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BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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THE NEW REBELLION.

The Great Secession Speech

OF

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,

BEFORE THE

National Woman's Suffrage Convention,

AT

Apollo Hall, May 11, 1871.

Since this is not a convention for the consideration of general political questions, I am not certain that I have any thing to say which will prove of interest or profit to you. But with your permission I will endeavor to state the position which the movement for political equality now occupies, and attempt to show therefrom the duties which devolve upon those who advocate it.

Whatever there may have been spoken, written or thought in reference to the constitutional rights of women citizens of the United States, as defined by the XIV. and XV. Articles of Amendments to the Supreme Law of the Land, the first practical movement under it to secure their exercise was made in the Congress of the United States during the past winter. A memorial setting forth the grievances of a woman citizen, who was denied the right of citizenship, was introduced into both Houses of Congress, and by them referred to their Judiciary Committees. Upon this memorial the House Judiciary Committee made two reports; that of the majority while admitting the validity of the foundation upon which the memorial was based, was adverse to congressional action thereon, naively attempts to ignore the force of the argument by thrusting the responsibility back upon the States, which have acted upon the point in question by the adoption of said Amendments. That of the minority, than whom there is no more conclusive judiciary authority in the United States, took issue with the entire pleading of the majority, and fortified their position by such an array of authority, judicial decisions and logic, as to fully establish the fact of the right of women to the elective franchise in every unprejudiced mind.

So forcible was the conviction which this report carried wherever analyzed, that even Democrats who everybody well know are constitutionally predisposed against the extension of suffrage, acknowledged it as unanswerable. Beside this, there has been so much high judicial authority also expressing itself in the same terms of approbation, there can be no question whatever about the fact that women, equally with men, are entitled to vote. This conclusion, though at first received with great skepticism by very many who wished it were really so, is gradually spreading among the people, and settling into a well defined conviction in their hearts. Many of your own journals even ridiculed the matter, more I presume from dislike to the movers in it than from convictions of its incapacity to meet the required demand.

I am glad, however, to now announce that most of these journals have reconsidered the subject, since there has been such enthusiasm and action raised all over the country by it, resulting in bringing women

forward to demand their rights which have been accorded to them in a sufficient number of cases to finally decide the true value of the movement. If I mistake not some of those who were instrumental in preventing the exercise of these claimed rights will have the pleasure of paying for their presumption in money, if not by imprisonment, both of which may be meted to them under the Act which it seems was almost providentially passed by Congress in May, 1870, to meet just such cases as are now required to be met.

There are two ways by which the success already gained may be pushed on to ultimate and complete victory, both of which I count as legitimate and justifiable. One is to continue the appeals to the courts, until by a final decision of the Supreme Court, it shall be fully determined. The other is for Congress to pass an Act declaring the equal rights of all citizens to the elective franchise. To this latter method some object on the ground that it stultifies the position that the Constitution already grants every thing we ask. But these objectors forget that by Par. 17, Sec. VIII., Article 1 of this same Constitution it is made one of the duties of Congress to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the constitution in the Government of the United States, and that one of the special powers vested in Congress is the right to make *all* laws necessary for enforcing the provisions of the XIV. and XV. Amendments. It seems to me that petitioning Congress to enforce the provisions of these Amendments is eminently proper, and that any who object thereto either do not understand the powers and duties of Congress or do not wish so easy a solution of the franchise question, which solution cannot be expected from the courts, as a decision in there may be deferred for years.

A Washington correspondent of the Tribune of May 2d, speaking of this matter, says:

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

The matter of time is an important element in this issue. I am aware that women do not yet fully appreciate the terrible power of the ballot, and that they have made no calculations what they will do should the right to vote be accorded them the next session of Congress. I hold that when women are fully decided in their minds that they are entitled by law to the elective franchise, it is their solemn duty to determine how they shall use this new power.

The enfranchisement of ten millions of women, is a revolution such as the world has never seen, and effects will follow it commensurate with its magnitude and importance. Whatever the women of the country shall determine to do that will be done. It seems to me that nothing could be more wise and judicious than for them even now to begin to consider what they will do.

I have had ample occasion to learn the true worth of present political parties, and I unhesitatingly pronounce it as my firm conviction if they rule this country twenty years to come as badly as they have for twenty years past, that our liberties will be lost, or that the parties will be washed out by such rivers of blood as the late war never produced. I do not speak this unadvisedly. I know there are men in Congress—great men—who know that unless change for the better come this will.

What do the republican leaders care for the interests of the people if they do not contribute to their strength. They have prostituted and are prostituting the whole power of the government to their own selfish purposes. They have wrung the very last possible dollar from the industries of the country and are now hoarding it in the vaults of the Treasury. One hundred and thirty millions of dollars in actual cash is a great power, a dangerous power it might be made by unscrupulous men, and I do not think but that there are those near the head of the government who are ambitious and unscrupulous enough to take advantage of any favorable opportunity in which to make use of this power.

True the republican party did a mighty work to which all future ages will look back with reverence. True that they opened the door, unwittingly though it was done, to our enfranchisement. True that they have made the name of slavery odious, and added new lustre to that of freedom.

But having delivered us from one damnation shall they be permitted to sell us to another, compared to which the first is but a cipher? They have told us that the Southern slave oligarchy had virtual control of the government for many years, and that the terrible war which we waged was the only means by which this power could be humbled.

But do they tell us of a still more formidable oligarchy which is now fastening upon the vitals of the country? Do they tell us that they have given four hundred millions of acres of the public domain, millions of dollars and tens of millions of credit to build up this new tyrant? Do they tell us that this tyrant is even now sufficiently powerful to buy up the whole legislation of the country, to secure the confirmation of any nomination which it desires made, and to bribe officials everywhere to the non-performance of their duty? Do they tell us matters have been so arranged that all the revenue they can extract from the people is turned over to this power, by which process the vitality of the country is being gradually absorbed? No, not a bit of it. This they will leave us to learn through bitter experience as we were left to learn what were the fruits of forty years plotting by the slave oligarchy. This new oligarchy has plotted less than ten years and it has already attained the most threatening and alarming proportions.

Shall we turn to the Democratic party with the hope that they may prove the necessary salvation from the wrath to come. To do this would indeed be to show the dire extremity to which we are driven. I hold that the Democratic party is directly responsible for the late war. The Democratic party South would not have rebelled had not the Democratic party North promised them their support. We expect anything better from them than from the Republican party. They are not now making themselves so antagonistic to the true interests of the country as are the Republicans, simply because they have not got the power so to do. But where they have the power, their leaders do not hesitate to make the most use of it to their own aggrandisement.

Therefore, it is my conviction, arrived at after the most serious and careful consideration, that it will be equally suicidal for the Woman Suffragists to attach themselves to either of these parties. They must not—cannot afford to—be a mere negative element in the political strife which is sure to ensue in the next Presidential election. They must assume a positive attitude upon a basis compatible with the principles of freedom, equality and justice which their enfranchisement would so gloriously demonstrate as the true principles of a republican form of government. I do not assume to speak for any one. I know I speak in direct opposition to the wishes of many by whom I am surrounded. Nevertheless, I should fail to do my duty, did I conceal what I feel to be the true interests of my sex, and through them, those of humanity; for the interests of humanity will never be understood or appreciated until women are permitted to demonstrate what they are, and how they shall be subserved. I have thus as briefly as possible given what I conceive to be the position which the Woman's Rights Party occupies at this time, their prospective power, importance and duties, and the dangers by which this country is threatened, from which they may save it.

If Congress refuse to listen to and grant what women ask, there is but one course left them to pursue. Women have no government. Men have organized a government, and they maintain it to the utter exclusion of women. Women are as much members of the nation as men are, and they have the same human right to govern themselves which men have. Men have none but an usurped right to the arbitrary control of women. Shall free, intelligent, reasoning, thinking women longer submit to being robbed of their common rights. Men fashioned a government based on their own enunciation of principles; that taxa-

tion without representation is tyranny; and that all just government exists by the consent of the governed. Proceeding upon these axioms, they formed a Constitution declaring all persons to be citizens, that one of the rights of a citizen is the right to vote, and that no power within the nation shall either make or enforce laws interfering with the citizen's rights. And yet men deny women the first and greatest of all the rights of citizenship, the right to vote.

Under such glaring inconsistencies, such unwarrantable tyranny, such unscrupulous despotism, what is there left women to do but to become the mothers of the future government.

We will have our rights. We say no longer by your leave. We have besought, argued and convinced, but we have failed; and we will not fail.

We will try you just once more. If the very next Congress refuse women all the legitimate results of citizenship; if they indeed merely so much as fail by a proper declaratory Act to withdraw every obstacle to the most ample exercise of the franchise, then we give here and now, deliberate notification of what we will do next.

There is one alternative left, and we have resolved on that. This convention is for the purpose of this declaration. As surely as one year passes, from this day, and this right is not fully, frankly and unequivocally considered, we shall proceed to call another convention expressly to frame a new constitution and to erect a new government, complete in all its parts, and to take measures to maintain it as effectually as men do theirs.

If for people to govern themselves is so unimportant a matter as men now assert it to be, they could not justify themselves in interfering. If, on the contrary, it is the important thing we conceive it to be, they can but applaud us for exercising our right.

We mean treason; we mean secession, and on a thousand times grander scale than was that of the South. We are plotting revolution; we will overslough this bogus republic and plant a government of righteousness in its stead.

We rebel against, denounce and defy this arbitrary, usurping and tyrannical government which has been framed and imposed on us without our consent, and even without so much as entertaining the idea that it was or could be of the slightest consequence what we should think of it, or how our interests should be affected by it, or even that we existed at all, except in the simple case in which we might be found guilty of some offense against its behests, when it has not failed to visit on us its sanctions with as much rigor as if we owed rightful allegiance to it; which we do not, and which, in the future, we will not even pretend to do.

This new government, if we are compelled to form it, shall be in principles largely like that government which the better inspirations of our fathers compelled them to indite in terms in the Constitution, but from which they and their sons have so scandalously departed in their legal constructions and actual practice. It shall be applicable, not to women alone, but to all persons who shall transfer their allegiance to it, and shall be in every practicable way a higher and more scientific development of the governmental idea.

We have learned the imperfections of men's government, by lessons of bitter injustice, and hope to build so well that men will desert from the less to the more perfect. And when, by our receiving justice, or by our own actions, the old and false shall be replaced by the new and true; when for tyranny and exclusiveness shall be inaugurated equality and fraternity, and the way prepared for the rapid development of social reconstruction throughout.

Because I have taken this bold and positive position; because I have advocated radical political action; because I have announced a new party and myself as a candidate for the next Presidency, I am charged with being influenced by an unwarrantable ambition. Though this is scarcely the place for the introduction of a privileged question, I will however, take this occasion to, once and for all time, state I have no personal ambition whatever. All that I have done, I did because I believed the interests of humanity would be advanced thereby.

Had I been ambitious to become the next president I should have proceeded very differently to accomplish it. I did announce myself as a candidate, and this simple fact has done a great work in compelling people to ask: and why not? This service I have rendered women at the expense of any ambition I might have had, which is apparent if the matter be but candidly considered.

