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Late United States Consul to the Kingdom of Hanover. Author of "Transatlantic Souvenirs." Translator of Renan's "St. Paul," etc.

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Although one of the youngest in the lecture-field, Mr. Lockwood's success has been most flattering, and press-notices, indorsing his rare abilities, have been received from all places where he has lectured. The following is a sample:

Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old), and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day. [Evening Mail.]... The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful readiness in the subject, and presents an array of curious facts. Though exhausting the subject, he did not exhaust the audience, which listened to it with pleasurable delight. [N. Y. Herald.]... The lecture delivered last evening, before the Young Men's Association, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck," was a very fine effort indeed. [Troy Express.]... A good audience was in attendance at Twiddle Hall, last evening, to listen to Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, on Count Bismarck. Mr. Lockwood is a distinct, clear and powerful speaker, and showed throughout a perfect familiarity with his subject. His presentation of the facts of the Count's life, and estimate of his character, were so well done as to make his lecture full of interest and profit. [Albany Journal.]... Brilliant and masterly. [E. S. Journal, White Plains.]... An excellent lecturer. An eloquent description of the life and character of the great Prussian Premier. [S. S. Republican.]... Mr. Lockwood's oratorical powers are well known. [Home Journal.]

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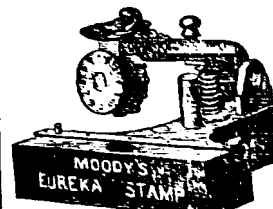
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A pamphlet original Swamy, 1870, w in the jour stolen, and which can afford m sent it to the seen that I great truth only be ren formation c on Tue Re

The exp the worki Democracy of a single thing for t have been of the peo ever a vict coup d'etat ness, been or state re that there: tion with social pos experience forms fav ing popu political tion, it w the inter kind, is a political may lift f poverty c form is a right me means ca ernments forth be accordi French Imperial democra are so sa of Von this misl page to t ciation, ment, of Europe, many, o rally in But h This is t Internat clear an it prefere revoluti to do.

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...the right of the people to propose laws, also to be called Popular Initiative.

Between these two elements the functions of a regular organic body are exercised by the Council, which is, indeed, no longer to be a legislative body, but merely a law-proposing one, that is, simply, a giver of counsel, which counsel the people may adopt or not.

The Council is thus exposed to a cross fire which is calculated to keep it from going to sleep. If the Council propose laws (if they are guilty of sins of omission) these laws will be rejected by the popular vote, or Referendum. If the Council do not wish to propose good laws (if they are guilty of sins of commission) the Popular Initiative steps in, making its own proposals.

Taking, as an instance, the canton of Zurich, the Popular Initiative can manifest itself in two ways:

1. If the three-fifths part of the people—in Zurich 5,000 inhabitants out of 65,000 possessors of votes—make a proposal, it must be submitted to the vote of the whole people.
2. If a single individual makes a proposal which is approved of by one-third of the Council, such proposal must likewise be voted upon by the people.

Thus there are, in the canton of Zurich, three parties equally entitled to bring proposals before the people for its vote, viz.:

1. Five thousand inhabitants.
2. Any individual gaining the assent of the Council of the canton.
3. The cantonal Council itself (consisting of about 220 members).

Only the Council is the ordinary organ; the two others are extraordinary organs, whose activity begins only when the ordinary one proves inert.

In order to render this matter still more plain, we here insert those articles of the Constitution of Zurich which deal with the Popular Initiative and the Referendum. The Constitution begins with these words:

"The people of the canton of Zurich give themselves, in virtue of their sovereign right to determine their own laws, the following constitution; and in Chapter II, *Legislation and Representation of the People*, we read as follows:

ART. 25.

"The people, with the co-operation of the Cantonal Council, exercise the powers of legislation.

Legislative Power of the People.

ART. 26.

"The right of making proposals which have the force of laws belongs to the people. In order to exercise this right, the people may propose, or demand, a new law, or the amendment of an existing law, or the repeal of a law. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution.

"If a single individual, or a committee of citizens, makes a demand of the kind above mentioned, the proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution.

"If five thousand persons, having the right to vote, make a demand of the kind above mentioned, the proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution. The proposal must be submitted to the vote of the people in the form of a resolution.

"The demand or bill has in every case to be submitted, before the vote, to the Cantonal Council, for them to give an opinion in the form of a resolution.

B.—Popular Vote.

ART. 27.

"Twice every year, in spring and in autumn, the vote of the people takes place on the legislative acts of the Cantonal Council (Referendum). In urgent cases the Council can order an extraordinary taking of votes.

"There are to be submitted to the popular vote:

1. All alterations of the constitution, laws, and ordinances.
2. Those resolutions of the Cantonal Council which that Council is not competent to pass definitely (vide Art. 31).
3. Any resolutions which the Council may wish to put to the popular vote.

"The Cantonal Council is entitled on submitting a law or resolution, to order—before the vote, on the totality of the proposal—exceptionally a vote on single points of it.

"The vote takes place by means of the ballot boxes in the municipalities. Participation in it is a citizen's duty, binding on all.

"The vote can only be by affirmation or negation.

"The absolute majority of affirming or negating votes is decisive.

"The Cantonal Council is not entitled to give provisional validity to any laws or resolutions requiring the popular vote, previous to such vote being taken.

"All proposals to be submitted to the popular vote are to be published and handed to the voters at least thirty days before the taking of the vote.

C.—Cantonal Council.

ART. 31.

"The competency of the Cantonal Council extends to—

"1. The discussion and resolution of all questions which are to be submitted to the popular vote.

"2. * * * * *

"3. * * * * *

"4. The control of the entire administration of the country and of the action of the courts of law.

"5. The final decision on new expenses, occurring but once and for a definite purpose, such expenses not to go beyond 250,000 francs; as well as on annually recurring expenses, less than the amount of 20,000 francs.

"6. The fixing of the annual estimates of ways and means, and of expenses, in accordance with existing laws and resolutions.

"7. The credit of public accounts. * * * * *

We should not like to affirm that the above articles have in every case hit the mark exactly, and that they could be considered as an infallible scheme, so to speak. Variety of individual views will here and there find shortcomings. Yet these articles, as a first serious attempt at realizing the idea, deserve in so far every attention, as they offer a new form of commonwealth—a form proceeding from the discussions and votes of an entire people, a form wherein the community may grow and unfold itself, without let or hindrance, according to its progressive wants.

We are firmly convinced that direct legislation by the people, through the institution of the popular initiative and the popular vote on laws, can and must be introduced into the largest States; and that without these political institutions the social questions cannot be solved.

The section of Zurich therefore think themselves not only justified in bringing the idea of direct legislation through the people before the forum of the Industrial Working Men's Association, but they consider themselves even under an obligation to do so, convinced as they are that this idea—like the ever memorable Declaration of the Rights of Men—will make its way round the orb of the earth, as being the most effective means of realizing those social rights.

The section therefore move the following resolution:

"The Congress of the International Workmen's League at Basle, considering that the law is the written expression of the interest of the legislator; that, in legislating, the interest of the community is naturally to be decisive; that experience shows representative bodies to represent capital rather than labor, and laws, therefore, to be made as a rule at the expense of the working multitudes and in favor of capital; that only by direct participation in legislation that politico-social consciousness which is the first condition for solving the social questions can efficiently penetrate the people; resolves:

"That it be the chief aim of the working classes to strive

...the right of the people to propose laws, also to be called Popular Initiative.

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The Council is thus exposed to a cross fire which is calculated to keep it from going to sleep. If the Council propose laws (if they are guilty of sins of omission) these laws will be rejected by the popular vote, or Referendum. If the Council do not wish to propose good laws (if they are guilty of sins of commission) the Popular Initiative steps in, making its own proposals.

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2. If a single individual makes a proposal which is approved of by one-third of the Council, such proposal must likewise be voted upon by the people.

Thus there are, in the canton of Zurich, three parties equally entitled to bring proposals before the people for its vote, viz.:

1. Five thousand inhabitants.

2. Any individual gaining the assent of the Council of the canton.

3. The cantonal Council itself (consisting of about 220 members).

Sept. 2, 1871.

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INTERNATIONAL

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SEPT. 2, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

5

THE NOTORIOUS PERKINS CLAIM

AN AMERICAN INTERFERES TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT FROM THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT—WHAT THE NEW YORK SUN SAYS

The claim of a defunct Yankee skipper against Russia, for an alleged violation of a so-called contract for articles contraband of war during the Crimean invasion, has been urged in a calm and cool way, to an amount in dollars and cents not astonishingly cool and so much more than the

And yet Mr. Perkins in his lifetime probably ever saw, heard or dreamt of that it is a wonder that he does not get out of his grave to vindicate some "manufactured evidence" to help the "claim" along.

Parties of presumed respectability appear to have been used, or misused, as "stalking horses" in the prosecution of the affair by the attorneys for the "claim," and the Russian Minister, Mr. de Catacazy, because of an honest and manly defense of the rights of his own government, has been basely assailed in every possible way, and the sanctity of his domestic life has been invaded by cowardly backbiters and men whose notorious mendacity and general infamous character is such that it would be impossible for the Russian Minister or any other gentleman to take the slightest notice of them with any regard for his own dignity and self-respect.

As to the very anomalous Perkins claim itself, the inference is rather pointed when Mr. de Catacazy quietly and justly observes that the righteousness of a claim may be sometimes judged of by the methods and the characters of its supporters, who in this particular case, it seems, have even endeavored to use against Mr. de Catacazy, at the State Department, a document they subsequently admit to be a forgery!!

Is it not time that the reputation of our own government should be vindicated by cutting entirely adrift from those rascally claim agents in Washington, totally ignored by any decent class of society, but who call themselves lawyers, and who are simply the dissipated, disreputable and dishonest advocates of dishonest claims, often trumped up and owned entirely by themselves, as a means of temporary notoriety to borrow money on, or pressed to a settlement by them for a "contingent" fee of nearly the whole sum involved?

We have suppressed some parts of the article in the Sun which are not material, but we may hereafter give a history of everything connected with this "Russian claim," showing items in the biography of some of its principal promoters, embracing unpleasant little interludes of various swindling adventures—life as a whippers-in of low gambling hells in Washington—temporary residences in Ludlow street and other jails—thiefs of Texas and other land titles—unpaid hotel bills—fraudulent issues of railroad securities—evidence produced in suits on "supplementary proceedings" in this city, and so on. The record will be entertaining, will embrace phases not usually appearing in the every-day existence of ordinary "blacklegs." Meantime, this Sun article is worth perusal.

