found," see to it that if this result be at length reached, no part of the responsibility therefor shall devolve upon them. Especially let those, if any there may be, whose religious belief is that of this writer, keep their consciences "devoid of all offence," reflecting that just as they are here to-day they will sometime or other hereafter be reproduced, and live again precisely the same lives.

WILLIAM WEST.

NEW YORK, Dec. 19, 1870.

FEMALE LAWYERS.—A lady has recently been admitted to the bar in Illinois. The Supreme Court of the State, it is true, refused to admit Mrs. Bradwell, but Judge Dean, of the Effingham County Court a few days since licensed to practice in his court Mrs. Ada H. Kepley, who graduated last year at the Chicago Law School. Judge Dean, in making the order admitting Mrs. Kepley, said he thought it was proper and in accordance with the spirit of the age.

THE
HERCULES
MUTUAL
LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

This Company is fortunate in having for its President JAMES D. REYMERT, Esq., a gentleman eminently qualified by his personal characteristics, as well as by his training as a lawyer, to conduct a Life Insurance Company to firm-founded success.

While Mr. REYMERT is a thorough believer in the propriety and necessity of prudence and economy in Life Insurance management he also understands the advantage of a judicious expenditure of money. He considers the funds of his Company a sacred trust, to be administered with strict regard to the interests of the policy-holders, of whom he is the trustee. He does not believe in sitting still and waiting for business to come to the office, and, while he will spend no money without seeing clearly that the investment is a legitimate one, he will pursue no "penny wise and pound foolish" policy, but will plant the seed in order that he may reap the harvest.

We are happy to say that the "HERCULES" is already doing a business sufficient to make its success certain, and that it is steadily increasing. The office has been removed from 241 Broadway, to a very much pleasanter and more convenient location, more easily accessible to out-of-town agents, and more agreeably so to city people, at No. 23 Union Square, and what is by no means an unimportant consideration, is about one-quarter of the rent previously paid, thus making an annual saving of eight thousand dollars.

The HERCULES issues all approved forms of policies, and makes them non-forfeitable; gives liberal limits for residence and travel; thirty days' grace is allowed in the payment of premiums, which are in all cases cash, as are also the dividends, in which all the policy-holders participate. Intending insurers may place their funds in the hands of the "HERCULES," feeling certain that they will be safely and wisely invested for the benefit of the assured, and that all claims will be promptly settled in cash; and that no dishonestly obtained policy will ever be disputed after it shall have become a claim on any frivolous or merely technical grounds. *The Technician*

THE
HERCULES
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LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.



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DIVIDENDS DECLARED ANNUALLY.
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PREMIUMS PAYABLE IN CASH.
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Working Agents wanted in all the States.
Address the Home Office.

THE
HERCULES
MUTUAL
LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

The *Chronicle*, of Chicago, Illinois, of date November 3, 1870, says: "The HERCULES LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, having removed to its new and commodious offices, No. 23 Union square, is about to press its claims for business. The successor to Mr. Mills, as Secretary, is the former Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Aaron C. Allen, late of the firm of Lee & Co., manufacturers and wholesalers of leather. Mr. Allen will bring to the duties of his new office a business experience and energy of character, which must materially aid the Company. Mr. Reymert, the President, and Mr. Allen, express a determination that the 'HERCULES' shall be a giant in strength as well as in name."

The *Insurance and Real Estate Journal* of February 5th, 1870, says: "The stockholders of the HERCULES MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, held a meeting on Saturday last, for the purpose of electing a President, instead of W. G. Lambert, resigned, when their choice fell upon James D. Reymert, Esq. It was also ordered at the same meeting to increase the capital stock to \$128,000, on which the additional \$28,000 was immediately subscribed and paid by the old stockholders. The stockholders could not have selected a gentleman better qualified for the position to which they have preferred him than Mr. Reymert. Besides being a most eminent lawyer, Mr. Reymert has been a Senator, with large experience as a legislator, and his name is now prominent as one of the additional Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and as he possesses a most extensive influence, such an accession to a young Company will be greatly promotive of its rapid progress and distinction."

"Wm. R. Morgan, Esq., a gentleman of great wealth, so well and favorably known in financial circles, was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee. We are not surprised that the original stockholders so ardently subscribed for the additional capital of \$28,000, for with the advantage of such able management, and a predisposition among the American people to insure their lives, there is no doubt but that the Company is destined to a most brilliant success."

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YEAR 1870-71.
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7:30 A. M.—For Easton.
12 M.—For Flemington, Easton, Allentown, Mauch Chunk, Wilkesbarre, Reading, Columbia, Lancaster, Ephrata, Litz, Pottsville, Scranton, Harrisburg, etc.
2 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, etc.
3:30 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, Mauch Chunk, and Belvidere.
4:30 P. M.—For Somerville and Flemington.
5:15 P. M.—For Somerville.
6 P. M.—For Easton.
7 P. M.—For Somerville.
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9 P. M.—For Plainfield.
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Trains leave for Elizabeth at 5:30, 6:00, 6:30, 7:30, 8:30, 9:00, 9:30, 10:30, 11:40 A. M., 12:00 M., 1:00, 2:00, 2:15, 3:15, 4:30, 4:00, 4:30, 5:15, 5:45, 6:00, 6:30, 7:00, 7:45, 9:00, 10:45, 12:00 P. M.

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3. For paving Forty-fifth street, between Fourth and Madison avenues, with Belgian pavement.
4. For paving Vandam street, between Macdougall and Greenwich streets, with Belgian pavement.
5. For paving Eighty-sixth street, between Third avenue and East River, with Belgian pavement.
6. For paving Thirty-ninth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues, with Belgian pavement.
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