In conclusion, permit me again to recur to the importance of following up the advantages we have already gained, by rapid and decisive blows for complete victory. Let us do this through the courts wherever possible, and by direct appeals to Congress during the next session. And I again declare it as my candid belief that if women will do one-half their duty until Congress meet, that they will be compelled to pass such laws as are necessary to enforce the provisions of the XIV. and XV. Articles of Amendments to the Constitution, one of which is equal political right for all citizens.

But should they fail then for the alternative.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

Met in Apollo Hall May 11, and was called to order by Mrs. P. Wright Davis, who occupied the chair, while Mrs. I. B. Hooker read the general report. Mrs. H. then took the chair as the regular President, and chiefly presided during the six sessions of the Convention.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton made the first regular speech, which was characterized by her usual masterly ability. It is only justice to say that Mrs. S. thoroughly understands all the questions involved in this movement, and meets them with a logical power irresistible. On this occasion she was fully up to her well established reputation, as was clearly seen in the earnest attention and hearty applause which greeted her effort. A. G. Riddle, Esq., of Washington, in the afternoon, repeated his constitutional argument, as delivered before the Congressional Judicial Committee last winter. Mrs. Middlebrook also delivered a constitutional and logical argument of great force. Mrs. V. C. Woodhull, by request, spoke on the planks in the platform of the Cosmo-Politan Party, and delivered her arguments on the enfranchisement of woman by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Mrs. Griffing, Hooker, Halleck, Howland, Dr. Mary Walker, Miss M. C. Swayne, and "Our Susan," all made efficient speeches, and added greatly to the interest and influence of the Convention. The attention was unflagging, notwithstanding the most of the speeches were read, and therefore necessarily delivered with less animation. The effect on the audience was marked. Hungry souls were present and ready for the beautiful and ennobling truths which fell from the lips of the speakers. The Convention had a purpose, a well-defined object, and a plan for its accomplishment. The audience was fully in sympathy with the most radical ideas and methods of obtaining justice to woman. We are free to say that we have never seen a Convention with so much real strength; strong because united. Then there was no assumed superiority; no narrow-sectarian bigotry—no unattainable standards of moral perfection as conditions of political enfranchisement, or co-operation in humanitarian efforts to procure common rights and blessings, now monopolized by the good and bad, but chiefly the latter. All this augurs well, and is the prophecy of the good time coming, when freedom (not license nor licentiousness) in the fullest sense shall be enjoyed by men and women alike, with the same restrictions and the same liberty. The Convention adjourned to meet in Washington next January, with a full resolve to work with a will until that time.

The following resolutions, as reported by the committee, were adopted, and show the animus of the Convention:

Resolved, That as women are counted in the basis of representation, subjected to taxation, and punishment for crime, permitted to preempt lands, own property in vessels and take passports abroad, under the Federal Constitution they are citizens; and as under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments the specific right of all citizens to vote is plainly declared, we demand of Congress a law that shall secure to woman this fundamental right.

Resolved, That without waiting for acts of Congress or for judicial decisions on the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, we shall, under the first utterance of the preamble to that instrument—namely, "We, the people"—demand registration as voters, and the free exercise of the right of suffrage in common with other loyal, law-abiding and tax-paying citizens; and we hereby recommend and adopt that measure as one of our instrumentalities, to be used faithfully by women at every election until their rights are fully secured.

Resolved, That as women, in the persons of Nanette B. Gardner and Mary Wilson, have registered their names and voted in Michigan, and the elections have not been contested on that account, that State has thereby practically acknowledged that two women are citizens, and possessed with the right of suffrage in accordance with the fundamental law of the land.

Resolved, That the Republican party, if it shall adopt the majority report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial, deciding that women are neither producers nor citizens, but simply members of the State, and that the Federal Government has no right to interfere in protecting the rights of citizens in the several States, thus nullifying all their declarations in the past and adopting the old secession doctrine in regard to personal rights and federal power, will forfeit the respect and confidence of the entire nation.

The following were also presented:

WHEREAS, Until woman's voice is recognized in legislation all laws involving the social relation of the sexes must be partial and arbitrary; therefore,

Resolved, That the National Woman's Suffrage Convention does hereby denounce as unworthy the respect of all true men and women every State Legislature, Common Council, or Board of Health, which shall dare to make or administer any law licensing prostitution, thus plunging womanhood into deeper depths of degradation, and engraving upon our young civilization one of the most abominable institutions of the Old World.

Resolved, That as in our two revolutions our sires and sons asked no questions of the loyal soldiers who fought its battles of freedom by their side as to their family, faith or form, so the noble women of America in this struggle for enfranchisement will welcome to their ranks, regardless of her antecedents or surroundings, every earnest woman who with pen or tongue comes with the inspired word for the hour.

Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, the President of the meeting, then proposed another set of resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the basis of order is freedom from bondage—not indeed of such "order" as reigned in Warsaw, which grew out of the bondage, but of such order as reigns in heaven, which grows out of that developed manhood and womanhood in which each becomes "a law unto himself."

Resolved, That Freedom is a principle, and that as such it may be trusted to ultimate in harmonious social results, as in America it is trusted to ultimate in harmonious and bene-

ficent political results; that it has not hitherto been adequately treated in the social domain; and that the Woman's movement means no less than the complete social as well as the political enfranchisement of mankind.

Resolved, That the evils, sufferings and disabilities of the women, as well as of men, are social still more than they are political, and that a statement of woman's rights, which ignores the right of self-ownership as the first of all rights, is insufficient to meet the demand, and is ceasing to enlist the enthusiasm and even the common interest of the most intelligent portion of the community.

Resolved, That the principle of Freedom is one principle, and not a collection of many different and unrelated principles; that there is not at bottom one principle of freedom of conscience, as in Protestantism, and another principle of freedom from Slavery, as in Abolitionism; another, of freedom of locomotion, as in our dispensing in America with the passport system of Europe; another, of the freedom of the press, as in Great Britain and America; and still another of social freedom at large. But that Freedom is one and indivisible, and that Slavery is also; that freedom, and bondage, or restriction is the alternative and the issue in every case; and that if freedom is good in one case it is good in all; that we in America have builded on Freedom politically, and that we cannot consistently recoil from that expansion of Freedom which shall make it the basis of all her institutions; and finally, that so far as we have trusted it, it has proved, in the main, safe and profitable.

AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

This branch of the woman's movement, represented in the persons of Mrs. Livermore, Stone, Julia Ward Howe and Mr. Blackwell, held their First Annual Convention, at Steinway Hall, Thursday, May 10. Mrs. L. presided, read the report, and spoke several times. The burden of her song seemed to be the high, noble, pure, Christian, Godlike character of the movement as conducted by her and her friends, leaving the conviction painfully impressed on the mind that those who were not with her were deficient in those admirable attributes which go to make up the true man and woman. The convention even resolved itself into an immaculate state of freedom from every mortal impropriety or any sanction of the same, in any possible way, and so commended that part of the movement to the wise and good of both sexes. To their own master (conscience) they must stand or fall. We are not the judge. But this much we will venture: The average purity of that wonderful body in thought and deed was not above that of any ordinary similar body of people assembling for similar purposes. Tried by the Master's rule, few of them would have dared to cast a stone at their neighbor; and hence this assumption of superior purity is a miserable pretence and hypocrisy. In saying this we are not accusing any one of any special vice, but we are asserting that as a body they are not only no better than they ought to be, but no better than others. And this we say in no unkindness. We only regret that this grand work of woman's enfranchisement should be broken into fragments by selfishness, bigotry, ignorance, self-assumed purity and arrogance. We stand on a broader platform, and do not propose to dig up the antecedents or private life and trials of any human being and drag them into public notoriety, just as the politicians would and for the same purposes. Civil and political rights are not based on moral attainments. And if the standards of the Rev. Gladding were enforced, but few indeed would rule. We rather think that the leaders of that convention would hesitate before adopting his ideas.

We think they have a work to do, and might do it without attempting to exhibit their own assumed superiority by depreciating others. Surely, with sensible people they gained nothing.

The Church is their legitimate sphere. The preachers are among our most inveterate opponents. If they can convert them by convincing them that the Bible is fully on our side, but never properly interpreted, and that "God understood himself" when he made man, and placed him over all his works, and bring preachers and people *en masse* in favor of civil and human rights, we will throw up our hats and shout lustily.

We regret that this body of divinely inspired and exceedingly pure people should not have been able to discover some definite point of attack, if possible, in advance of all others, on which to concentrate the minds of the people, instead of evading the issue now distinctly enunciated, by proposing a circumbundibus attack under Section 1, of Article 2, of the Constitution, on the State Legislatures; then, if that fails, fall back on the amendments, and if this fails, on the Sixteenth Amendment. In this way they distract, divide, and weaken our common cause. Dissipation is a feeble term. It is drunken madness.

But we wish to say here and now that this paper and its proprietors, struck an untrodden path in their interpretation of the amendments; inaugurated and managed their own movements, neither endorsing nor asking endorsement of any body of suffragists; and that up to this time we have asked no such endorsement. In saying this we do not intimate that we do not appreciate the grand and noble women, who, rising above all petty jealousies, narrow, bigoted views, and self-assumed virtues, have stood by us through good and evil report, and helped lay down a platform broad enough to admit all of God's children in their struggles for common rights and blessings. We hope they will grow wiser, and if that were, if possible, better, and that when the hour or trial comes we shall be found side by side in the attack which shall crown us with victory.

THE LABOR REFORMERS.

The New England Labor Reform League held its annual Convention in this city from Friday till Monday night last. This division of the Grand Army of Progress and Reform invited all men, all women and all ideas to its platform for hearing and discussion. The meetings were opened—John Orvis, Boston, in the chair—with an argument by E. H. Heywood, of Boston, against the trades' union method of working against the common foes. He labored to show that they are monopolies—despotic—interfering with individual freedom, and so with human rights; selfish, looking only to their own special interests, not including agricultural and unskilled labor, and wholly excluding the political rights of women; that their remedies were partial, limited and temporary. Mr. Drury followed in defence of the unions, who showed that they were the products of necessity—the best that could be done at the time with the conditions; that they had done a vast amount of good—had educated the people, shown the power of organization, benefited a large class of laborers, and prepared the way for the union of all the oppressed and the ultimate triumph of their cause. He admitted there had been abuses and errors; that they were growing more liberal, and he hoped to see the day when all the objectionable features would be removed.

Horace Greeley repeated his old tariff argument, which was again published in the *Tribune* in full, and needs no further notice, except to advise him to study the geography of the Mississippi Valley before he again tells the world that the levees on the banks of the Mississippi River are natural products; and to be sure and not insert it in the next edition of what he knows "about farming."

It was expected that M. M. Pomeroy would speak in favor of free trade, but he failed to come to time, and it is strongly insinuated that he did not like to occupy the platform with women, lest it might injure the circulation of his paper; and so we have the measure of his courage.

J. B. Wolff, whose argument on the interest question we have already published, assumed that all the present fragmentary movements could be resolved into a solitary proposition, viz.: When a day's work is done, how much of the product shall the worker have? This includes the right of property in self and self's products, and, therefore, the right to dispose of one or both. This then refers all taxes, war suffrage laws, back to the people—all the people.