We commend its consideration particularly to our Washington readers, who, for years past, have submitted to so much "bullying" and have heard so much "blather" about the remarkable sums of money which one of their citizens, of highly enviable repute, is to have when this claim is collected, and some of whom, it is said, have already lost so much in fortune and reputation by unsuspecting confidence in a certain would-be beneficiary under this Perkins pretension on the Russian Treasury!

(From the New York Sun.)

ATTEMPT TO COIN MONEY BY ATTACKING CATACAZY—PERKINS'S CLAIM AGAINST RUSSIA—BANCROFT DAVIS, THE BRIBE-TAKER, AGAIN A SHAM—THE DIRTIEST DIPLOMACY ON RECORD—EFFORT TO OUNT THE RUSSIAN MINISTER.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12, 1871.

We have had going on here for some time a charmingly illustrative instance of dishonest greed, mean deceit, and dirty diplomacy, in which Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, figures as the head centre in a way so common that it has ceased to create surprise. If Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, has a friend in Washington I do not know of him. His most familiar associates, who frequent his house and drink his wines, shrug their shoulders or nod their heads significantly at the mention of his ill-flavored name.

It seems that there has been long pending and unsatisfied a claim of one Perkins, an American citizen, against the Russian government. This claim the present Minister, Catacazy, representing his government, has contested with great vigor. It is asserted and generally believed that Perkins's attorney here drove a bargain with Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, to give him a large slice of the Perkins claim if he (the Bribe-Taker) would procure a legal recognition of it from the Russian government.

Here is the motive for the Assistant Secretary's action, and this is

THE WAY HE WENT ABOUT IT.

Approaching Mr. Bodisco, son of the former minister, and connected with the legation, he proposed to bring the weight of our government to bear upon that of Russia, and get Catacazy displaced by Bodisco, if he (Bodisco) would allow the claim of Perkins. To this the ambitious diplomatic neophyte consented, and Davis set about as dirty an intrigue as ever disgraced our national capital. He got the Administration to instruct our Minister at St. Petersburg to press the recall of M. Catacazy, upon the ground that the Russian diplomatic agent here had made himself offensive by his interference with our affairs, and because Madame Catacazy's career had been of such a character that the families of our officials were embarrassed by her presence.

made the case when such objection to her presence could have been urged with propriety, or to say the least of it, in good taste.

IT SEEMS THAT MADAME CATACAZY

has had two husbands. Her union with the party of the first part, although productive of three children, was not happy. It is said that the first husband treated her in a very cruel manner, exercising the rights of a husband at common law, and chastising her with a riding whip at intervals unpleasantly near. Be this as it may, she was so unhappy that a divorce was procured and she married Count Catacazy, then attached to the Legation of Russia, and led a very quiet and retired life at Bladensburg, near Washington. All this occurred some twenty years ago. Later on, when M. Catacazy was made Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of all the Russias, and accredited by the United States, he boldly brought and introduced his wife to the diplomatic and other official circles here. As the position has a certain well-defined social status, the representatives of our government might at the time have entered a protest with some hope of success. But the divorce transaction occurred, as I have said, some twenty years ago. Since the unhappy event Madame Catacazy had led a blameless life. The diplomatic corps here opened their drawing-rooms, and, being a beautiful, accomplished woman, she won for herself a certain social triumph. She is possessed of rare natural advantages. Rather above the medium height, her figure is full, graceful and imposing. Her face is not only well defined and marked with certain evidences of will, or rather force of character, but it strikes one at first as rather handsome. The eyes are full, lustrous and of a dark blue; her nose, a little too prominent, is a delicate aquiline; the mouth well formed, while the chin narrowly misses the prominence necessary to the support of so decided a face. To this she adds the taste of a Parisian and the instincts of an artist. She gets herself up wondrously well. Her dresses seem to be a part of herself. Society pronounced her beautiful, and Senator Sumner, in a fit of eloquent enthusiasm, called her "that glorious woman."

Any one with a particle of humanity in his heart would be touched with pity for this lady. Childless, she is not happy, yet struggles on, striving to be good, for the respect that comes in silence.

And I fear Mr. Catacazy is not what he ought to be. Any one passing his elegant house on I street early in the morning during the season will find the pavement literally covered with playing-cards cast from the windows during the night by these diplomatic gamblers—and Russia for nearly three-fourths of a century has been famous for diplomatic agents who give their days to dinners and their nights to cards.

Upon all this Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, seized, and Curtin, at St. Petersburg, pressed it in an informal manner upon the Imperial Government. The fact came to the ears of Mr. Catacazy, and he went to work. He is an active, experienced diplomat, and proved too much for our sickly Mazarin, Davis, the Bribe-Taker. The war grew hot and furious. The press was called in to the aid of the conspirators. All sorts of lies were put in circulation, and for a while it looked as if Catacazy were to be recalled and disgraced. Davis, the Bribe-Taker, at first cared nothing about the disgrace. He only wished to get the Minister out of the way; but the wily diplomat had such a way of sneering at our American poor devil that it nearly drove him mad, and so excited, he made it a point to get Catacazy recalled before the Grand Duke Alexis should arrive. To this end he moved all his machinery; and to no purpose. The Russian Government not only refused to recall the old gentleman, but in a marked manner expressed its confidence in him. He remains full Minister. One of the conspirators (Mr. Bodisco) has been rebuked by a transfer to the consular service, and the Bribe-Taker's slice of the Perkins claim gets small by degrees and beautifully less. And now comes the Grand Duke Alexis, and through him Madame Catacazy's triumph. He will occupy their house. Then he will receive and entertain such guests as Madame Catacazy may designate. They who have turned up their noses at the fair divo *cée*, and lost no opportunity to insult her, will now be ready to break their worthless necks in a struggle for her smiling recognition. The pavement will be covered with visiting instead of playing cards, and the fashionable world about Washington will be as mean and truckling as it was lately cruel and arrogant.

THE ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY ALL RIGHT—CARD FROM TAYLOR & CO.

NEW YORK, June 10th, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

Having seen an inquiry in your valuable paper as to the legitimacy of the drawings of the Royal Havana Lottery, and knowing that you are always ready and willing to furnish any information, on any subject that is made a matter of inquiry through your valuable paper, we put this in answer to your correspondent of the 14th instant as to the genuineness of the Royal Havana Lottery. We will state, for the benefit of your correspondent, that the prizes, 604 in number, according to the scheme, are drawn at every drawing. Moreover, for the certification of this we are willing to send our check for \$1,000, to be given to the party making such inquiry, if we cannot prove it to his satisfaction. Again, we will give \$100,000 to any four charitable institutions that you may name if we cannot prove that, in the scheme of the 25th of April we sold the ticket which drew the \$200,000 prize, besides many other prizes. By inserting this you will enlighten your correspondent and oblige yours,

TAYLOR & CO., Bankers,

16 Wall street.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Aug. 26, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at half-past eleven, on Wednesday at half-past eight, on Thursday at half-past nine, and on Saturday at half-past eleven A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

Mrs. JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFIN, 213 North Capitol street, Washington, D. C., Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage and Educational Association, furnishes all sorts of books, tracts, &c., regarding suffrage. All persons interested in spreading information upon the question of Woman's Rights should apply to her, sending their names to be attached to the Suffrage Petition, and enclosing one dollar to help defray the expenses of the Association.

THE NEW CANAL STEAMER ANDREW H. H. DAWSON.

The last Legislature rose to the dignity of disinterested patriotism and far-sighted state-manship in the bill they enacted offering \$100,000 premium for the best invention by which steam may be profitably introduced as a motor upon our canals. The magnitude of the interests involved, the results that would crown success, as they would affect the whole State in a sudden revolution in her internal commerce, were of a dignity sufficiently imposing in themselves to fix attention upon and inspire a popular interest in the efforts that may be made by the restless energies and subtle ingenuity of avarice and ambition—the one greedy to clutch the glittering prize, and the other to win and wear the fadeless laurel awaiting the victor's brow—to evoke the secret commerce has waited so long, so patiently, to hail. But our own great commercial metropolis has a stake to play for in contributing to a consummation so devoutly to be wished, that rises in its immediate importance to her citizens, far above any general interest that can be felt in the premises. Should any invention come forward to claim this prize, capable of complying with all the severe exactions of this bill, New York city will realize, in the price of the provisions upon which her denizens subsist, a reduction of at least 50 per cent. This will send millions of new rays of light through abodes where the dismal darkness of pinching poverty now hangs like a funeral curtain, and make thousands of humble people happy. It will pour millions of dollars into our State treasury, as tolls on tonnage, that will mightily lighten the weary burden of our taxes. Hence it is we notice with pleasure the presence at our piers of the new canal steamer Andrew H. H. Dawson, and rejoice to state that her owners, inventor and factor all repose a firm reliance in her capacity to comply strictly with each and every requirement of said law, and inaugurate a revolution in our internal commerce that will make a signal monopoly of the transportation of the cereals and minerals of the West hurting a commercial outlet for Europe, and as the largest domestic market.

TO THE PAINTERS OF AMERICA.

Knowing that it is the duty of every one as being an unit of the great whole of society, to advance and improve that society to the utmost of their ability; and knowing that Capitalists and their class generally retard this principle—though much may be said but not proven that the interests of the man of labor and the monopolizer of the means of labor are identical—therefore, let us by a stoical resolution to do our duty, claim the inherent rights that belong to us. Let the world at large know that though our ancestors were the serfs of the past, though we are the wages-slaves of the present—we will be the victors of the future. The remedy for these ills and evils that beset us is fraternal combination, based upon the principles of reason, justice and morality. Our movement has hitherto failed through many causes, among which are workmen not feeling or understanding the importance of the movement, or through employers' intrigues, or misplaced confidence in members.

Our duty is, therefore, to educate ourselves to a knowledge of the subject we are engaged in, that the capitalist, through our ignorance of the system of co-operation, is the better able to attain his selfish aim of enrichment at the expense of many a broken constitution or a degraded old age. By the system of secret organization we can deliberate in council as to the best method of advancing our movement, without the counteracting influences of employers' or capitalists' intrigues. By each and every one of us doing our duty, and demanding that each one attend to his duty, and by placing temptation before no member, that he might diverge from the path of virtue and honor, then the eye of suspicion will not be directed against a brother. By so doing what might we not be able to accomplish by our combined efforts? Majority is on our side, so, brothers, co-operate. In unity only can we resist oppression.

It is to be hoped that every painters' organization throughout America will respond to the call of immediate action to solidify our trade, and feel the necessity of being truly *B. Purdie's Union*.

By order of the Painters' Grand Lodge,
T. H. BANKS, President.

JOHN HALBERT, General Secretary.

EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION.—"Ten painters constitute a sufficient number to legally constitute a local Lodge, and may have a Charter on a proper application being made."—Article V., Section 3.

The Journalism of Europe is in the hands of its wealthy and privileged classes. Their united effort can give the most barefaced lie seven-league boots to travel in. Truth, single and barefooted, could not get up with it in a century. These journals hate all popular movements. They know well how efficient is the

—big, round lie with manly vigor told— in postponing the success of popular movements and destroying the influence of their leaders. Wellington himself stooped to this in the House of Lords, and every puppy of the press improves on his example. Two-thirds of our journals are such snobs as to think it distinction enough to be allowed to echo the London Times. The other third hate the workingmen and the Labor Party. To them the European lies about the Commune were a most welcome weapon with which to assail men whose arguments they cannot answer, whose votes they fear and whose rights they are determined to refuse. Anything is fair in a war with labor. "The poor have no souls—let us eat, drink, steal; lie them into disrepute. This system of robbery men call civilization will last our day. Let them care who come a-hent."

The Commune must bide its time. That is not far off. Men now alive will hear frothy orators ride into favor by proclaiming, in stolen bombast, the difficulty of finding marble white enough and gold pure enough to record the world's gratitude to the Commune. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

AMOURS DIVINES;
OR,
LOVE-SCENES IN THE ORIENT.

II.
SALOME.

Since early morn,
In Joseph's workshop, had his loving son
Been toiling: for that day the high priest came,
And bade the carpenter a cross construct
Whereon to nail some man deserving death.
And now 'twas noon, and still the beams lay there
Unfinished 'neath the young Jew's pensive gaze,
For they were large and strong.

"So must they be,"
Had been the high priest's charge, "for they must stand
Until the offender rots or from his bones
The vultures shall have plucked his putrid flesh.
Thus perish all the enemies of God!"
And then he shook his hoary beard, and left
The son of Joseph bending o'er his work.

But now that noon had come, did Jesus lay
Aside his adze, with thought to toll no more
Until the summer sun had turned away
His scorching rays. With clouded brow, he sat
And gazed upon the thing his hands had wrought,
And pictured to himself the agony
That he endures who dies upon the cross,
Nailed hand and foot thereon—a living death;
A dying countless deaths, fly-blown
And maggot-eaten ere the end doth come;
Alive until the last poor drop of blood
Be shed, and, dead, denied that wretched boon
A clod of earth affords. Man still remains—
Man's greatest foe, and hatred fattens thus
While love is skin and bone. "And who," the young
Jew thought, "first dared to nail a human form
Upon the cross? If killed must be, why not
Kill quickly then? What man, more beast than man,
First saw his brother's pain, and felt it not?
Oh! world, world, world, could I but teach thee love,
Most gladly would I give myself to die;
Ay, on this very cross, and smile upon
The men that nailed me there, e'en as one smiles
On him who bathes his fevered brow. But no,
The world is not yet ripe: the plant of love
Is stunted in its growth. Oh, let me pour
My warmest blood about its roots and die,
For I have come too soon!"

Such gloomy thoughts
As these, did so the young Jew's mind enthrall
That he, unnoticing the presence of
Salome at his side, raised not his eyes.
There was a careless grace about her form;
'Twas small, yet perfect—very perfect, too.
Most undeservingly ill-clad, topped with
A head and face that would adorn a gem,
And ending with a pair of little feet,
Clay-soiled and bare, but beautifully arched.
Her hands were rough and stained from household toil,
And half behind her back hid she them 'way.
Her robe was white, yet whiter was her neck,
And dark her hair, yet darker were her eyes,
And red her cheeks, yet redder were her lips,
Which parted as she stood near Joseph's son,
And seemed to long to smile, and yet dared not.
At length they closed, as on his grief-clad face
Her gaze did rest; and, sinking softly on
Her knee, she pressed his garment to her lips
And kissed it hem.

He turned, he looked, he saw,
He smiled so warm, so kind, so sweet a smile
It was, those coral lips sought eagerly
His hand, and left their nectared moisture there
Ere Jesus could prevent.

"Good morrow, friend,"
Said he; "how goes it with thy husband's health?"
"As hies do sell," gave answer she; "for sell
They well, he's well, and sell they ill, forthwith
He sickens, sours and swells with discontent.
I wish all beasts were dead, or that their hides
Grew to their backs so firm no knife could make
Them twain. But, friend, not of my husband came
I here to speak; about thyself I fain
Would ask. How goeth it with thee? 'Tis three
Days since I saw thee in the synagogue.
Art well? Thy cheek is pale, thine eye burns dim,
And sorrow sits upon thy brow, my friend.
Another cross? For whom? The last they reared,
Three months ago I think, still stands, and 'gainst
Its blackened beams the fleshless bones at times
Do rattle long and loud. I wish them down;
I hear them oft at night when husband bids
Me wait his coming ere I go to rest.
I wish them down, I say, and had I strength
They should be down. Could I not say the wind
Had done it? I'd choose a windy night to do it."

"Sh—, woman," murmured Jesus, as he raised
His hand to warn her standing at his side.
"Thy tongue hath slipped its bit, and over fields
Of phantasy goes galloping. Thou sayest
The dead upon the cross offend thine eye.
Then look not out. Thine ears? Then listen not,
For what the law hath done no man must blame,
Much less the women folk, whose hearts do warp
Their judgment, tho' they see it not."

"Why it
Is so," Salome said, "young neighbor, know
I not; but when in words with husband, I
Am always right, with thee, am always wrong.
And even tho' the thing be very black,
I can convince him 'tis a little white;
But thou, dear friend, saidst thou my husband said
Not hies, I'd not deny it tho' I smelt
Them on his hands. May I sit at thy feet,
Oh, Joseph's son? Would that I were all clad
In costly raiment for thy sake! Alas,
Thou knowest husband gives me but a gown
A year."

And then her silken lashes sank
Upon her velvet cheek, and o'er her face
Stole looks of sadness as she gazed upon
Her handsome limbs, enveloped in a robe
Of rufest texture, under which she strove
To hide away her clay-stained feet, which looked
Like pediment of antique statue just
Unearthed, so delicate and beautiful
Were they!

Upon this lovely, lonely flower,
That bent its graceful form at Jesus' feet,
Did he in silence gaze, his fine large eyes
Illumined with a quiet joy, at sight
Of one so humble, yet so wondrous fair,
And thus he thought:

"Thou poor, neglected bud,
That dost thy beauteous leaves unfold in one
Of life's dark corners all unseen! Blest thing
Is woman's love to him who knows its worth—
Its priceless worth! But thou, sweet stream, dost o'er
Unsympathetic pebbles murmur all
Thy love, and pour thy gentle nature out
In vain. Yet, this is life. Of all that breathes
Man doth to worst extremes incline, and shun
The happy medium wherein most good
Doth lie. He builds his hopes so high, their weight
Doth pull them down, then lets despair feed on
His energy, nor drives the vampire off
Till the accursed work is done. So, too,
In love, its minus makes him plus, while plus
Him minus makes. Indifference doth set
Him in a flame, while fervor cools him to
The bone. And then at times do love and love
Distill a chill reserve 'tween certain hearts,
As gems together pressed do wear away,
Or as a poison oft is antidote
Against itself. 'Tis not so much a man
To love her, woman needs, but more a man
That she herself can love with all her heart
And soul; for long as world doth turn, the flower
Will bloom, the vine will twine, give them but soil
To strike their rootlets in! And thou, fair park,
So run to weeds and so with mosses rank
And wild o'ergrown, 'tis pity husband's hand
Thou hast neglected so—ay, pity 'tis.
And yet how beautiful thou art just as
Thou art. Like some abandoned garden doth
Thou seem, where beauteous lily growth, hedged
With grasses 'round, and many a rose doth lay
Its dainty bud in lap of coarsest moss;
Where daisy, dandelion and clover-top,
'Mid fuchsia, pansies and forget-me-nots,
Hold up their saucy heads and nod them in
The breeze; where fungus, oyster's fluted type,
Doth burst its stalk in vain attempt to touch
The gorgeous peony above its head;
And lichen, symbol of the slanderer's tongue,
Doth tarnish o'er the smooth bark of the trees,
All unprotected and uncared there."

So ran the young Jew's thoughts. The while did she
Beside him there, her lustrous eyes of black
Not dare to raise, but waited patient, with
Her silken lashes on her cheeks, until
His voice sent forth its soft, deep tones, which fell
Upon her eager ears like golden dew
On thirty floweret at the end of long,
Hot summer day.

"Look up," he said, and smiled
And gently laid his fingers, silbert nailed,
Upon her glossy, ebony hair where she
Had parted it in wavy tresses on
Each side her head. "Look up, my neighbor," and
"Be glad," he added, and then from her head
His hand sank down until it rested on
The half-finished cross.

As flower doth ope its leaves
When touched by morning sun, so, smiled upon
By Jesus, looked Salome up.

"Thou art
So grave at times," she said. "Why shouldst thou grieve?
Hast not thy kin about thee? Art thou not
Thy father's favorite son? 'Twas but a day
Ago he told me how, when gazing on
Thy gentle face, he oft did wish thou hadst
Been born a girl, so kind, so tender and
So true thou art! He said he feared thou wouldst
Have ill-luck in the world, it is so false,
So selfish and so cold! There is no love,
No charity 'mong men. Friends now are bought
With gold, and he who pays the most, at least,
Is most, if not best, loved. And thus they kill
True friendship off, and teach hypocrisy
To all. So speak thy father unto me."

"Seest thou this cross, Salome?" Jesus asked;
"I'd kiss the hand of him that nailed me to 't,
If dying so would teach my fellow-men
To love and help each other on thro' life!
Oh, woman, there art times I feel as if
God bids me go perform some deed of love
That will my brief existence far outlive,
And make my name revered in centuries
To come! And yet I hesitate—I go
Not forth. My father's old, infirm, and needs
My helping hand; my mother doth ill part
With me e'en for a day; my sisters in
Their hearts do wear me anxiously when 'way
From home."

"Then leave them not," Salome cried.