Mr. W. said on the tariff question: That all taxes were ultimately paid by the producers of wealth, no matter whether collected by tariff or directly; that there were three parties to this question—manufacturers, traders, and producers. But the controversy was chiefly between the two former, as to which shall be allowed to plunder the third. This and nothing more—that they were wholly selfish and were seeking their own profit, and not the profit of the people. If we have a high tariff, we are plundered by home manufacturers; if free trade, we are plundered by foreign manufacturers and home traders, and so we have repeated the fable of the "Fox and Flies;" if we fray one brood away, another with appetites for blood, whetted by starvation, come, only to sap the vitals of production. One spirit and purpose animates the monopolists of the world; and hence a change of policy only changes the methods, while the facts remain the same—labor is robbed in the interest of the sword and the purse.

Mr. Hanson delivered a telling address on the subject of profits, rents, dividends, and interest, clearly defining the rights of capital and labor—the injustice of the present system, and the remedy. When rents paid are equal to cost of construction, repairs and management, the renter should own the property. When interest in the same way has reached the principal, the debt should be cancelled.

He showed the great disparity between the pay of the merchant who sells and the man who produces or creates, drawing his illustrations from his own business, watch-making.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull was listened to with profound attention while she delivered her argument in favor of the Cosmopolitical party, which will be found elsewhere.

With the exception of the offence taken by the League and the trades-union people at the recommendation of Mr. Greeley and Parker P. Pillsbury—that the working people would greatly benefit themselves by strict temperance and the acquisition of the highest skill—the meetings passed off pleasantly. Both these classes repelled with indignation the imputation that the working-people are intemperate.

Mr. Brisbane still hangs on to his system of social regeneration, demanding better conditions for mothers and a better breed of people, but wholly unable to point out the specific methods by which these grand results are to be reached. Their resolution on free-banking will need much elucidation before the people will accept a method which has so much the semblance of shinpasters.

Mr. West delivered a well-prepared discourse in favor of and limitation, but failed to point out definitely the maximum or minimum, or any fair average, so that we could understand the precise remedy to be applied, or rule of distribution.

The platform was broad and free as the most liberal could desire, even to hearing an anti-suffrage woman.

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

"SISTER, BE MY MESSENGER."

BY MRS. S. E. BALLARD MAYNARD.

Come, sweet sister, if the Boatman come
To bear thee first across Death's mystic tide,
When thou hast reached thy far-off palace home,
Safe in the mysteries of the other side,—
Say, wilt thou linger at the shining portal,
Mindful, one moment, of my fond behest,
Pausing ere thou hast put off all the mortal
To waft some sign to tell me thou art blest?

Look thee, sweet sister, through these splendrous aisles!
One there so like a very king will move,
Wearing still on his lip the radiant smiles
That first awakened all my soul to love.
Mark thee, if in the light of his proud eyes—
Matchless,—aye, even there, for power and soul,—
A spell-like charm, a subtle sweetness lies,
Holding thy spirit in supreme control.

Even by this, my lover thou shalt know—
His great and proud soul so divinely wrought—
Bearing upon his broad, imperial brow
The noble impress of his nobler thought.
Glide thou then near him, sister fair,
Look, oh, so fondly in his wondrous eyes;
Mark, when he greets thee with his gracious air,
If in his look sweet recognition rise.

Thou art so like to me, thou'lt surely move
Some sweet world-memories in my Guillaume's breast;
For deathless and immortal is our love,
Dwelling with him in mansions of the blest.
Tell him, oh! tell him how my heart hath kept
His image pure and bright through all these years;
That not one memory of him hath slept,
Or one thought faded in the tide of tears.

Pardon, sweet sister, if I'm growing wild—
Something akin to madness in all woe—
Early grief marked me for her favorite child,
And laid her chilling hand on heart and brow.
Surely, oh! surely there is peace at last
For those so wildly tossed on sorrow's wave.
Life! ah, 'tis fleeting, and will soon be past;
And I will find my love beyond the grave!

Red Rock, March 10, 1871.

THE NEW ORLEANS *Picayune* finds that a Mrs. Lockington, of Lima, New York, going in search of her son, found him in a low drinking saloon:

The saloon was kept by Lon Botsford—not described in our advices, but probably a bloated, sore-eyed, ragged, sore-legged, careless person, who had been ruined by liquor, who lived by the sale of liquor, and who will, probably, die by liquor at last.

The mother finding her son drunk in this den, dragged him out; and her blood being up she "went for" the cause of the boy's depravity—demolished the bar fittings, smashed the bottles, spilt the liquor and generally raised Cain. The *Picayune* draws an elaborate moral: "That all women ought to be not only strong-minded, but strong-fisted, and thus be qualified to redress their griefs *a la* Lockington." It might be well, perhaps, if it were so; but in the meanwhile the *Picayune* has no sympathy with the justly incensed woman, and thinks her spirit in abating a public nuisance, her redress of a wrong for which there is no legal nor social remedy, a fit subject for ridicule.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING preaches against extravagance in female attire. This has been the subject of clerical objurgation before to-day. The old prophets tried their strength against it. Chrysostom spoke in vain; Latimer told the women some truths, and every eminent preacher to the court or the people has lifted his voice against the follies of dress. It is not all the fault of the women, however. The men admire fashion and folly just as much as, perhaps more than women. A gracefully draped shawl on a wire dummy will turn any man's brain.

WIFE MURDER.

"A man throws his wife out of a third-story window. She dies almost instantly." Such is the heading—not one word of editorial comment. What a difference between this and Mr. Putnam's killing by Foster. All the dailies broke out in simultaneous yells of execration. Society could bear it no longer—there must be instant trial—there must be a verdict of guilty—there must be hanging—otherwise a Vigilance Committee and Lynch. But the wife murder—*O Das ist nichts!* We have no desire to raise public indignation against the accused. Perhaps it is only a sensation newspaper item. But the motive assigned for the killing is unique. She used to get drunk—that is not new—and she "refused him his marital rights." So he threw her out of a window. This is a question of man's dignity and supremacy. We look confidently for an acquittal. No plea of insanity is needed. The accused is sane in the first degree. A woman who gets drunk—away with her. A woman who refuses the use of her person to her master—what man will not sympathize with the outraged husband? John Graham will scarcely be wanted for the defence. Still there is a great chance for one of his moral discourses on the wifely duty.

Works on Woman's Suffrage.

Persons in Newark and vicinity wishing works on this subject, including our own, will call at 615 Broad street.

WOMAN'S INVENTION.

HOW MAN FAILED TO PROCURE HER PATENT; AND HOW SHE "PADDED HER OWN CANOE."

It is a well-known fact that the common tie or garter employed by women on their hose, is at war with a true physiology, because it interferes seriously with the circulation of the blood in the lower extremities, and often results in painful and dangerous diseases. To obviate this difficulty and secure the necessary support, Mrs. E. L. Daniels, of Boston, invented a suspender and lady's protector, which transfers the support of the hose to another part of the body, removing entirely the difficulties of the old method. In the exercise of the right of citizenship she applied to a male man, in the character of a patent agent, to transact her business with the government. After waiting one month, and having her application twice rejected under the management of her legal male protector and agent, she repaired to the field of disaster in person.

She soon learned that he did not understand its purpose, its adjustment, or the grounds of her claim. After making a thorough examination herself, while her attorney (another of the biped *genus homo*) beheld, in astonishment, a woman penetrating that labyrinth of mechanical mysteries and conflicts in her own behalf. By paying \$10 extra, she obtained a rehearing of the case, and, within fifteen minutes, was able, not only to demonstrate her claim, but to show that there was no conflict. This male legal protector agreed not to charge anything unless he succeeded, and yet he took \$30 for his services, and compelled her to pay out \$50, beside the loss of her time, the fact of his failures, and that she did the work herself. This is masculine justice with a vengeance. We now have the pleasure of introducing this woman and her invention to the public, and will only add that we commend both as deserving their patronage; the woman, because she "padded her own canoe" when the man failed, and the invention, because eminently useful. See advertisement.

AN EFFECTUAL REMEDY.

We are credibly informed that Mrs. Livermore announced from the stand in Literary Hall, that there will be no more grand, noble men until women are enfranchised. Now, whether she meant that there would be no more infantry or that they would all be of an inferior kind, our informant could not judge. But if she meant that women would cease to be mothers, and thus practically adopt celibacy, we think she is a revolutionist on a grand scale. If this with our proposed new government does not bring the lords of creation to terms, then we are hopeless of reform.

Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and we have no objection that the American Women's Suffrage Society shall lead one branch of the grand army battling for human rights with banners inscribed "No more babies until all mothers and daughters stand equals in law and in fact." Just think of it! A separate government and no more babies, or what is worse, only a poor article! This smacks not so much of free-love as no love at all. We congratulate our friends on the adoption of a remedy so powerful, and in our soul recognize the justice of saying to the whole brood of tyrants, get out of our presence until you are willing to give us our rights.

ELEANOR KIRK, in her last letter to the *Elizabeth Herald*, says that the woman suffragists had all agreed to endorse Victoria C. Woodhull as a pure, true woman. Mrs. Kirk tells also how Mrs. Woodhull was received very kindly and was heartily applauded. But she states her opinion that the fact remains that "a cause no more popular should for its own sake choose a representative less burdened with public contumely." This is rather obscure; but if it mean anything it means that she sets her view against that of the many; that the pure in heart are of no account directly they are made victims of aspersion; and that a cause is of no account unless its champions be without enemies. Alas! for human progress! If woman rights and woman progress had only such cold, lukewarm friends as Eleanor Kirk, they would indeed have been "a cause no more popular." Forgetful that she owes her literary position to the woman movement and the woman suffragists, she turns her back on her early friends.

THE MIDDLETOWN (Conn.) *Sentinel* is answerable for the following: "At a recent Plymouth Church matinee, Mr. Beecher delighted his audience by his droll impersonation of his martinet stepmother. She gave her children weekly a stiff dose of the catechism, was the pink of propriety, and held in abhorrence all vain and trifling amusements. Dr. Beecher had a weakness—that of playing on a fiddle. One day, striking up an unsanctified jig, Mrs. Beecher came in, and catching the inspiration of the tune, placed her hands on her hips and actually danced a minuet. Mr. Beecher described the scene. He stepped back on the platform, placed his hands on his hips, and showed the audience how his mother did it. He described the consternation of the children. He clasped his hands, rolled up the whites of his eyes like a regular mawworm, opened his mouth, drew down his lip, and stood the personification of rustic horror. The whole scene was irresistibly comic.

MRS. MARTIN'S LECTURE.—A large audience assembled Wednesday evening at the State Geological Hall, to hear the lecture of Dr. Rachel Cutler Martin, on Social and Domestic Reform, Medical Colleges for Young Women, Christian Associations, Women Clubs, Gymnastic Institutions for Females. Mrs. M. claims that two-thirds of all the sickness in society will be found among the women and children; for this reason, women physicians are the great want of this and every other age. Women physicians in New York make from \$2,000 to \$20,000 a year. Such incomes should cause young women to embrace a profession which cannot fail to add to their usefulness and greatly advance their standing in society. Dr. Martin also spoke of Women's Homes, Rests, etc., such as are found in New York. If we have "Houses of Shelter" for Fallen Women, why not for those who have never yielded to temptation. The lecture lasted about an hour, and made an excellent impression on those present.

A short time since the Legislature incorporated the "Free Medical College" of New York. Of this college Dr. Martin is president, and Mrs. Dr. Chevalier, of New York, vice-president. The college will commence operations during the coming fall, Mrs. Chevalier having donated one of her own buildings for college purposes. Young ladies wishing to join the college, should call on Dr. Martin.