"Thou art a woman, too," he quick rejoined.
"And him whom woman once within her heart
Of hearts, with bonds of love hath chained, she lets
Not forth, no, no, not tho' a I other men
His ransom be! And happy, happy, oh
Thrice happy he who's thus a captive held!
For life is love, and he lives not, who loves
Not and is not beloved!"

As thus the young
Jew spoke, the blood did from his too full heart,
Like sympathetic silver at th' approach

Of heat, an upward course assume,
And rushing warm and fast—a crimson flood—
Tinged both his cheeks, beard-drenched, yet velvet soft.
While from his large brown eyes looked out his soul
In one long, loving, pitying gaze upon
Salome, as she bent her graceful neck,
And 'pon his dusty, sandaled feet her fall
And frailty lips, in speechless gratitude,
In bliss, in awe, in adoration pressed.

Thus woman kneels where she might stand erect;
Thus timid slips, when she might boldly drink;
Thus cringes, trembling, when she might enslave!
For what is man that she should fear him so?
Clay, like herself! No more. He is earthenware,
And she is porcelain! In truth he is
The louder instrument, but easier out
Of tune; while, like a flute, she never falls,
Breathes on her when you will, he there but loves
And humors in your breath!

Salome's kiss
Complete, she lifted up the silken fringe
That lay so black upon her cheek, and fixed
Her tear-bathed orb, on Jesus' face. The young
Jew's gold-brown beard hid the heaving of
His breast, as now Salome's eyes did fall
Encounter his. Her's meant: "Oh, melt, melt, melt!
Thou heart of adamant, and give mine arms
Thy neck; my breast, thy cheek; my lips, thy mouth."
But his replied: "It must not be," and then
Salome's tongue was loosed;

"Art blind, or stone?"
She weeping, murmured; "Oh, canst thou so like
An angel seem, yet be so pitiless?
Canst thou so with thy smile enslave and yet
Love not? Know'st not that love is venom pure
Which, unrequited, slumbers in our veins?
Oh Jesus, pity, pity, pity me.
Thou have I loved since on thy cheek the down
Of manhood first appeared. Ay, sure thou must
Remember well, how when a child I loved to clasp
Thy neck and hold my girlish breast for hours
Pressed close to thee; and how when from thine arms
My mother plucked me forth, I left my warm
Lips' moisture on thy brow and cheeks and mouth;
I knew not what it was that made my heart
At sight of thee so leap about within my breast;
Thou wert but eighteen then and I but ten,
And when I saw thy gold-brown beard spread o'er
Thy face, while I was yet a child, then wept
Mine eyes their first of tears. I felt thou wert
Too old for me, and wouldst some other wed;
Some other maiden choose for wife, ere I,
Poor flower, could blossom out in womanhood;
Alas! I oped my anxious leaves right at
Thy feet; and people called me fair. Still thou
Didst stoop and pluck me not. Ah, wretched me!
Another came and rude uprooted me.
But at his side, robbed of the sunshine of
Thy gaze, I've drooped and long to die. Oh ye
Sweet lips, who first taught mine the thrill of love,
Speak but a word to me, oh speak, oh speak!"

"Thou art another's wife, Salome!" spoke
Those lips, and then their bloodless surfaces
They pressed together 'neath the gold-brown hair
That hid them half, and spoke no more, no more.

"Another's wife?" Salome groaned. "aye true.
Thou marble heart, I am another's wife;
But tho' lamb-like I lie down at thy feet,
A lioness am I with him, untamed
Tho' chained, and never since the night he wed
Me have his lips touched mine; I love him not;
Ay, call me wicked, from upon me, turn
Thine eyes away and thrust me from thy feet.
But oh, loved friend, say not again; 'Thou art
Another's wife.' With thee, first loved on earth,
Let me forget my chains; then clank them not;
In thought, I'll now be thine, in thought, within
Thine arms, sweet Jesus, let me lie, as need
I once to do in other years, and feed
Thy breath upon my girlish cheek until
Mine eyes tell that in dreams of ecstasy!"

Moved is my heart to pity, woman," said
The Jew, "and hard against my eyelids press
The tears! I do remember all; but all
Is changed. Deep in the deepest chamber of
My soul is registered a vow; and know,
Salome, it forbids me giving man
What I have sworn shall be th' Eternal God's!
My life, my love, are His. The time is near
At hand when I this home, ah, so beloved,
Where bides my loving mother, Mary, thou
Mine eyes to me far dearer, and where dwell
My sisters, brothers and my fond old sire,
Shall bid farewell, farewell, farewell."

And here
The tears burst forth—the pent-up grief a thought
Of parting with the best of earth's beloved—
In bitter rain upon his gold-brown beard,
Showered down, lay, liquid pearls, bright in the rays
Of that slow-sinking summer sun. Nor spoke
Salome till that shower of tears had ceased.

"If thou hast sworn to wander from thy home,"
Salome gently said, "then let me go
With thee, be ever by thy side, best-loved
On earth! With all his boasted strength doth man
Ill part with woman's aid and care. I'll wash
Thy raiment snowy white, I'll comb thy hair
And beard, prepare thy food; thy sandals will
I cleanse from dust, and when thou'rt ill, if but
Thy brow doth throb with pain, straight will I call—
In which great still have I—such potent herbs,
And will a draught so soothing and so sweet
Prepare, that o'er thine eyes delicious sleep
Will steal, and thou wilt wake forgetful of
Thy suffering. Ay, more, loved man, I'll spin
For thee, and with the money earned, will buy
Thee fruit; and when the berries come, I'll pick
Thee some for thy repeats at twilight hour.
For nothing shall thou want; I'll watch o'er thee

THE NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION recently held in St. Louis, which was largely attended by delegates from all parts of the country, has put forth a platform, or declaration of principles, upon which it purposes going before the country in the next Presidential campaign as a distinct political organization. According to the call of its chairman, the newly-formed "National Labor Reform Party" will convene on Wednesday, October 18, at Columbus, Ohio, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The platform, as adopted by the St. Louis Convention, declares against monopoly, whether in banking, railroads, manufactures, land, or articles of consumption or commerce; demands the withdrawal of the circulating notes of the National and State banks, as well as all currency that is not a full legal tender, and the substitution of a paper currency issued by the Government, which shall be a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and be declared, with certain affixed conditions; the lawful money of the United States; declares that the national debt shall be paid in strict accordance with the laws under which it was originally contracted—gold where specifically promised, but all other forms of indebtedness, including the principal of the five-twenty bonds, to be discharged at the earliest option of the government in the legal tender currency provided as the lawful money of the United States, without in any way increasing the gold-bearing obligations of the government, demands that the public domain shall be preserved inviolate for actual settlers and tillers of the soil; declares against the importation of coolies or other servile labor, requires that in all future wars the means necessary for their prosecution shall be collected from the wealth of the country, and not entailed on the future earnings of labor; with articles of resolutions covering other topics of interest. One of the most commendable features of the convention was the passage, at an early stage of its deliberations, of a resolution welcoming women to all avenues of labor, and affirming the right to equal compensation with men.

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pense of the interests of others, is just as certain to ultimately be fully compensated as it is certain that there is a system of divine justice, from whose edicts nothing may escape. Viewed in this positive light, it should be one of our first and most earnest efforts to so regulate our systems of industry and the pecuniary relations of the people that a proximate equality may be made possible for all people during life.

For this purpose we propose as the eighth plank of the platform of the Cosmopolitical party:

A reform in the relation of the employer and employed, by which shall be secured the practice of the great natural law of one-third of time to labor, one-third to recreation and one-third to rest, that by this intellectual improvement and physical development may go on to that perfection which the Almighty Creator designed.

A BREACH IN THE LAST LINE OF DEFENSE.

Philosopher Horace told us, not long since, that we might as well keep out of the courts with our suffrage delusions, for if we should go there we should be quietly requested to go about our business.

But it seems that the sage of the *Tribune* counted without his host, or that he had overlooked a certain Chief Justice "out West" in his calculations, since it turns out that the very first decision before the Supreme Court of a State has been directly contrary to the prediction of mistaken Horace. Poor prophet, thou art becoming of no honor in thine own country, and a little longer continuance of "Tilt on" you, we much fear, will forever paralyze that pen which in the past spoke so bravely and gloriously for the spread of freedom.

But certainly, Horace, you were mistaken, since a person—one Chief Justice Howes, of Omaha, Nebraska—has not only proven you so by giving a case of suffrage consideration, but, what is still worse for your side of the question, broadly stating in his decision that "women are legal voters in all the States in the Union."

Verily are the Scriptures again fulfilled, wherein they declare that the first shall be last and the last shall be first, since Nebraska, one of the last of the States, is the first to recognize equality for all her citizens. Again we say, Poor Horace! The services you have rendered the cause of general progress should have reserved you for a better fate, or rather should have reserved a better fate for you. But your last gun is spiked. You must now surrender at discretion, and you may even be permitted to retain the "honors of war."

But what will the "Old Liners" do, now that their last ditch is cut and the waters threaten to rush in and swamp them? They may attempt the Grant game of "packing the court" against Justice Howes, and thus reverse his decision, *a la* greenback. It will not, however, do to play this game too often.

If this decision really stand, as it seems it must, what, then, will the condition be? Why, just what we informed the public last November: That when the women citizens of one State should be permitted to exercise the right of suffrage, then no State could longer abridge that privilege, since article 4, section 2 of the Federal Constitution provides that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Now, if the women of Nebraska exercise the right of citizens to vote, why, then, all women in all the States are also entitled to do the same by this provision of the Constitution.

Thus are the lines tightening every day closer and firmer around the strongholds of conservatism and despotism, and ere long men will be compelled to surrender at discretion, and throw down their arms with which they have so long barred the passage from slavery to freedom which leading women were endeavoring to open.

THE AMERICAN PRESS ON COMMUNISM.

The inhumanity and brutality of the French government in their treatment of the Communist prisoners almost exceed belief, and ought to make their perpetrators infamous in all ages. Remember these are not the excesses of irresponsible demagogues, of fanatic theorists, of savage, debased, imbruted proletariats; these are the acts of the enlightened, the educated, who know the sweet uses of literature, who have learned the lessons of civilization, and who make "the sermon on the mount" a matter of State policy and religious obligation. It was the philosopher and the historian who promulgated the decree of "kill, kill, let there be no quarter," who deports women by thousands among the cannibals of New Caledonia. These are Republicans—friends of liberty—who insist on the sacred right of revolution, who justify '89 and '30 and '48, who abhor the *coup-d'état*, and shriek anathemas against the oppressor who curbs the popular will and chains down free speech. But that is when they are not in power. And these are the men whom the *Times* and the *Tribune* and the *Herald*—*et id omne genus*—delight to honor and hold up for public worship. Why? Because Thiers and his colleagues represent the money power of France. It is a question of principle. The *Herald* and its congeners talk of the people, of the workingmen, of the rights of labor, of freedom, and all the other worn-out claptrap of the stump; but in this sympathy with the money power we see the devil's tail sticking out. It is the duty of the civilized world to squelch the International, says the *Herald*. Why not? And why not squelch every other workingman's organization, and therein give full

scope to the money powers, who now only tolerate suffrage while they can manipulate it and get sanction and endorsement through the honey-fuging and wire-pulling of politicians and primaries.