THE MORAL JOURNALS impute to us that we take life seriously; that, finding wrongs, we propose remedies; that we are heretic or heterodox because we do not believe that "whatever is is right." We insist that our proposals to reorganize, reform, readjust, are more worthy than the folly and flippancy which extract mirth from murder, like this, for instance: "Mr. Fowler, of Indiana, a pedagogue, has eloped with a fourteen-year-old girl pupil. When her father heard that she was in the snares of the Fowler, he put a double charge of buckshot in his gun, and packeting ten days' cooked rations, went Fowling."

AN exchange tells us that a new secret society has been discovered in New York, with branches in most of the large cities, called the "Raft." It is said to number 50,000 members, chiefly among the laboring classes, and its object is mainly to influence elections in favor of the workmen and to get its members into office. Such a raft will hardly save its originators from wreck. Fifty thousand members are pretty well for a beginning; about an office apiece for each member. The only difficulty is in apportioning them, every one cannot be a big six.

THE JOKES at the expense of woman suffrage are as point-less as the arguments are illogical. The homely, ill-tempered woman-hater growls out that only the handsome fellows get the women votes. A man that hasn't got a cent to his name whines over the women who only marry for money, while a shiftless chap, that lies in the bottom of the boat while the girls do the pulling, complains that it is only the noisy, active women that make all this fuss because they want to take the work out of men's hands.

WOMAN'S LABOR and woman's wages is a matter calling for reform. No one with the smallest pretence to justice or fair dealing will insist that there should be a discrimination between woman's wages and man's wages. It is the work done, not the worker. Suffrage may or may not remedy the inequality. But suffrage is identified in the American mind with the exercise of social rights; while suffrage is denied, it is useless for women to unite in trades unions or protective associations.

THE NEW TAX LEVY BILL has this one advantage—we know where to find the responsible parties. Heretofore their name was legion; now it is the Mayor and his three coadjutors. Again, the tax is limited to two per cent. charge, and to twenty-five millions total. It is hard to believe in official honesty. Let us wait and see what comes of it. The new statement is to appear in a few days, and our new rulers will then make a new start. Radical rule in Washington, Democrat rule in New York—both for the people's good—all virtuous! all serene!

"SOCIETY is in a dreadful state," said a man at Apollo Hall last week, as he saw the people flocking in to hear the women speak on the suffrage question. At the same time, the man who made this remark was reeking with the fumes of liquor! Whether it was worse to talk of woman's rights or to drink whiskey, we did not learn from the critical gentleman. Our opinion is there are far worse things in this world than the suffrage agitation.—*N. Y. Globe*.

IS IT LIBELLOUS?—In our exchanges we find that "Miss Ida Greeley, daughter of Horace Greeley, is said to be one of the most accomplished mathematicians in the United States." We presume that this, whether true or false, is not a libel. It is praise; we have no motive in repeating it. If it were blame, in which we should equally have no motive, why should we stand condemned for its repetition and republication? Do only women talk scandal and poison reputations? Who get up the lies in politics and the bogus reports in Wall street?

COLONEL WHITELEY, Chief of the Detective Bureau, is charged with having smuggled diamonds. His friends assert that it was all regular business. Why, of course. How could a detective hope to outwit rogues unless he knows how it is himself?

SEXUAL SUFFRAGE is a wretched term invented to designate suffrage without distinction of sex.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

RECORDS, EXPOSITIONS, CORRESPONDENCE AND
MISCELLANY.

It has always been my intention at a certain point in the growth of the Pantarchy to establish a newspaper organ to represent it—not to the public at large, for whom, in a sense, it cares nothing, but for its own members. It was intended that this newspaper organ should, at the beginning, be very small—a sheet, it might be, no larger than one's two hands, and for several reasons: First, because I want it mainly for my own use, to save me from the necessity in part of exhaustive correspondence, and I did not want to assume a burden in the care of a large paper instead of getting a relief by the aid of a small one; secondly, because I believe in small beginnings, even for things which are intended to become large.

I have postponed attempting the realization of this project, even on this small scale, because with the immense amount of labor in elaborating new scientific discovery and in organizing an institution which ramifies everywhere—labor, I mean, such as must fall on me personally, which I cannot devolve on my helpers—I dreaded the care of even a small newspaper organ. I could not get my consent to be obliged to furnish even a small amount of matter of a particular character regularly to the printer. I have wished, therefore, that a newspaper were made in some way of India rubber, that it could be made to expand and contract at convenience, and from week to week.

I have at length hit on the device for effecting this end. Colonel Benton talked about somebody's inserting a stump speech into the belly of a bill for a law in Congress. I propose planting this BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY in the heart of the larger journal, WOODHULL & CLAPLIN'S WEEKLY, and of making as much or as little of it from week to week as the humor prompts. I shall from time to time, in little leaders like this, communicate to my special circle of readers more and more of the purposes of this arrangement. Records of progress and development, expositions of discoveries and principles, plans for future operations, correspondence with Pantarchians and enquirers, and miscellany bearing on Pantarchal affairs will fill the columns of THE BULLETIN.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

"HOW DO YOU DO?" AND "I HOPE YOU ARE
VERY WELL;" AND "HOW WELL YOU ARE
LOOKING?"

The common salutations prevalent, or their equivalents, all over the world—"How do you do?" and "I hope you are very well"—reveal a whole chapter in the wretched history of mankind. They imply, as the fact really is, that everybody is sick. They are utterances of condolence addressed to invalids—to people who as matter of course need to be consoled with as poor suffering creatures. And yet they are addressed indiscriminately to everybody.

The inference, therefore, justly is that everybody is sick and wretched and suffering, or that this is the case in such an immense majority of instances that the exceptions are not worth regarding or inquiring after.

I had occasion in a recent article to notice that the word "contagion," which in its origin means no more than simple contact, means habitually, and from the prevalence of sad instead of beneficent results from contact with our fellow-beings, the origin of some deadly disease. In another article I used the word "conspiracy" in a good and not in an evil sense—speaking of the Pantarchy as "a conspiracy to be good," etc. This, too, must have struck the reader as something very novel and unusual, as by common usage a conspiracy is always a uniting of different individuals in a common purpose to effect some bad end; and yet etymologically to conspire (Latin, *con*, with, and *spiro*, to breathe) means no more nor less than to unite; that is to say, more literally, to breathe together as persons uniting in some common effort. But here, again, the experiences of mankind have in such a preponderating number of instances shown that when people unite it is for bad rather than good purposes, that conspiracy has come to mean the bad only; and it strikes the ear and mind as a falsity if the word is applied to anything good.

So, in respect to these salutations, they reveal in a sad way the universal prevalence of evil in the past and in the present of human history. There must come a time when Good shall predominate as decidedly in the world as Evil has hitherto; when health and beauty shall abound as the rule; when every man and every woman we meet shall strike us with a new surprise by their healthful and happy looks. Then the common salutation will be: "How surprisingly well you look!" "How noble!" "How sweet," "How beautiful," or something similar, and no longer the doleful refrain which now continuously and everywhere salutes our ears, "How do you do?" (poor sufferer), or "I hope you are very well" (though, to say the truth, the appearances are sadly against it.)

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

ESTHER.

Died (as Men Phrase Such Events), on the
Sixth of May, 1871, in New York,

ESTHER B. ANDREWS,

(née HUSSEY,)

WIFE OF

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS,

WHO INDITES THIS IN MEMORIAM.

And so has passed to a new state of existence the great woman, to help there, still, and still more potently than here, the work of the inter-penetration and inter-revelation of these Two Worlds, which is now so rapidly progressing.

ESTHER BARTLET ANDREWS has lived here one of the veiled, obscured, hidden great female men of the earth. Her mission was one of profound significance, but not to be executed in the glare of public notoriety. Allied with one whose life has been hitherto only a preparation, a laying of foundations, she has been content to serve in that work wherever and howsoever service was needed, and by her powerful and perpetual co-operation through a long course of necessary sacrifices, to yield such help as no other woman could have given, as, perhaps, no other would have been willing to give, as no other will be called on to give through all the coming ages. She has wrought and suffered, vicariously, in the *saviors*hip of the future female world.

The time is not yet for the statement in detail of the life of this more than saint, of this great moral heroine, of this female savior.

MRS. ANDREWS was the descendant of eight or ten generations of sturdy Quaker ancestry. Her mother's mother lived to be one hundred and six years old. Her own mother still lives. She was, herself, stalwart and commanding in figure, of an iron constitution, and destined seemingly to equal or exceed her grandmother in longevity. But all strength has its limits, and she gave her life, at only half that term, exhausted by Herculean labors in founding the Pantarchy. Freeing herself at an early age, and almost unaided, from the narrowing conditions of a sectarian education; and, later, from the equally contracting influences of a false moralism; she retained, through life the grand substratum of essential character which the disciples of George Fox, more than any other people, seem to have learned how to lay in the human soul, and more especially in the soul of woman. She was the most profoundly religious human being that I have ever known, while at the opposite extreme of character her intellect was powerful and most completely emancipated. It was her religion, acting with her intelligence, which compelled her to the most utter radicalism, while yet she was a truly constructive reformer.

The animus and intricacies of human nature were transparent to her wonderful intuitions, and lay as an open map spread out before her vision, and she moulded, as it were, at will, the characters of all with whom she came in contact, and always for good, and with reference to a great purpose. She was spontaneously called by the little circle who knew her best the Pantarchess, while never asserting any claim, and never, in her sensitive modesty, really accepting the spontaneous homage which no great nature could withhold in her presence. She was a great lover, rich passionately, magnetically, affectionally and sentimentally, narrowed by no petty ideas of conventionalism, but tender and respectful to the consciences and even to the ignorant bigotries of all. While her criticisms cut to the marrow of every evil, her great motherly heart of personal sympathy soothed every pain and healed every wound. She was most adaptable to the wisdom of the wisest and to the weakness of the most simple. She had the most wonderful combination of strength and of delicacy or fineness; but in her strength she was never manish. She was the supreme feminine type—wholly womanly.

She had a grand practical talent which was adequate to every emergency. She conquered early disadvantages and graduated at a male Medical College, the Eclectic College of New York, at the age of fifty, and was preparing to enter by the aid of science upon the practice of a profession to which she had always pre-eminently belonged by her spontaneous impulsions and intuitions. Illustrating in her character integralism, which is the reconciliation of all contrariety, she was the most impressible medium for the spirits of other spheres, and was yet of the most pronounced individuality in her own independent personality. She was eminently domestic. She believed profoundly in the home; desiring only to enlarge it, and to found the family upon the predominance of spiritual over the mere blood ties. She carried devotion and exquisite taste into the kitchen, the laundry and the nursery. She had an æsthetic sense in the whole art of living, and was a missionary of thorough and pure work. She was competent under favoring conditions to

have founded a new and transcendent school of high art applicable to the domesticities of life.

In a word, this grand woman was one of the Queen Women—the Queen Woman of the Moral and Social world. While her name has hardly been pronounced before the public at large, the circle of her private influence was of the widest and most efficient. Thousands of individuals have been reached and modified, and not a few regenerated, by it. She now enters the heavens, to reign morally and socially there; as much more, in herself, and in her grand experiences of life, than Mary the Mother of Jesus, or Ann Lee, or Clotilde de Vaux, as the developed and full-grown woman is more than the mere girl. She excels Mary, "the Mother of God," as much as the age we live in excels the first Christian century; and may she be held in that esteem by all true Pantarchians, *in perpetuum*.