KATE STANTON.

"Whom to Marry" is the title of our brilliant young friend's coming lecture. If we were a man, and that our theory of natural selection were only accepted, we should not wait long before deciding "whom to marry." As it is, and not being a man, we can only congratulate the selected, and pity those wretched Darwinians who are eliminated from Kate's assorted list of eligibles. Those interested may draw their own moral from the following story:

"Some two or three years ago, while residing in New York, she was importuned by one of her numerous suitors, a wealthy and somewhat haughty New Yorker, who thought it honor enough for a queen to receive his offer to marry him; and getting slightly out of patience with his pressing suit for the twentieth time, she said to him: 'John, I have declined to accept your offer for a score of times as gently and delicately as I could; but it is of no use. You know I like you as a dear good friend, and your perseverance is worthy of reward, I gratefully acknowledge. Well, there are at least forty "good men and true" on the same plane in my affections with you. To be perfectly just, I suppose I must accept the first proposer in point of time, first; when he dies the next, and so on. You are about the twenty-fifth, say, on the list. If you will be patient, and make me love you too (for I will marry for love only), I'll take you in your turn. Could you propose a more equitable plan?' John was forced to bow to the justice of Miss Stanton's proposition, and is said to be waiting patiently, although she has not as yet, of course, accepted the first suitor. John is not a lawyer; Miss Stanton is; that is, she is preparing for the bar; and it is supposed that John in assenting, overlooked the fact that in her proposition she set no time for commencing. It is evident that, as a lawyer, Miss Stanton will not lack skill in "drawing a contract."

Kate Stanton was born in Charlestown, Mass. Her mother dying when she was quite young, the charge of her sister, three brothers and herself was taken by her grandmother. This lady believed in equal privileges for the sexes, and that what was good for one was good for the other. At school no difference was made in the studies, which were pursued together, as were both work and play in the open air. To this natural method of exercise she may be indebted for an excellent constitution and almost exhaustless vitality. She was successful as a teacher at the age of sixteen, and afterward traveled on the Continent for three years, visiting Holland and Germany alone, making herself familiar with the people, and perfecting her knowledge of German and French, and of human nature. Returning to her native State, she has for some time been engaged in the study of law; but her active mind and benevolent spirit leading her to enlist with enthusiasm in the cause of temperance, she has become an associate editress of the *New World*, published in this city. It is understood that Miss Stanton intends entering the lecture field, in which, with her clear and well-trained voice and sprightly yet refined manner, she will doubtless meet with success.

THE CHAUTAUQUA boiler disaster is so bad that had it not been overshadowed by the terrible Westfield holocaust it would have been a shocking business. Several minor occurrences in which only two or three or four lives have been sacrificed are also repeated. The arrest of the proprietor of the Westfield is a highly proper action of the authorities. It may be, probably will be, that in the present state of law a great offender will go unwhipped. The spirit of public opinion is to strike at the biggest game, but the spirit of judicial administration is to let them go. It is, however, a wholesome warning to those who make, profit, and pile up fortunes at the cost of the blood and suffering of their fellow-creatures that they are responsible somewhere. Mr. Braisted, walking through the streets in custody, says this is dreadful. How infinitely more dreadful the horrid tortures of those maimed, crushed, burned, scalded unfortunates who were borne through the same streets a few days since. Sidney Smith once proposed that a railroad director should compulsorily ride on the locomotive. The indifference that grows from use would probably make directors as careless as engineers. But if directors could only run their trains and steamboats with the State prison staring them in the face for culpable negligence and infamous carelessness of human life and usual duties, the public would be better off than they are now with the mockery of punishing an engine driver or a brakeman for sins of ignorance, while his employers go scatheless and rejoicing in the rewards of their own selfish policy. Oh that a director were only in Sing Sing for twenty years!

If the license system for dram-shops be a judicious police regulation, and honestly administered, the St. Louis rule seems about as good as any. An ordinance stipulates that no application for a dram-shop license shall be granted unless it is accompanied by a petition signed by a majority of the tax-paying citizens in the block where it is proposed to locate the establishment. It is found that the lowest class of dram-shops are unable to obtain the approval of their neighbors, and the result of this has been that some of the lowest dens in the city have been closed.

THE *New World*, by Mrs. Paulina W. Davis and Kate Stanton, is progressing as the *New World* only can. It is enlarged in size and its new heading and new type form an appropriate vehicle in which to convey the thoughts that breathe and words that burn of its accomplished editresses. For

Just as we expected that delicate and forbent spirit in our virtuous brethren of the press, which would not permit a dead woman's heart to lie in the grave in silent peace, but must exhume and dissect it for the gratification of common curiosity, has led to discussion. Poor Alice Cary loved some body but told nobody. Now comes the next morning's correction of yesterday's lie. We read that

"The story that Alice Cary loved Rev. Dr. Griswold and that he was false to her, is contradicted. Dr. Griswold was three times married."

Never mind Griswold. His feelings are of no account, the public "wants to know."

For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.

THE PARTING.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

Though silence and coldness may part us forever,

'Mid all the dull pain thrilling deep in my heart,

I come now to tell you at least it were well you

And I in forgiveness and friendship should part;

That though could I see your fair form here before me,

Faint signs of the old love my face might betray;

Once lavished upon you, 'tis now drifting from you—

'Tis waiting and fading, and passing away.

Even now, while the wound you inflicted is painful,

A voice in my heart pines in soft tones for you,

Who wavered and faltered, were fickle and altered

Oh, why were you false when you should have been true?

I loved you too well, and too well did you know it,

I drank deep the friendship my vision had planned—

That friendship you pledged, that friendship you slighted—

The prize was worth nothing when held in the hand.

My faith as a slave made its own early grave;

Although you once feared would I never true,

The vows that were spoken by you have been broken;

From first unto last I was faithful to you.

No guile have I used, not a link have I severed;

If failings I had they were well known to you;

The love you accepted, first craved, then neglected,

Whatever to others was perfect to you.

Your silence is well; do not proffer a reason,

I spare you the pain of that unpleasant task;

My love must not fester, pass on and be better—

Be nobler and truer—'tis all I now ask.

And so let the mystery lie just where you left it,

If I met you earnestly your heart will tell;

You knew in your heart I was true to my part—

You changed, I did not; with forgiveness, farewell.

The long years may pass and my name be forgotten,

New loves for a time round your heart may entwine,

New pleasures may greet you, new faces may meet you,

But none be so tender, so faithful as mine.

For what you once were I still love you as ever,

Though what you are now may be nothing to me,

Your friendship, though newer, can never be truer;

Go, be you to them what I wish you to be.

I freely, I truly, I wholly forgive you—

No childings within my sad bosom shall glow—

And if I cling to you, remember 'twas through you;

If weak I have been it was you made me so.

I bent to your power when its spell was upon me,

But you must not blame me, for full well you know

That you should not grieve me; enough that you leave me.

I am what I am—it was you made me so.

A LADY correspondent says: "Women generally have an instinct against organizations composed of women only, and they are right. No great good can ever be effected by them, because sooner or later they fall into the hands of the one among them who has the strongest will, the greatest spirit of appropriation, the most persistent selfishness—the one, in short, who is most like a man, and the whole concern becomes her little machine." What would our friend have? Of course the heaviest brain, the keenest wit and the strongest will rule everywhere. The ruling geniuses of the world have not been its fools. If "the greatest spirit of appropriation, the most persistent selfishness," be accepted as the leverage wherewith to stir the world, the women will use them. But this is man rule. We hope to see better, purer, holier motives when women come to their rights.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in a recent address to the colored men of Baltimore, says: "We hope yet to see the day when the colored mechanics of Baltimore will leave the lanes and alleys. It would be impossible for angels to rear families in those dreadful dens of bad air and bad morals, and to lead lives of intelligence, virtue and refinement."

This remark, cogent as it is, ought not to be confined either to Baltimore or to colored people. Few except district visitors or physicians have the remotest idea of the deplorable misery in which honest, industrious white men and women live in New York. The blind alleys, the close courts, the packed rooms, and the wretchedness in which people live and work, are beyond all description. To the unaccustomed the atmosphere is pestilential; cause, high rents and want of transit; consequence, loss of morals, loss of health, and constant seed-bed of pestilence that only requires circumstance to carry its ravages into the dwellings and households of the rich. When the poor suffer the rich are not always exempt. There is a common interest between us all. We must stand or fall together.

The greatest benefactors to mankind are not they who accomplish facts, but they who discover principles.

MR. GREELEY'S REPLY.

To the Editor of the *Golden Age*.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg your original premise, not mine, to be full and proper indissolubility criticisms that the *Tribune* is on Woman Suffrage. It is Mr. Greeley must first change of the proper moral relation husband and wife" before I can say "You said I knew that this was substantial saying that your attempt to truth in the letter addressed to me accord with my faith. You and I feel and know a separable connection between divorce; and the fact that neither of us in denying of I. You ask me what I illustrate:

Here are a husband and have lived in wedlock a up six or eight children, of and cares of maternity he the husband is still in strength. He has filled a opportunities for mental self her intellectual super younger, fatter, fresher worldly wealth, who adm in fact, is willing, if invited more than willing that each other, their arrangement is, just what I expect that such alliances exist God and a chief cause ruption and general were who has sworn to love not free to love another to fulfill toward him the intensely hate "Free I a marriage may rightly deliberate adultery, wh

II. I believe in education, so that they s duties that await them pletely as sons. I woi sarily identical, oppos that, they should be e would not advise the same departments of have some of their at them lodged as may logo building. In s schooling to Vassar r

III. As to politics government which V imposed on her by t that most consistent happiness. I hold having decided to a chose freely and nat ively—the man gain from the elements; for their property i husband on his retu came a recognized establish it; the v maining at home, r perish to-morrow, r replace us, the me necessarily accept i stantially as we nov say of "Democrat sentation," etc., et regard the existing functions for the c tion of fitness am men and women.