[The following extracts are made from a mass of curious papers, upon which I may find occasion to speak further, published originally at Salem, N. J., by the author, Mr. Robert Sinnickson.—S. P. A.]

"NATIONAL PRAYER.

LIBERTY'S SPIRIT, COME HOME

BY ROBERT SINNICKSON.

Ain—"Father, Come Home."

Liberty's Spirit, return to thy home,
And dwell with us here as of old;
Thy Temple a den of fierce thieves has become,
Who barter thy treasures for gold.
Thy fire has gone out, which our fathers inspired,
And darkness encircles the land;
The people of bearing great burdens are tired,
To support the nefarious band.
Come home! Come home! Come home!
Liberty's Spirit, come home.

List to the voice of thy child,
As it crosses the wide ocean's foam;
Nor turn a deaf ear to the National prayer:
Liberty's Spirit, come home."

"Mental 'impressions' are the 'shadows which coming events cast before.' Mine, supported by reflection, lead me to conclude that a crisis is about to be forced upon this country by foreign powers, led by Louis Napoleon, as the invisible representative head of the Ecumenical Council at Rome, where the now opening European war was hatched, with the conquest of America as its ultimate design, with a view to destroy the despot-threatening germs of Democratic Republicanism."

"A NEW COMMANDMENT.

Embracing the essentials of all the moral teachings of all past ages of the world:

Be ye true unto yourselves; and through yourselves, be true to Nature; and through Nature, true to Nature's God.†

... I have just received from France two new attempts, not previously known by me, at founding a universal language. One is entitled *Système d'une Langue Universelle*, par J. B. M. Denis de L—, and the other is a *Résumé Analytique d'un projet de Langue Universelle*, par M. L'Abbe Bonifacio Solos Ochando, Doctor of Theology, Professor of the University of Madrid and formerly teacher of the children of Louis Philippe; translated from the Spanish by M. L'Abbe A. M. Touze, Vicar of Saint Gervais de Paris. S. P. A.

GAIL HAMILTON says: The ballot is the head and front of the "Woman Movement." Work and wages, education, property rights—all are subordinate to or comprehended in the one demand for female suffrage. It is not claimed that the suffrage will immediately redress every wrong; but it is claimed that wrongs will not and cannot be righted without it. The demand for the suffrage is based, first, on woman's natural right to it; second, on the ground that it is effective and, indeed, necessary for the purification of politics and the uplifting of society; third, that woman needs it for her own protection against unjust laws.

FAREWELL.

If thou dost bid thy friend farewell,
But for one night though that farewell may be,
Press thou his hand with thine. How canst thou tell
How far from thee

Fate or caprice may lead his feet
Ere that to-morrow comes? Men have been known
To lightly turn the corner of a street,
And days have grown

To months, and months to lagging years,
Before they look in loving eyes again.
Parting at best is underlaid with tears—
With tears and pain.

Therefore, lest sudden death should come between,
Or time or distance, clasp with pleasure true
The hand of him who goeth forth; unseen
Fate goeth too!

Yes, find thou always time to say
Some earnest word between the idle talk;
Lest with thee henceforth, ever, night and day,
Regret should walk.

—Galun.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The labors that I have taken upon myself to endeavor to better the condition of the world, through these many years, and especially my recognized sympathy with women in their false and terrible conditions, have called out a wonderful mass of "confidences" and "appeals" which are sometimes heartrending. My pigeon-holes are stuffed with these cries of distress. Letters from all parts of our own country and abroad have overwhelmed me with a correspondence so great that I have often been compelled to seem cruel in failing to respond to it. The household over which my late wife has presided has been the refuge of fugitive husbands and wives from our remaining "peculiar institution." I have been the legal adviser and the father-confessor of thousands without the hope of fee or reward—and because it was known that I would listen to the wail of a suffering which finds so little sympathy. Other kinds of distress come often, also, to light, in the experiences of a social emancipator. I propose using the columns of the "Bulletin" in some measure as the depository of these confidences. By inventing some little disguises of dates, localities, details and style, I can let my readers share with me these painful but deeply interesting revelations, without incurring danger of a breach of confidence. Other sufferers are invited, also, to write with a view to publication. These little personal histories will make a touching feature in journalism and give an avenue for the outpouring of some burdened hearts. Perhaps, also, they may spur the generous impulses of some who have the means to come to the relief of special instances of social martyrdom.

S. P. A.

BELFAST, ME., NOV. 18, 1870.

S. P. ANDREWS:

My Dear Friend,—Your letter of Nov. 16, reached me on the evening of the 17th. I wish it were possible for words to tell you how much good it did me; how it cheered me to feel that there were some in the world who would not turn a deaf ear to my cry of agony. It came to me in an hour when I felt my whole life sinking beneath a pressure of pain and ill, from which I could see no way of escape. It renewed my hope, and many tears and blessings fell upon the little missive as I held it to my heart. And so, I may come to you, and yours, tell you my sad life, open my heart, and bid you look in, sure of sympathy, kindness, and aid. God bless you; if there is one, he surely will.

I was reared in a home of love and plenty among New England hills, and amid many friends; enjoying much; I glided into mature life, knowing little of its ill or care. My father was a lawyer, accumulated property, but by many misfortunes it was gradually swept from him. I counted this a small ill so long as I was able to work, only an incentive to earnest doing, which one might call a good. But a change came; I began to grow sick; I saw with terror, what it would be for me to be sick, and I struggled mightily with disease, determined it should not overcome me, but for more than seven long years I have suffered more than mortal pain or tongue can tell with inflammatory rheumatism and neuralgia. I have been reduced very low at times; now my general health is better, but the stiffness, lameness and pain continue. I cannot get up out of my chair, or walk a step; can use my hands a little; can write, in this shabby style, a few minutes at a time. In the midst of all this suffering, I have seen my sweet, beautiful mother, and my beloved father, die, anxious and troubled in their last days, which should have been peaceful and happy, and I, powerless to aid them, and adding to their care—God only knows what agony to bear it, nor how I prayed to get well for their sakes. But it could not be—they have gone to the better beyond, and I am left to fight the battle of life, sick, helpless, and with no means of independent support, and with a spirit that cannot endure enslavement and dependence. Now, in all these years there has been a deep, heart-life, which, after all, makes us most what we are; and to understand much of the now, or the real me, you must know of it. When I was 17, I was engaged before I was 20, I saw what a mistake it was, that its culmination could not realize my idea of marriage, and I determined to put an end to it. Everybody thought the engagement so young was foolish; but when I came to break it off there was a great fuss by the same everybody; but I saw the right and would do it, if the heavens fell the next minute. But they didn't, and no necks were broken, but it caused me a great deal of trouble and pain. This little episode in early life kept me from committing matrimony as most do. It got me to reading and thinking. I saw what a gulf I came near being dashed into and trembled, and I went out into the world, almost ignoring in my heart the thought of marriage. I mingled much in society, both at home and abroad. My father and mother were among the earliest anti-slavery people, and our house was the home of the lecturers upon that and kindred reforms, and thus, though I came in contact with a good deal of the fashionable world, I numbered among my friends some of the most advanced thinkers of the day. I met many noble, generous, brilliant, attractive men, loved many since, no doubt, better than most do who do not hesitate to marry. I was a favorite in society, for the sole cause, I think, that my gentlemen friends seemed to understand that marriage was not the only end and aim of my existence, and that I did not wish to entrap any of them for life; and so they dared write me and visit me in more freedom, and in that

way I got more good and real enjoyment in their society than most did. These were glad, bright, happy years. As they went on I met a dear, beautiful spirit, and before I knew it he seemed a part of my life; but by no fault of either the pathway of our lives became as divergent as the poles. In the midst of this strange, terrible sorrow, which must be unuttered, a great, noble, wise, generous, loving soul penetrated the depths of my heart and came to me in sympathy. He was older than I. I dared tell him all my heart, all its waywardness and folly, all its hopes, fears, disappointments, aspirations and loves, sure of tenderness. Sometimes, as I talked to him in my free way, he would say: "Ah! Matilda, this is not a good world for you to live in. I know your heart better than you do. Give me the right, as I have the will and the power, to shield you from some ills." But I always said "Wait." I so loved my friend that I could not bear to lose him; but I never knew how dear he was to me till I looked upon his dead face. There, too, was a sorrow that must be mostly silent. These two experiences in life taught me more unselfish love, and the heart's capacity in that direction, than all mere theory ever could. Through darkness, doubt, pain and heart-break I came to understand what was highest and holiest in love and life, and where freedom and truth would lead us, and so I struggled on with no thought of despair, feeling that no sentiment was worth cherishing that did not inspire to goodness and give heroism and courage; so I said in my heart, these experiences shall enlarge and enrich my life, and I will walk bravely on to the end, and very early came to the conclusion that it was best to know what was going on in the world and judge for one's self what was good and true; so I fearlessly read condemned authors, old and new, and investigated freely theories and philosophies the most obnoxious to the conservative world. My parents and the rest of our family were reformatory and liberal in their ideas; but they went so far and could go no further. In my ideas of social reform none of them had any sympathy, and most of them were seemingly much opposed to even talking on the subject. Of course what I saw to be highest truth was gravest error to them. This was not easy sailing. I was not one who could ever deny my principles, though I tried to make them as little repulsive as possible, and I should not have suffered as I did had it not been that we had an engrafted member come into our household, who was full of jealousy and envy and a most unscrupulous liar. She was not one we should have associated with under other circumstances. I, with my democratic, liberal notions, gave her most cordial welcome of any to our homely home. She stung me. By sneaking, mean ways, she pried into some of my personal affairs. Getting grains of truth, she added pounds of falsehood, and made my family friends, even my own father and mother, look with distrust upon me, and I had no means of defense unless I told that which others had no right to know, and which I would not have told had I been burned at the stake. I cannot tell you what agony of pain this caused me, what talk I had to hear, nor how indignant I often got—I, who knew that my code of morals was as much above the world's as the heavens are above the earth, who was making such continual martyrdom of all my affectionate nature to keep at peace with the world, to be so treated! It was horrid. I wonder I lived it through. I think to-day it is the cause of all this suffering and sickness. It was a terrible shock to my nervous system. Physicians say—the best ones—as they examine me, "For some cause there is great prostration of the nervous system, which is the hard thing to overcome in your case." But let the curtain drop over all this heart-life of the past. It was hard to bear, hard to think of. I have given you a glimpse of it, because I knew you could not well understand otherwise then or this now of my life. I am thankful that my friends lived to see that I was the victim of an unmitigated slanderer, however much they may dislike my principles. All these experiences made me see the necessity of pecuniary independence, and I determined to achieve it. Then came this terrible sickness. When I was well I used the pen with ease and rapidity, and did much writing of various kinds that was remunerative. Since I have been sick I have done what I could more than any one would think possible; but it has hurt me—made my arms and hands much worse, and I cannot do it to amount to anything. I have always felt that I could get well, and that I should, if I could only place myself in better condition. I have faith in Electric and "Movement Cure" treatment, and more than all in good magnetic treatment. But I have no means to try anything—no one who is able, who is willing to help me to do anything. I wish sometimes for death. I believe in dying, but not in such long, helpless sickness. I know if one can suffer as I have, and still live, with no vital organ diseased, they have vitality enough to get well if they can be put in the right condition. To one who has had the hopes and aspirations in life that I have had, it would seem hard enough to give up all its pleasures and activities and endure such a sickness, if one had all else to comfort them—loving sympathy, and ample means to supply skillful attendants and other wants. But when to this is added that most detestable of all slavery, pecuniary dependence upon those who cannot see your needs, and all the indignities and outrages that may come of it, it seems too much. I could bear with fortitude that which seems inevitable, but when I know that if millions were mine I'd give them all to be decently well again, all to help myself, and think that for the lack of a few hundred dollars, or the loan of a few hundred, I feel