IV. As to Women because of her inf inferior skill. Nil whortleberries sol when picked and were a woman. number of our gir whatever, and are

This is all that busy and two wea you invite; besid beaten. But you letter, to impugn person who (you: for the *Tribune*, impeachment, or Yours

Tribune Office,

MR. TIL

Mr. Horace Greeley

MY DEAR SIR: I threw down you at rest, and t tory notes:

I. You may r content, and I s see the *Tribune* laurel in advoca discrediting you ment. Once a f now even a fol the *Tribune* used of a trumpet. judges books, re free-traders—all lieutenantancy of l —that is, its ea heat—all this i door-steps as if i to be a reformer than the London tofore judged; the day (which a radical, but a Henry, who beg and ended it by

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SEPT. 2, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFIN'S WEEKLY.

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MR. GRELEY'S REPLY TO MR. TILTON

MR. TILTON:—I have read your letter of the 18th inst. with much interest. It is a very able and carefully considered paper, and it is a pity that it should be so long. I have no doubt that it will be read with much interest by all those who are interested in the rights of woman. I have no doubt that it will be read with much interest by all those who are interested in the rights of woman.

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Yours,
HORACE GRELEY.

Tribune Office, Aug. 18, 1871.

MR. TILTON'S REJOINDER TO MR. GRELEY.

MR. HORACE GRELEY:—My DEAR SIR:—As you have not picked up the gauntlet that I threw down, but speak of your weariness, I now leave you at rest, and to the contemplation of the following desultory notes:

I. You may rail at Free Love or Divorce to your heart's content, and I shall not chide you. What grieves me is to see the *Tribune* a foe to Woman's Suffrage. Having won a laurel in advocating the negro's emancipation, you are now discarding yourself in striking at woman's enfranchisement. Once a leader of the party of progress, you are now even a follower in its ranks. There was a time when the *Tribune* used to waken us every morning with the sound of a trumpet. The dear old newspaper still gathers news, judges books, reports meetings, watches caucuses and whips free-traders—all admirably, and never better than under the lieutenancy of Mr. Whitehead Reid. But the *Tribune's* soul—that is, its early fire, its spring-time glow, its enkindling heat—all this is gone. I pick up my daily copy from my door-step as if it were a handful of ashes. You have ceased to be a reformer, and the *Tribune* has no more moral mission than the *London Times*. Judged as you yourself have heretofore judged public men—that is, by the test question of the day (which now is Woman Suffrage)—you are no longer a radical, but a conservative. You remind me of Patrick Henry, who began his career by saying, "Liberty or Death," and ended it by defending Virginian slavery. The *Tribune*

now stands toward Woman Suffrage as Mr. Villandigham, during the war, stood toward the slave's freedom. I hope that before you die, you will live long enough to take "a new departure."

II. "I would educate daughters," you say, "as completely as sons." No, you forget yourself. Only last week you drew a fancy picture of your own daughters as they would appear at a nuptial convention, or before a jury, or in the senate, and you prayed that rather than they should come to any such career, you might be in your grave. This prejudice of yours against educating women for public service must be of a late and abnormal growth in your mind. Indeed, if you were not the honest man I know you to be, I should be tempted to say that you had invented this objection to serve as a point in this controversy. The very first time I saw you at Cooper Institute, you were presiding over Miss Edgerton's lecture against the right of her sex to speak in public; and I noticed that you paid to her the same respect as to Dr. Chapin, for you went approvingly to sleep. Now, did you, on that tranquil occasion, cunningly exhibit the outward composure of a man inwardly shocked? A few years ago you opened the door of the *Independent* office and called out to me, "My friend, read no new book until you have first devoured Antoinette Blackwell's sermons, for I heard her preach them, and they are great." Were you shocked with that gentle preacher during the sermon time? A few months ago, you and I walked side by side to and from the funeral of Wm. H. Burleigh, and you were full of kind words concerning his widow—an honored lady who has since put her fine gifts to a beautiful use in the Christian ministry, and who lately preached a sermon which so melted the heart of a friend of mine that he says the memory of it will be a blessing to him as long as he lives. Is there something shocking to your mind in the new career which this noble woman has chosen? When I lectured at Iowa City, I was told that you, who had preceded me a week, began your lecture with these words: "Ladies and gentlemen, I suppose it is now a universally admitted fact that I am the worst possible public speaker in the United States." Is it not, my dear sir, something of a family prejudice that leads you to anticipate the oratory of your daughters as simply shocking?

III. A just inference from your letter is that I advocate Free Love. On the contrary, I stiffly oppose it. The latest bulletin of Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews castigates me because I hold that the heart's ideal is monogamic marriage—the supreme love of one man for one woman through life and (I hope) beyond death. But this is only my own view—I do not judge for others. Furthermore, I hold that love, and love only, constitutes marriage; that marriage makes the bond, not the bond the marriage; and that, as the contract is to "love and honor," so when the love and honor end, the contract dissolves, and the marriage ceases. I cheerfully relieve Mr. Henry B. Blackwell and other martinets in Boston by frankly acknowledging that I differ in these views from most other woman suffragists. But I am willing to take all the obloquy which this difference invokes on the few who are right from the many who are wrong. I would no more permit the law of the land to enchain me to a woman whom I did not love, or who did not love me, than I would permit the same law to handcuff me as a slave to a master on a plantation. There are higher laws than civil statutes, and I am a rebel against the State's too impertinent interference between man and wife. Love should be like religion—free from mandate by the civil law. Now you may strike me for saying this, but the next generation will gild this sentiment with fine gold. As Kossuth said, "I can wait."

IV. You say, "I hate all inculcation that a marriage may be rightfully dissolved, except for flagrant, deliberate adultery, while husband and wife both live." I am ashamed of such a sentiment from your pen. Thousands of good women, like Mrs. McFarland, have obtained divorces from drunken and beastly husbands, not on account of adultery, but of sottishness or cruelty. By what right, divine or human, shall you remand these emancipated women to the loathsome embraces of men from whom they have fled in fear of their lives? Thousands of women, appealing to merciful and humane courts, have obtained divorces because husbands have deserted them, or mangled them, or starved them, or otherwise wrongfully treated them. Why will you cruelly affront all womankind by saying to each one of these suffering women, "Your divorce is stripped of all moral sanction, and I point at you the finger of obloquy because you have asked the law to deliver you out of the jaws of death, and out of the gates of hell?"

V. You have instanced a married pair who, after a quarter of a century of wedlock, exhibit the husband in his prime, the wife in her decay. "He," you say, "has filled a wider sphere and enjoyed better opportunities for mental culture than she has, and feels himself her intellectual superior." What an innocent confession you here make of your own damning theory of marriage! Doom a woman to be man's inferior from the very beginning of her married life, and what can you expect her to be at the end of it? Why does a woman, after twenty years of wedlock, show more physical and mental dilapidation than a man? It is because, during these years, you and your fellow-thinkers sentence her to be man's subordinate, not his equal—his servant, not his mate. Why should "the pains and cares of maternity wear her out," except that you have enacted a common law of marriage which either tyrannously forces or tacitly expects a woman to bear more children than she wants? Why should she be intellectually stupid and empty, except that, all her life long, you and the *Tribune* have shut her out from her husband's opportunities? Why should her husband have "a wider sphere" than hers, except that you and he have conspired to crowd her into a narrower one? Why should he enjoy better opportunities for mental culture than she, except that you have written and published your threats that even if your own daughters should attempt to fit themselves for something higher than household employment, or, in other words, should try to rise to the level of their father's genius, you would step down like Jacob sorrowfully into the grave? I frankly assert, because I solemnly believe, that the young men and women who marry to-day, and who derive their notions of the marriage relation from such teachers as you, will inevitably grow apart, until, at the end of a "quarter of a century of wedlock," they will find themselves in the very antithesis which you have described. Beware lest they curse your memory for bringing them to it!

VI. You astonish me by going back to the world's primitive era to deduce therefrom the maxims that should govern modern times. Macaulay has so pitilessly ridiculed this fallacious style of reasoning that I am sorry you have put yourself under his ban. Pray tell me, what has the past to offer us, in the way of government, except tyranny over

men and double tyranny over women? Must we go back to the savage tribes to learn civilization? If so, what would Nimrod have thought of the *Tribune*? or Pharaoh Necho of a Republican caucus? If we are not wiser than our ancestors, both they and we have lived in vain. The chief monument of the world's later wisdom is civil liberty. De Tocqueville shows that not the statesmanship of Greece and Rome ever once caught a glimpse of a truly democratic idea as one sees it in a town meeting in New England. Our fathers discovered a truth before unrecognized in history—namely, the dignity of man. Alexander Hamilton said in the manifesto of the Revolution, "The rights for which we struggle are the rights of human nature." Building on this truth our fathers sought to conform their political government to the human heart, and the passionate beatings of the one should upheave and overthrow the other. Accordingly, the doctrines which compose our American liberty—for instance, government by consent, taxation by representation, trial by jury and the like—are not merely flowers on the stalk of our civil system, but are the very sap and life-blood of its strength and bloom. They are not merely external devices of government, which have been invented by cunning wit or discovered by happy chance; but, on the contrary, they are the outward and natural exponents of the inward and irrepressible yearnings of the great heart of humanity. I say, therefore, first, you cannot escape from the argument that our democratic institutions, which at the outset included white men and now include negroes, must in like manner include women; and, second, setting aside this argument, as you do (being unable to answer what is unanswerable), you cannot escape from that more fundamental argument to which you vainly appeal—namely, that human nature itself excludes women from civil functions; for, in saying this, you forget that democratic institutions are but the recorded voice of this same human nature, uttering its co-equal demand for the rights of men and women, and now more than ever imperious for the common enfranchisement of both.

VII. I cannot overrate my sense of the importance of woman suffrage. It is an infinitely higher question than the abolition of slavery. Anybody with a human heart could see that the slave ought to be set free. But it takes a finer discernment, a deeper penetration, to discover that woman must be enfranchised. You have proved yourself competent to the lower, but incompetent to the higher reform. It must go on without you. It loses much by losing your stout pen, but you lose more by losing your golden opportunity to make the *Tribune* its banner of battle. Womanhood is a sacred thing, and yet the *Tribune* insults it every day. The centre of the world is home, and yet you bind a chain on the freedom which should reign within it. The chief hell on earth is a marriage profaned, and yet you lock the door to all escape from it. The industrial necessity of our day is better pay for women, and yet you deny them the ballot to procure it. The incentive to prostitution is hunger, and yet you give its victims only a tenth part of man's opportunity to save themselves from it. You are working a cruel wrong to society—undoing the beneficence of a lifetime. And now you quench all hope of your ever showing any future and growing kindness toward woman's enfranchisement. Nothing remains for its friends but to fight you as its enemy. Consider, therefore, that war is declared.