nearly frantic and as though I must make some one understand my condition and come to my rescue. I do not ask ease, or luxury, or rest, but liberty to work, liberty to breathe freely and think my own thoughts, and devote whatever I have of ability or power to doing for others. I can give up everything I once called pleasure or happiness in the world, even that "sweet, fond dream of human love," and the sympathy which we all so much need. But personal pecuniary independence I must some way achieve, or die. And I can't die. Life seems thrust upon me. I have three brothers and one sister, all married, with families of their own, none of them rich. Those who are best able have least disposition to aid me. A few years before my father's death he sold the old homestead to the husband of one of my sisters, my father, mother and myself boarding with them. So here in the old home I am, where I have lived so long, and enjoyed and suffered so much, that it is the most sacred spot on earth, but my home no longer. I might, perhaps, always stay here, have enough to eat and drink, and not come upon the town. It might sound better to the world, but as far as I alone am concerned, I think I should suffer less in my spirit, and feel more freedom, really, a pauper than dependent upon family friends who were not amply able to care for me, who did it from a sense of duty, feeling it a burden. Do not misunderstand me. I trust I have greatness and goodness enough to receive with grateful thanks the spontaneous gifts of those who, knowing my needs, gave me because they wanted to, gave to me to give me freedom to do as I pleased—such gifts I could receive without degradation, same as I would the bequests of one who was dead, only with more pleasure, because I could make them see how much good they had done me. But to be taken care of as one would care for an idiot, child or slave, how can one bear it? The sister with whom I board has some sympathy with my ideas. She would be glad to have me try everything that promised relief, and would aid me all she could; but she is as powerless as myself to do, and more impatient with my sickness. I can see how hard she thinks it is for her to bear, and how it saddens her life, and it is one of the hardest things I have to bear to feel how much trouble I give, and I so long to relieve her. I am writing you long and illy, more so than usual even. I had some writing that must be done, and these sheets have been scribbled in great pain and weariness, because I was impatient to send them to you. O, my friend, from these fragmentary sheets can you understand somewhat of this me and my surroundings? I think it would be hard for you to believe if I should tell you all the efforts I have made, and all the disappointments I have met in these sick days in my struggles for life; yet, in the darkest days, when I could see no light, I could never despair, something outside myself seemed to uphold me and assure me there was something in this life for me besides this slavery and sickness. When I found I could not accomplish much by my pen I formed another plan for self-help which I thought I could make a success, myself alone, and when I found with all my efforts I could not do it, the desolate misery which overwhelmed me for a time was terrible. And then your names in lines of light were kept before me, and I could but come to you. Now can you "put yourself in my place," and what would you do? Would you lay down in your chains or defiantly cry out for help? Is there any help? I have not laid before you my plan for self-help. I will soon, but am not able to write another line to-day, and will send these sheets along. I know they must tax your patience, they are written in much haste, and I cannot even look them over, but I must trust to your long-suffering charity.

Gratefully and truly,

MATILDA BALDWIN.

November 23.

My scribbled sheets failed of being posted yesterday, and I will add a few lines more. A magnetic physician in New York, a lady, heard a friend of mine speak of me. Returning from her visit to her home in Providence a short time since, she came to see me on her own responsibility. I found her a noble woman, with a heart for good doing. She said she was so sure I could soon be cured under good magnetic treatment, that if I could in any way come to New York she would do what she could for me with no hope of reward but that of seeing me relieved, and she knew she could call some of the best magnetic physicians of New York to her aid if she needed them. She said I needed rest of soul and body, and I ought to try and get better before making any other effort. I knew that, but how was I to do it? She encouraged me so much I thought I would see what I could do. I thought I might perhaps manage to go to Dr. Woods, 15 Laight street, where I could have good electric and hygienic treatment, baths, &c., with the magnetic besides. I thought I might possibly do something with my pen, as they publish the *Herald of Health* and other books and pamphlets, but thus far I have seen no way to do it. I have no family friends who would help me in anything of the kind, but I should meet terrible opposition from most of them. I think I have some friends who, if they knew I could get well, would aid me, but when I know I can get well I don't want any help. I can do for myself and a dozen others—it is in this day of helpless fear and doubt and desolation I want a hand held out to help. I must drop my pen. The rest some day.

M. B.

FRANK CLAY;

OR,

HUMAN NATURE IN A NUTSHELL.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

[CONTINUED.]

CANTO IX.

STORMY WEATHER.

CCCCXCV.

"That is man's duty. We have many teachers—
The Church, the public press and public speakers,
All proper mediums to disseminate
The truth to evil-doers, however great,
And bring them to a proper sense of shame;
In public life, or politics the same.
I doubt the wisdom and advisability
Of woman's taking such responsibility."

CCCCXCVI.

"So," answered Ella, "none are really fit
To cure the bad save those who practice it,
And woman, being so supremely good,
Must not reform the wicked if she could.
Man, having held the reins for years and failed,
Must be, according to your rule, impaled
In his own sins; have a monopoly
Of right and wrong. I doubt such policy."

CCCCXCVII.

"And I for one am not content to stand
And witness rampant vice on every hand
With unconcern. I feel a warm desire,
Nay, more, a bounden duty, to inspire
More love for rectitude and more morality,
And equal justice also for humanity.
Is such a feeling to me a disgrace
Beyond my sphere, or even out of place?"

CCCCXCVIII.

"Good Mr. Slade replied: 'A man should come,
As to a holy temple, to his home;
Should feel on entering he had left behind
All knowledge of the evil of mankind;
That innocence here reigned alone, supreme,
Nor knowledge of man's villainy come between
Him and this, what should be, his paradise,
Secluded from the very thought of vice.'"

CCCCXCIX.

"Were such rule good, it should, of course, include
The Church," said Ella, also it exclude
Within an atmosphere of innate purity,
Safe only in its unalloyed security.
Must then such purity remain inert,
While vice alone is suffered to exert
Its influence abroad—pray, pardon me,
With such a principle I disagree."

D.

"Since woman's influence is such a boon,
'Twere better to extend it just as soon
As possible, to scatter to the winds
The foibles, follies, passions, of men's minds;
Again, were men so good as to aspire
To such a holy home, they'd not require
Much reformation. Ha! your theory
Deals not with what exists, but what should be."

DI.

He said: "You take a superficial view,
Miss Ella; your ideas would quite undo
The fabric of society and subvert
Established laws; I think they would exert
A baneful influence upon society,
And weaken woman's fine sense of propriety.
For there are women who do not possess
The strength of mind which you so well express."

DII.

"I always wish," said Ella, "to be just;
I own I do not take one thought on trust.
That present laws would be upturned is true,
Since that is what I really wish to do,
In order to eradicate the wrong
Inflicted on the weakly by the strong.
I try to choose the most uprighteous side;
Let others, also, for themselves decide."

DIII.

The workmen all are grouped in threes and fours,
Gesticulating with a threatening mien,
And talking loudly what can be the cause
Of this unusual and exciting scene."

"He comes," cries one, and all eyes to the doors
Are turned, and now just entering is seen
Frank Clay, who glances round from side to side
And walks toward his vice with measured stride."

DIV.

The apprentices, with hammers in their hands,
Approach the straightening blocks and iron plates.
Frank finds his tool-box fastened up with bands
Of iron, and deliberately he takes
His hammer in his hand, and then he stands
And looks defiance. Now reverberates
The shouts of men and boys, and deafening clatter
Of ringing iron, as blocks and plates they batter."

DV.

Frank glanced around, assuming unconcern;
Yet there's a look of anger in his eyes
That tells too well the thoughts that in him burn,
As in disdain he hears their taunting cries.
He muttered: "Hounds, you have it yet to learn
That all your persecutions I despise,
But I will teach to you a lesson yet,
And one you will not easily forget."

DVI.

He folds his arms and faces to the crowd,
And then surveys the benches they had piled
With rubbish, as he said to one aloud:
"Your frowns and threats are wasted, I deride
Your spleen. Go tell your fellows I am proud
Of my success, and sweep them thus aside."
Then sweeps the piled-up rubbish from his benches,
And from the box the iron bands he wrenches."

DVII.

The man replied: "It serves you justly right,
For cutting down the prices. How are men
To live, if such as you, in spite
Of every warning, crush us down, and when
We warn you or advise you, you requite,
By doing still the self-same thing again.
I think it's time to punish and upbraid,
When such as you would upset all the trade."

DVIII.

"See here," said Frank, "I ask advice of none;
The work is put up for our competition.
I give my price the same as every one—
I take the work upon the same condition
As others, and my work is fairly done.
If I can use more skill or expedition
Than they, I claim it is my just reward,
And you have no right to oppose one word."

DIX.

"We have," said one, "for you keep others out
Of work by doing double what you ought to—
And so one-half of us might walk about;
Just see what want and poverty we're brought to.
If you will not desist at once without
Our making you, it is time you were taught to.
Just see what such as you would bring the trade to:
If you won't stop, I tell you you'll be made to."

DXI.

Frank answered: "I've a right to use my skill
And sell it to the best advantage, and
I give you final warning that I will;
Upon this basis I now take my stand,
And all your persecutions but instill
More energy to take my tools in hand,
And beat you by the force of mere proficiency;
Your clatter only tells your own deficiency."

DXII.

Here several others joined the argument—
One saying: "When you gave your tender in,
Why did you not ask how much time was spent
Upon such work, and why should you begin,
By cutting prices down to the last cent.
The fact is that you do not care a pin
What harm you do to us so that you gain
An extra shilling—that's why we cry shame."

DXIII.

Frank answered: "Certain work is given out
By contract, and I bid among the number
Competing, and were I to ask about
The time it took, you'd look at me in wonder,
And tell me if I cannot bid without
Your aid, I most assuredly am under
A great mistake if I suppose that you
Will give me information what to do."

DXIV.

"And as for cutting prices down, I made
An estimate of what required doing,
With not a thought about the men or trade,
Or yet the least idea that there was brewing
This row; but when I found it out I said
I won't be bullied, I will now go through, in
In defiance of their unjust opposition—
I've taken and will stand to this position."

DIV.

"I ask no favor; let the best man win;
Admitting not your right to e'en advise;
I'll treat you all with due respect, and in
Return you'll do the same to me, if wise.
I am astonished that you should begin
Intimidation, and my great surprise
Is only equalled by my firm intention
To still proceed, despite your intervention."

DXV.

The shop was spacious, with an even floor,
From end to end some seven hundred feet;
The eye could scan the whole from door to door,
And anything unusual would meet
One at a glance, and now is stretched before
One's vision the exciting scene complete—
The men and boys in knots are agitating,
Some speaking loud, vehemently debating."