VIII. Your allusion to some undesigned person whom you think I have calumniated, leads me to say that if, throughout this correspondence, any playfulness of mine has been so awkwardly expressed as to seem like asperity, or has otherwise turned my roses into thorns, the mischief has been only in my pen, not in my heart. If I have hurt your feelings, I pray you pardon me. Nor would I, for the sake of twenty jests, leave an unjust reflection on any of the fine bery of young men in your office, whose helpful labors keep you from growing old. I do not forget that, as a shareholder in the *Tribune*, I am a partner in business with yourself and your managing editor, and yet more happy am I to remember that I am a still larger partner in friendship with you both. Moreover, if you consult my previous remarks, you will see that though I quote an idle tale (and it referred to an out-of-town contributor), I did so only to "deny it indignantly and to bring to its author's cheek the blush of shame." But Free Love is like a snake—it is best abused by some one whom it has bitten. And I thought the *Tribune's* indignation superb.

Affectionately yours,

THEODORE TILTON.

The Golden Age, Aug. 22, 1871.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

It ought to be known that this association is not secret—it does not aspire to the honor of being a conspiracy. Its meetings are held in public; they are open to all comers, though only members are permitted to speak (unless by special invitation), and none but members are allowed to vote. The several sections in this city and vicinity meet as follows:

- Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.
- Section 2 (French).—The second Sunday in each month, 2 p. m., at No. 100 Prince street (especially to accommodate female members) and every other Sunday, 9 a. m., at the same place.
- Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 p. m., at No. 10 Stanton street.
- Section 8 (German).—Monday, 8 p. m., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.
- Section 9 (American).—Wednesday 8 p. m., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.
- Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 p. m., West Thirty-ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's.
- Section 12 (American).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at No. 44 Broad street.

THE Crown Prince of Prussia has the credit of saying that "some of us may not admire or love Republicanism, but it is as impossible to hate it as it is impossible to hate nature herself." Such philosophic ideas are common to autocrats and aristocrats. In fact, the heir to the crown is almost always liberal until he girds his temples with the golden circlet. Alexander I and II of Russia are instances. George IV. was in opposition to his father. But wolves don't forget lambs.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

MY RESPECTS TO MR. BOUCHER.

In your "Declaration of Principles," published in *WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY*, No. 66, which contains, in the main, orthodox Pantarchal Doctrine, I find the following:

The sovereignty of the individual, or free-competition system, is the opposite to an organized system, and is not only unscientific merely, but it tends to chaos—in chaos.

It is predicated upon the theory, or rather the idea, that we are but individuals—that we are wholly selfish and not at all social beings.

The Communistic System, on the contrary, is predicated on the idea that we are wholly socialistic in our character, and it is, therefore, the opposite extreme, from the golden mean, where the truth of the case lies, and is, therefore, like the other system, by one-half false, or rather falsely predicated.

We are both individual or selfish, and social, by organization, by nature, and therefore must not only have organized system, but the system must be predicated upon this duality of the nature of man.

The first great necessity, and it is an absolute necessity, in order to effectuate the organization of society generally, is the scientific organization of industry—of labor.

Your short epigrammatic method of statement has its advantages, coupled with the disadvantages of being liable to do injustice to phases of social opinion which you undertake to characterize. "Sovereignty of the Individual" is a technicality of Mr. WARREN's contribution to social science, and should be used, therefore, as defined by him; and as so defined, it is not at all equivalent to the existing "free competition" system with which you couple and confound it. Indeed, taken with its own limit, "at one's own cost," meaning not at the cost of other people, and with Mr. Warren's complimentary principle, "cost the limit of price," as the measure of equity, it is so far from being chaos, that it is the absolute ideal basis of social order. So far from being unscientific, it is rigorously scientific, so far as it goes; and if it is to be criticized at all, it is only on the ground of being too scientific to be made readily practical.

If men would understand and adopt these principles, they would put an end to social chaos, and lay the foundation of harmony; without any resort to communistic association—which is Mr. Warren's great object. The real objections are that men cannot and will not accept and apply such purely abstract principles; that they do not sufficiently love justice; and that other beneficent results than the mere extinguishment of chaos and injustice, certain sympathetic accommodations, for which associate or communistic life will after all be requisite, must also be sought for and gain a representation;

And that equity or the extinguishment of profit-making can be (perhaps) better secured through a more complex, a less symplistic, though more artificial, and less rigorously scientific method.

What you mean to say is that Unlimited Divergent Individuality or Free Competition is the opposite of an organized system, etc. The Sovereignty of the Individual is something quite different, and is the basis of, and a very precious element in, every true organization; and it is for this reason that Mr. Warren will and should forever rank as one of the first of Sociologists, although his principles may find themselves practically vindicated under forms of society very different from, and, indeed, quite the opposite of what he has had in idea.

But this is incidental. Why I clipped the above extract from your "Declaration" I will now tell you.

After sketching Divergency on the one hand and Convergency on the other (Divergent Individuality or Free Competition, and Communism), you call the latter "the opposite extreme from the golden mean, where the truth of the case lies." Now, I have to object to this statement as being still short of the truth. I object to the whole "golden mean" doctrine as being no nearer the truth than the two extremes, or either of them singly. The middle (mean part) of a stick is no more the whole stick than the two ends, or one end. Strictly speaking, it is a mere point, as they are mere points. But even when not conceived of so strictly, this mean signifies that we are not to go (in thought or practically) too far out toward either end. Golden-mean-ism is, therefore, the same as Eclecticism, which I also object to, as an incompleteness. What I propound is INTEGRALISM, which means the whole stick, or "the whole hog," if you will—which stops at no mean, except for pivot or balancing purposes, but which goes out in its views and practices quite to both ends of the subject (whatsoever), and beyond them into the clear, open space in both directions; which reverses the drifts of direction from time to time, and traverses the whole distance, in all senses, counterparting, interweaving and reconciling all differences, and receding to the centre or mean as a pivot, or to the two ends, if appropriate, as the bearing points of the gudgeons—comprehending in a word the whole system of the mechanism, whatsoever it is. That is what is meant by the Philosophy of Integralism.

Except for the purposes of balancing and governing and measuring distances, weights and the like, I hate mean things and mean people altogether, and golden means, just as much as any other.

As all truth is complex, at least two-sided, I have been in

the habit of saying, that therefore I find myself always compelled to tell two lies before I can tell the truth. I find I shall have to amend this statement and say that I have to tell three lies before I can tell the truth.

The first lie in this case is Individuality (Divergency), which is a great and profoundly significant truth which lies at the bottom of all other truth; a truth except for the fact that all half-truths are lies, and that it is counterparted by the opposite lie, which is Unity (Convergent Individuality), an equally profoundly significant grand truth except for the same fact that half-truths are lies, and that this in turn is only a half truth, and must be perpetually counterparted by the opposite divergency.

But now comes up the middle or mean and asserts itself as the truth. No, I thank you; that truth is also a lie. As important as a truth as either of the others, it sins also by omission and is a lie by reference to what it fails to say. Eclectics are no better than extremists; unless they are many sided, versatile and ultra enough to be at the same time Integralists. Integralism is the final philosophy, and none can go beyond it, because it is the inclusion of the whole in all its parts, aspects and diversities.

I thank you, therefore, Mr. Boucher, for having given me this opportunity to state more explicitly what is meant by Integralism, as distinguished even from Eclecticism, which is the last preceding stage of mental evolution before reaching it.

The Science of Integralism in all Spheres of Being is UNIVERSALISM.

The Grand Universal Institute of all Human Affairs, based on the Philosophy of Integralism and guided by the Science of Universalism (Neo-Positivism) is THE PANTARCHY.

Do what you will about it, things have got to come to this pass at last; and, perhaps, we might as well begin to see the end from the beginning, and begin from now to work in the right way, instead of wasting another generation or two in preliminary tactics and evolutions.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

"THE WORLD DOES MOVE," AFTER ALL.

The *Tribune*, of August 15, has the following:

"The *Pittsburgh Gazette* says of Mr. Greeley's avowment (in his letter to Tilton) that he would not, in all cases, consider one violation of marriage vows a reason for divorce. 'This, of course, is applicable to the male sex only; as even the *Tribune* philosopher would not attempt to argue that a wife might commit adultery 'only once,' and be forgiven by her husband.' As Mr. Greeley had said, in the very paragraph on which the *Gazette* comments, 'You and I agree that husbands have no rightful immunity in such matters which ought not also to be accorded to the wives,' we submit that this is rather rough."

The naive verandancy of the *Pittsburg Gazette* is here as amusing as the positive advancement of Mr. Greeley in the comprehension of Christianity and decency is encouraging. "This, of course," says the *Gazette*, in all simplicity, "is applicable to the male sex only," etc. They may be forgiven, but never a woman, "of course!" blurring out what most men have tacitly assumed always, but what very few are now brutal enough or silly enough to say so openly. It is as if some South Carolina Rip Van Winkle, who had slept through the war, were to wake up now and, overhearing some of the talk of to-day, should exclaim, in all honesty, "You don't mean, of course, that a white man hasn't a right to whollop his nigger?" Why, bless your soul, my dear man, there are no more "niggers" to whollop! They are all colored persons, or American citizens of African descent, or something of that sort.

And where have you of the *Pittsburg Gazette* been sleeping all this time? Don't you know that as great a change has taken place in public opinion already, in behalf of women, as in behalf of the "niggers;" and that a woman has as much right as a man has to do or to be anything? Even Mr. Greeley, the last and latest old fogey of all on this subject, as we thought him, has got ahead of you, and admits the same law of free forgiveness to both sexes. We thank you of the *Gazette* for reminding us, by the contrast, that even this is progress, and that Mr. Greeley is not absolutely a fossil specimen of the old and dark times before the flood.

S. P. A.

PROFANITY.

A correspondent wants to know if the Hon. Horace Greeley swears. We answer: Mr. Greeley is a great man, and if he swears it is only on great occasions, such as are indicated in *Jonah*, iv. 9, viz.: "Dost thou well to be angry?" And he said, I do well to be angry."—*Exchange paper*.