DXVI.

The work-bell rings, the foremen pass along;
The men resume their work in silent ire;
The foremen having passed, some workmen throng
To those who spoke to Frank, what did transpire
To ascertain, and all those who belong
To the trade's union vow they will inspire
An opposition that he little dreams,
And crush him down by any, every, means."

DXVII.

Frank had some friends who liked his perseverance,
Although they did not dare to advocate
His cause, they deprecated interference,
And one said to his fellows: "If you take
This foolish course you'll give him the adherence
Of many others, and you will not make
A solitary point in any quarter,
But give him fame by making him a martyr."

DXVIII.

At dinner time the men sat round the fire,
Some arguing or chatting, others reading;
One spoke to Frank in banter to inquire
If he admired the workmen's morning greeting?

Frank answered: "I have no wish to acquire
Such prominence. Do you intend repeating
The compliment? For me, I don't object;
'Tis, after all, but what one might expect."

DXIX.

"You, Englishmen, are always so dependent
On one another, have no self-reliance;
Class clings close to itself; none independent,
Or dare to bid the custom a defiance.
The father's thoughts are those of his descendant—
Your every government is an appliance
That stratifies the people—every grade
Distinct as strata on the other laid."

DXX.

"Your thoughts run in a groove just like a wheel;
You ask no questions as to its propriety—
You take all as you find it—do not feel
That there is any virtue in variety;
And if one makes improvement, then you seal
Him to contempt and give him notoriety,
As worthy of all ridicule because
He dare ignore your antiquated laws."

DXXI.

"Just hear the Yankee," one said in retort—
"Like all the rest, brain-full of some new notion
Not worth a curse or single moment's thought.
Old England rules the world on land and ocean.
She can't be bullied, frightened, coaxed or bought;
Her liberty is due to her devotion
To well-established principles, which prove
That she has found and runs in the right groove."

DXXII.

Frank answered: "You may, no doubt, think them right,
For you were schooled from childhood to believe
In England and the English. I indict
Her differently and cannot conceive
That she is either great or good, despite
Such empty boasts. I really, truly, grieve
To see men bend their necks to base servility,
Mere servants to a haughty, rich nobility."

DXXIII.

"One-half pay taxes to support a sect,
Whose tenets of religion to their minds
Are quite fallacious; yet, should one object,
The strong arm of the law he quickly finds
Has for his principles but small respect.
Then come the penalties of various kinds—
And if the rated tax he does not meet,
His goods are sold and he is in the street."

DXXIV.

"Your public schools compel your youth to learn
The tenets of your State Church, so that they
Who do not wish that their offspring should yearn
For government religion stay away.
In short, no matter which way one may turn,
Exclusion is the order of the day;
But if you like such tyranny so be it—
The bit don't gall if you nor feel nor see it."

DXXV.

"Your reverend pastors simply have to buy
The right to preach the gospel, nor can you
Demur; his purchase has debarred you quite
From any action; all you have to do
Is pay to him his salary in spite
Of whether to his duties he is true.
The pious bargain legally is made;
So hold your tongue and keep your church rates paid."

DXXVI.

They made reply: "You vaunting Yankees boast
Of institutions, education, laws—
You merely have a mob rule at the most;
The truth is, you are envious because
Of England's greatness. If she has a host
Of enemies, all ready to pick flaws
In her, it is that they are merely jealous,
As their incessant carplings plainly tell us."

DXXVII.

Frank said: "I pick your history up and find
The Dukes of York, of Argyle, Earls de Grey,
Have ruled your country from time out of mind
Were rulers centuries back just as to day,
And that your law-makers have been confined
To thirty families. Have they held the sway
By birthright, title, wealth and by position,
Or was it from your ignoble condition?"

DXXVIII.

"Or is't that they monopolize ability,
And none but them are capable to frame
The laws? Does natural incapability
To all except of noble blood pertain?
Do all but they inherit a sterility?
Does lack of title mark a lack of brain?
No, they alone have ruled—will rule for years—
Because—because—because—are they not Peers?"

DXXIX.

The work-bell rang and slowly they dispersed.
Frank's words appeared to them as arrant treason.
The deepest prejudice, the very worst,
Is national pride, devoid of sense or reason.
Who has it most is merely most accursed;
For 'tis the weapon tyrants often seize on.
To lure men on as tools, that they may wield
The power gained upon the battle-field."

DXXX.

The native land I love is mother earth—
My nationality is all mankind.
It matters not what small spot gave me birth,
Or that, by force of arms, the kings have heaped
It out in parcels from its length to girth—
I can but picture it within my mind,
A heritage to all the human race—
A common land that nothing can efface."

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WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

THE HONESTY OF THE PRESS

AND

ITS MOST HONORABLE EDITORS.

We copy the following from the *Cleveland Leader* as a fine specimen of candor, honesty, and general truthfulness which characterize some of the immaculate men who conduct the partisan press of this country. There are people so devoid of principle as to not care whether they give circulation to truth or falsehood, or whether they make warrantable and legitimate deductions or baseless and vile insinuations regarding what may come in their way to notice. Now this honorable editor cannot give one circumstance to justify his assertions; and we defy him to do so. He makes wholesale accusations and statements of which he can have no means of knowing the truth.

Those who know Mrs. Woodhull as a "trance-physician in Cincinnati" and elsewhere; those who know her "brazen immodesty as a stock speculator in Wall street," and those who know the reasons for her "shameless effrontery in placing her name in nomination for the next Presidency" can justly and fully appreciate the vileness of the spring from which such vomit can come.

The truth regarding this man-fiend—for any person who will so wantonly depart from truth and justice is worthy to be so denominated—is, that he knows nothing whatever of Mrs. Woodhull, either of her past history or present movements. This is transparent upon the face of the entire article. If he knows anything he knows that Mrs. Woodhull never crawls after anybody or into any society. She has ever led an independent, fearless life, not one incident of which she is desirous of concealing. But when such infamous attempts are made to poison the public mind against a movement in which it has been Mrs. Woodhull's privilege and right to take an active part, by wantonly attacking an individual, we cannot refrain from spreading their vileness as widely as possible, knowing that it carries along with it its own condemnation.

The editor of the *Cleveland Leader* has been furnished with both sides of the case upon which he based his libel. Will he have the manhood to say so? He assumed an allegation which is proven false to be true, not because he even thought it might be so, but to vent his spleen against "the experiment of woman's suffrage," which, if "it must be tried, we much prefer England should have the honor of leading in the reform."

Mr. Editor, you are welcome to all the reputation you have made from your experiment of vilifying Mrs. Woodhull:

The unsavory piece of scandal telegraphed from New York in the press report of Saturday morning, could hardly have caused much surprise to any one who had paid any attention to the record of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull. Her career as a trance-physician in Cincinnati, her brazen immodesty as a stock speculator on Wall street and the open, shameless effrontery with which she has paraded her name in circus-bill types, at the head of her newspaper as candidate of the Cosmo-political party for the Presidency in 1872—all this has proclaimed her as a vain, immodest, unsexed woman, with whom respectable people should have as little to do as possible. The one unfortunate fact in the matter, the only one which will justify a public newspaper in alluding to the vile story at all, is that Mrs. Woodhull has for the last six months made herself a prominent figure in the woman suffrage movement. During the Washington Convention of the suffrage advocates, Mrs. Woodhull was extraordinarily zealous and forward, being an active worker on committees, and leading the valiant charge made by the delegates upon both houses of Congress. And now that she has gone to the bad, and her shameful life been exposed, it will follow that the enemies of female suffrage will point to her as a fair representation of the movement. We shall see newspapers, like the *Nation* for instance, trying to clinch their arguments against female suffrage by holding up Mrs.

Woodhull and the erring Claflin as representatives of what the "higher life" brings women to. But, false and unfair as such arguments will be, they will find many believers, and the women's cause will be a serious sufferer. In behalf of the thousands of pure, true women who are enlisted in that cause, it is but fair that it be distinctly explained that the sins of Mrs. Woodhull are not due to the suffrage movement. She is not a whit worse than she was before that movement was thought of. At Cincinnati, years ago, she was the same brazen, snaky adventuress that she now is. She belongs to the class of women of which Mrs. Laura Fair, the San Francisco murderess, is a type. She crawled into the society of virtuous women by pretending to share their enthusiasm for the enfranchisement of their sex, but she is no more a part of the woman suffrage party than the faro-dealer is a part of the business community. She is a suffrage advocate, simply because being so made her notorious and her paper profitable.

FINANCIAL SWINDLING.

BOGUS BANKERS AND BROKERS

IN COLLUSION WITH

BANK PRESIDENTS AND CASHIERS,

BRING RUIN UPON LEGITIMATE BUSINESS
IN NEW YORK.

Looking around through the city of New York, a stranger would become startled by the number of stores, offices and dwellings which bear the notice, "To Let," or "For Sale." Residents, in the last few years, have become familiar with these signs, some of them painfully so; for they have been taught the bitter lesson that the business which sustained and gave activity to the population is fast dwindling away, except that of the financial swindling, which is sustained mainly by some of the "Banks" of this city—not the "bogus bankers," whom we have from time to time exposed, for these latter sustain nothing but the constant effort to deceive, and in this become the instruments, with certain brokers, in the hands of the few incorporated banks, which have seized upon the opportunity given in these parties to fleece the deluded depositors, and will finally end in such ruin as that which followed similar, but less extensive transactions of this nature, in 1836.

The old principle of banking consisted in this: A certain amount of capital was paid in; directors of high character for business intelligence and integrity were chosen as guardians. A president and cashier of financial ability and irreproachable character were elected as managers. The paid-up capital, the worth and business capacity of the officers became a guarantee of safety to depositors, the deposits and paid-in capital were loaned within safe limits on promissory notes and bills of exchange of good merchants, and then trade had its stimulus of available capital, its sustaining power in the surplus of those not in business, but who, for safety, deposited in the banks. The average of these deposits constituted the safe limit in the amount of loans.

All this has changed. The honest merchant and trader no longer has any consideration. The yet more deserving mechanic and farmer are insulted if they even seek the slightest temporary loan.

Why is this?

It is because a set of adventurers, grown rich by fortunate speculations, have bought their way into boards of direction or offices of trust, to the exclusion of integrity and proper qualifications, and rule for iniquitous purposes the funds which might sustain a prosperous and legitimate trade to the city.

Brokers and bogus bankers make their bargains with these bank presidents and cashiers to overdraw their accounts, by dividing the anticipated commissions, and sums of four, six, eight, hundred thousand, and even millions of dollars, are thus risked upon a gambling stock transaction to a single party.

If, in case of a fall, the bank is strong enough to hold and loan more to create a rise, the depositors know nothing of it. If a loss occurs which robs the shareholders of dividends which an honest administration would have given, it is concealed as long as possible; when no longer so, rotten and worthless securities, of such a character as exploded railroad shares and bonds, are bought up at a cent on the dollar, and put into the books as representatives of value, which, in many cases, they never possessed.

There are at least two banks of reputed large capital now engaged in permitting large over-drafts daily; and one of them is represented to be so far extended at this time that a fall of five to ten per cent. on certain speculative stocks, would wipe out the capital and largely impair the deposits.