There is the germ of a great truth hinted at in this squib. Our prevalent ideas of profanity are silly and babyish in the extreme, as are nearly all of our Sunday-school inculcations of morality. "Swear not at all" is a right injunction, doubtless, in respect to oath-taking in an ancient sense, which has now gone mostly out of use; that of binding the soul to the performance of some undertaking in the future, and invoking the sanction of God or the Gods, or their vengeance in case of failure. But what has this to do with the use of strong expletives in conversation, such as every man and woman of strong impulses and convictions is often prompted to use. Indeed, it is the most religious nature who are the most frequently and sometimes almost irresistibly prompted to swear. "Be ye angry and sin not" is an injunction which they understand. The namby-pamby creatures whose souls are never stirred by any great emotion

or passion can easily submit to milk-and-water preaching and moralizing of all sorts: but great souls will have their volcanic eruptions, or are, at least, liable to have them.

What is wrong and wicked in the matter is the habit of swearing: the senseless and disgusting habit of using strong expletives which mean nothing. This is a mere abuse of the true uses of objurgation and invective, and cannot be too severely condemned. Horace Greeley has, therefore, the right of it; as George Washington had also. Neither of them were profane, for neither of them took ever the name of God in vain. Both of them, when they used that name, used it effectively; and I then swearing is just as good as praying. It is the dead, inanimate, meaningless use of language which is to be deprecated, and preached against. Never swear except on great occasions: never swear unless the occasion is worthy of the manifestation, and demands righteous indignation; and, then, if you swear, do it effectively. Put your soul into it and make yourself felt. Washington and Greeley are instances of this instinctively correct use of expletives; and the public, even the religious and moralistic public, instinctively accepts them, and condones conduct which they theoretically condemn.

A good deacon was mildly rebuking a "hard case" for profanity. "O, deacon," said the man, "never mind: your praying and my swearing are just alike." "How is that?" said the deacon. "O," said the other, "neither of us mean anything by it." Now, this was probably true; and in that case the praying was just as bad as the swearing; and both were bad, not because they were either praying or swearing, in fact, but because they were the bogus article; because they were neither praying nor swearing, but false pretences, mere dead corpses of the living realities which they imitated.

A lady told me recently a good story of an Irish servant girl in her service, who said, pathetically, "I am so sorry it is wicked to swear; it is such nice manly language." There was an instinct in this of the true perception, that as felt by Mr. Greeley, who sits and sleeps comfortably in his cushioned pew of a Sunday, and is really a good Christian, but who thinks that there is a time also for swearing. The idea is getting abroad, too, that the moralists have been simplistic, and not discriminative, in their teachings on this subject. A distinguished literary man said to me recently that he was preparing an article on "The Divine Uses of Profanity."

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

MR. WARREN AGAIN.

It was an oversight that in concluding my criticism on Mr. Warren's letter two weeks ago, I omitted to do what I had promised to do in respect to showing that Mr. Warren does not logically adhere to his own definition of *rights*.

I have previously shown that, by his definition, *Rights* means rectifications, straightenings-out or what "works rightly" in social relations—which is saying *straight roads*; but that in ordinary usage, in which *Rights* and *Duties* are contrasted, *Right* means the *Direction* of the *Straight Road* which runs toward me or my advantage, and that *Duty* means the opposite *Direction* of the same *Straight Road*, that which runs away from or against me or my advantage, and to or toward my neighbor or his advantage.

Now in the last clause of Mr. Warren's letter, he says: "You have incidentally done me justice in saying that I demand rights, but do not prescribe 'duties' (to other people). Their right of self-sovereignty (for which I have profound reverence) forbids this impertinence."

If we assume that Mr. Warren is consistent in his use of the word *rights* in this clause, and that, therefore, he means by it merely *rectifications* (with their two drifts of direction, *to* and *from*), then the term includes BOTH *rights*, in the ordinary sense (*to*), and *duties* (*from*); and then by "demanding rights" (in this sense, the sense of his definition) he does "prescribe duties to other people," and to all people—since duties, equally with rights, in the minor sense, are included in the meaning of rectifications, or rights, in the major sense—Mr. Warren's peculiar and technical sense of the term.

If we hold Mr. Warren, therefore to his definition of *Rights*, he does prescribe *Duties* to others, however impertinent it may be to do so; but as he informs us that he never does so, the only escape is to assume that now he is using *rights* in the ordinary or minor sense, to which he has fallen down unconsciously, that in which *rights* stand contrasted with *duties* (as *to* and *from*)—*quod erat demonstrandum*.

We should only have to pursue him through his writings at large to show that he runs into this confusion habitually.

Another point omitted. Mr. Warren talks of desiring to avoid being run by "codes and courts," which, he says, I am so willing "to carry into the future, instead of getting rid of them by an intelligent view of self-interest." Now this fling and depreciative imputation is all based on the fact that I referred to the *codes* and *courts* as having a more satisfactory definition for the word *rights* than the one which Mr. Warren furnishes. Mr. Warren knows that my purposes, as much so as his, are to reduce the necessity for and the intervention of law courts to the minimum, or if that is practicable, to dispense with them altogether; and this reasoning, through childish irritation, by unauthorized innuendo, is unworthy of Mr. Warren, and he should be on his guard, not in the future to indulge in it.

A third point. Mrs. Woodhull shows me a quarrelsome letter from Mr. Warren, in which he complains of my taking charge of his former letter, and dealing with it in the

SEPT. 2, 1871.

Bulletin of the Pantarchy; as it is her part. He forgets that his form to me, was an answer to what I had written for the Bulletin. I was allusion to other parts of his more recent, on reflection, he would not be with my comments; nor do I know to be printed.

The New York Times' review of OF UNIVERSALISM AND ALIENATION, length, is unable to decide whether great philosopher. As the notice of extracts from the book, very I padate it; but I do not republish I written down to the comprehension to understand me. Milk for babes

CORRESPONDENT

FOREST

MY DEAR ANDREW—When I this state, I put into my trunk a v Universelle," and into my hand & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. Of late I anything of Fourier, because the so hopelessly discordant in view though having ears would not be not see. How often have I thou: I done, that I should be of lized t be able to make others see it." I cars, so I took out the Weekly t happened it had in it your st standing and alliance between yourself. As I read hope and fa once more I felt like myself. Fourier. It did me so much write and tell you so, and had I should perhaps have done more

Every socialist and every stud and read the Weekly. They ca inspire them with new life, and new dispensation, will be bor Woman's Movement a mother. had only the father, and no cl have the mother, and all good t

I wish I could tell you adeqt I am, although I have not yet l ing your box k, and I cannot ye I shall see you soon, I hope, t be found for me in connection which the present is now pregn you that I f-lt like shooting, and Victory!" and that thoug and let victory follow Andrews for victory, Victoria, or woman

THROUGH

We slight the gifts that And let them fall and In our great eagerness The promised treasure

Or else we mourn some And, in the shadow, Refuse the lesser good The offered peace and

So through the chamber And leave them one Not knowing how men In each, until the dawn Has sounded through And in our hearts we

MY FRIEND

AFTER THE DANISH C

CHAPTER

Christmas is to most peop much in its religious aspect presents, family reunions and their happy influences to a la Christendom; but a few are d my brothers, the friends of t tude of my friends and relat sions found me in tachele-c in a street devoted to residen my head was a family of hag parents; through the ceiling c loud laughter, mingled with From one side of me the dull party of grown pe p'le, while of "Sissana," "Dearest Ma told of a gay company of h state of matrimony. I can drinking songs and negro mel the Christian observance of t coat, cap and gloves, went u

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TRAINS LEAVE NEW YORK.

For New Haven and Bridgeport, 7.8 (Ex.), 11.30 a. m.; 12.15 (Ex.), 3 (Ex.), 3.45, 4.30, 5.30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Southport and Westport, 7.11.30 a. m.; 3.45, 4.30, 5.30 p. m.

For Norwalk, 7.8 (Ex.), 9.11.30 a. m.; 12.15 (Ex.), 3 (Ex.), 3.45, 4.30 (Ex.), 5.30, 6.30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Darien, 7.9, 11.30 a. m.; 3.45, 4.30, 5.30 and 6.30 p. m.

For Stamford, 7.8 (Ex.), 9.11.30 a. m.; 12.15 (Ex.), 2.15, 3 (Ex.), 3.45, 4.30 (Ex.), 4.45, 5.30, 6.30, 7.15, 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Greenwich and intermediate stations, 7.9, 11.30 a. m.; 2.15, 3.45, 4.45, 5.30, 6.30, 7.15 p. m.

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For Boston, via Shore Line, 12.15, 8 p. m.

For Hartford and Springfield, 8 a. m., 12.15, 2, 4.30 p. m. to Hartford, 8 p. m.

For New York, R. I., 12.15 p. m. (Ex.), connecting with steamer across Narragansett Bay, arriving at 8.30 p. m.

For Connecticut River Railroad, 8 a. m., 12.15 p. m. to Montreal, 3 p. m. to Northampton.

For Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, 8 a. m., 12.15 p. m.

For Shore Line Railway, at 8 a. m. to Norwich and Providence; 12.15, 3; to New London, 8 p. m.

For New Haven and Northampton Railroad, 8 a. m.; 3 p. m. to Northampton and Williamsburgh.

For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m. and 3 p. m.

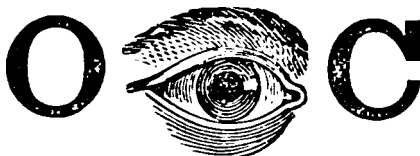
For Naugatuck Railroad, 8 a. m., 3 p. m., and 4.30 p. m. to Waterbury.

For Danbury and Norwalk Railroad, 7 a. m., 12.15 and 4.30 p. m.

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8 p. m., Second Pacific Express, with Sleeping cars attached, for Rochester and Buffalo; also for Chicago, via both L. S. and M. C. Railroads; for St. Louis, via Toledo; and Louisville, via Indianapolis. (This train will leave at 6 p. m. on Sundays.)

11 p. m., Night Express, Sleeping cars attached.

7 a. m., 2 and 5 p. m., Poughkeepsie trains.

9 a. m., 4.15 and 6.40 p. m., Peekskill trains.

5.30 and 6.10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.

6.40, 7.30, 9.10 and 10.15 a. m., 12 m., 1.30, 3, 4.25, 5.10, 6.10 and 11.30 p. m., Yonkers trains.

9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.
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New York, Dec. 5, 1870.

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