It is time for shareholders and depositors to look to their interests.

It is time for every one in a community which is sustained by trade to make an effort to restore integrity in financial institutions. We shall recur more pointedly to this at a future time.

LOST.—If anything be lost the family turns out to find it and, being found, there is joy in the house. A lost child is sought for till it is found. A lost dog is not beyond hope. Even a lost handkerchief is worth an advertisement and a reward. Who seeks, hopes, or advertises for a "lost woman?"

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS vs. THE RIGHTS
OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE TEST OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL.

THE APPLICATION TO SOCIAL ORDER.

No. III.

All persons arriving at the standard called maturity have equal right to the rights, privileges and benefits which exist in the community of which they form a part. To this there are no exceptions, unless such persons are idiotic or insane and incapable of rendering any service to the community. And all persons who once exercise the right and enjoy the privileges and benefits of communal association, are entitled to their continuous enjoyment, unless by their own action they forfeit them. And all forfeiture must be equally applied to all persons, without regard to any general or special distinctions.

Conversely it also follows that all persons who are to become the recipients of the advantages flowing from communal organization have the same and equal right to be prepared for their enjoyment, and to accept the responsibilities thereof, and to perform all the duties which may be required of them.

Our system of government is not only in fault in denying equal right to all persons arriving at mature age, but also in the care extended to such persons during the process by which they thus arrive. If mature persons are entitled to equal right in and protection from the community, how much more should immature persons be entitled to the same. A country whose government fails in such essentials as these does not deserve the name of republic; is not entitled to the respect or support of the people over whom it attempts to maintain control. There are certain individual rights, of which no government can dispossess the people. One of these is the right to rebel when their government no longer is the true exponent and representative of their ideas of governmental freedom, equality and justice.

Everybody knows that if the fundamental principles of our government were carried out in the Constitution and laws, that we should have a true republic. If all men are born free and equal, and entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, how can their government enact laws which interfere with these rights. Either the principles are wrong or the practice under them is wrong; for the people are not secure in that to which they are entitled. They enjoy life and liberty, unless they forfeit them, and both men and women forfeit them in the same and equal manner. But with the pursuit of happiness there are laws which interfere at every turn of the individual; and that, too, where the individual is still upon his own ground of right to choose.

But what classes of rights are specifically individual, and what communal? It would be considered exceedingly despotic should government attempt to legislate upon what the people should or should not eat and drink, or where they should live, or whether they should remain at one given place a certain defined time, or with whom they should associate generally, or with whom they should elect to enter into business, or that they should attend this church, or be prevented from going to that theatre, or whom they should permit to enter their homes and how long remain, or whether they should ride in this or that conveyance. In all these things, besides a thousand others, government attempts no control, because they are matters which every individual may determine for himself, without detriment to any other individual or any number of individuals.

But even here, if we analyzed carefully, there will be found effects extending beyond the individual. For no person can perform any act without to a greater or less extent affecting others thereby, if in no other way, than by example. Still the individual is not the community, and therefore in all these things where he can choose and obtain, without getting possession of anything which belongs to another, he may. And this right exists, not because man is a free agent, but because the very reverse is true. Man is but an effect of a variety of causes, over none of which he has control. If he chose certain directions, it is because his education—and we do not speak in the restricted view of youthful education, for education is life-long—has been such as to make them attractive to him. Neither are what is to be found in many in these directions, the result of his will. They are his to choose among, according to his specific desires, and to obtain, appropriate and use, if not already obtained and possessed by another. So far as an entire exclusiveness is concerned it is impossible of life, for,

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is and God the soul."

The rights of the community are not so much rights as they are duties. In the absence of any arrangement in the community we secure social order, each individual of it is a law unto himself, in so far as he is capable of maintaining it, but at the mercy and the caprice of all other individuals, who, like himself, are equally bent on securing their utmost desires. Now if in individual freedom the whole number of individuals unite to secure equality to themselves, the individuals surrender no rights to the community, but they invest the community with the power to perform certain duties which are set forth in the law of their combination. This is illustrated in the preamble to several of our State

constitutions as follows: "In order to secure the blessings of liberty, we, the people," etc. There are no rights surrendered, but they put the government in certain positions, and demand that it perform certain duties by virtue of such positions.

A government, erected by the will of all the people, is invested, not with the rights of the people, but with the power to prevent personal tyranny between individuals; or, as we unthinkingly denominate it, to secure equality. And this power extends to all the people who, of their own free will and consent, give adhesion to the government, and to none other. If a part of a people do not join in the erection of a government, or if a part of the people are prevented from participating in the erection of a government, they, according to the expressed principles of government, are in no wise bound to adhere to and respect that government. A just government cannot govern those who have not given their consent to be governed thereby, else the principles of government are wrong.

Government represents aggregates of individuals, and not necessarily all individuals. A dozen individuals may combine to accomplish certain objects. If they agree to work for those objects by certain methods, they band themselves by their own voluntary act so to do; but they cannot compel another single person to also bind himself against his volition to act with them, no matter how just and beneficent the objects sought may be. Neither can they pursue their objects if they interfere with what rightfully belongs to others, whom government must protect. It is the same with a just government. All persons who join in the construction of a government are bound thereby as part of the government. But no person can be compelled to give adhesion or support to a government which, according to its own declarations has no control over him. The government has the power, however, to protect its adherents from the attack or violence of such persons. Further than this it has no just power; and any assumed power which proceeds further, is tyrannical, is despotic, and cannot be called a just government or its dominion a true republic.

We are thus definite in this analysis, because the matters which are hereafter to be tried demand a perfect understanding of the relations which individuals bear, generally, to the whole aggregate of individuals and, specially, to each other.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

A NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

No. VI.

MONEY—FINANCE—EQUILIBRIUM.

Next in importance to a proper expression of the true principles of government in constitutions and laws, stands the financial system of a country. If a country have a true system of government and lack a corresponding financial system, it cannot attain to any great and permanent prosperity. At the same time it is quite improbable that a country should have a good government and a poor money system. With the correct understanding of the principles which should control in the community, there must necessarily be a like understanding of the principles which should regulate the changes of the products of the community.

If general principles are fully appreciated, it is found that they apply to all of the various departments into which the community resolves itself; and these general principles are for all things Freedom, Equality, and Justice. In freedom there should be equality regulated by justice. If the first exist lacking the others, anarchy is the legitimate result. If the first two exist lacking the third, there is constant irritation among the individuals constituting the community, arising from their selfishness, which prevents them from realizing the rule of compensation which distributes divine justice nevertheless. But if justice rules all the movements in the community, then entire harmony prevails, and such a condition would be perfect government, out of which would evolve that ultimate condition wherein people will be a law unto themselves, the necessity for control having passed.

In order to discuss the money question intelligently, it must be first determined what is involved in the inquiry. There is so much attached to all general questions which has no legitimate bearing upon them, that it is absolutely necessary to remove the rubbish and extraneous matter, since, if it is not done, the danger is imminent that the main question will be lost sight of in following lines which diverge from its common centre. Limited to the real question the inquiry becomes simple, and its deductions clear and well-defined.

But what is it that should be determined? What is the thing to be solved—the questions to be answered? If we inquire:

1st. What is money?
2d. What are its uses?
3d. Is gold money? The ground is covered, and all else which it is attempted to bring in only obscure the vision we seek to obtain.

Money is the road by which production and consumption are connected. In its concrete relations it is neither a cause nor an effect, but the means by which causes and effects

operate. It is, as it were, the rule governing interchange and exchange, or the methods by which exchanges are effected, or what is still more to the real point, it is the means by which exchanges are facilitated.

Money is either a means or an end. If a means, it can have no intrinsic value. If an end, it cannot be made a means. The real point is, either to use money to gain certain ends, or to so govern action as to obtain the most money is an end, in which case money becomes the real value, and all things else means to obtain it.

And here we reach the point where all the false ideas, practices and notions regarding money begin, because we know that money within itself has no value whatever. That has value which can sustain life or add to its comforts and happiness. Money can do neither of these, and it therefore as an end and it is of no consequence whatever to humanity.

A Rothschild may be cast upon a desolate, barren isle, having in his possession all his vast piles of gold, and it would not maintain his life. In a certain time he would die of starvation, exposure, or by freezing, because he could neither purchase food, obtain shelter from the weather or protection from the cold. With all his riches he could not prolong life one moment. On the contrary, if a person be cast upon a fertile island, without a single dollar, he can continue life by putting forth the necessary efforts to obtain sustenance. It is found, then, that when the test is applied to determine whether money has any intrinsic value, that it fails to meet the demands of life. In all the practices and experiences of life the true uses of money are entirely subverted and the whole natural action reversed.

Again, money is an invention, made to aid the exchange of those things which sustain life and contribute to happiness. It is an assistance to a process which could be performed without its aid, but not so well without it. Indeed nine-tenths of the exchanges of the world are effected without the use of money. Millions of dollars in value are exchanged between this and foreign countries, for which no delivery of money (gold) is ever made.

Gold is only useful to make good any deficiency that may be at any time in the exchanges of a country. In other words, when a country does not export enough of its own so-called products to pay for its imports, gold is used to make the balance good. In this way this country has exported about forty million dollars of gold per year for the last thirteen years, to say nothing of its obligations.

Now, is it not perfectly clear that we have not only produced what we have exported, and what is called merchandise, but that we have also produced the gold, and that on this score it has intrinsic value like all other kinds of produce? Gold cannot at one and the same time be both money and an article of merchandise. It must be either money or merchandise distinctively. If gold is money, so, also, is wheat, corn and cotton money, for it assumes the same purposes and possesses the same qualities as an article for barter.

Money is either value itself or the representative of value. It cannot be both value and representative. It was invented for and is made use of to effect exchanges of things which are valuable. Therefore it is not value itself, but the go-between, so to speak, between values; or, to speak practically, it is a representative of value. This must be firmly fixed in the mind before proceeding to draw the legitimate deductions.

Money must be resolved into its uses and entirely divested of all fictitious and irrelevant relations. The fact that money is made use of to exchange values must be the initial starting-point of which sight should never be lost until it is definitively settled what will best perform this service. Any way which can be made use of for any other purpose is not the best thing to be made use of for money; because the demand for it for such other purposes destroys its positive value, by causing fluctuations in its exchanging power.

Real money must possess the same purchasing power at all times—which gold never did have, has not now, nor never can have. In fact the real process in all operations with gold is directly reversed. The real purchasing power is that for which gold is given in exchange. Instead of ten dollars in gold purchasing a barrel of flour to-day, nine dollars doing the same to-morrow, and eleven dollars the same day after, the very reverse is the real truth. The barrel of flour purchases the gold in different quantities at different times; for it is the flour which possesses value; for it can be made use of for valuable purposes—to sustain life.

To illustrate this position: A barrel of flour or a pound of meat is valuable in proportion to the amount of life they will sustain. A barrel of flour can never fluctuate in real value. If it cost five dollars in gold to obtain it, it is just as valuable as if it cost twenty dollars. Thus it is seen that the value is not in the gold, but in the flour. So, also, it is with everything else. Everything is valuable in proportion to the amount of good it can render to humanity.

To further illustrate the folly of making use of gold as money, let it be tested to find if it is in any manner whatever a representative of values. If gold is real money—real value—it must represent all valuable things; that is, on one side of the question gold must stand representing everything else which stands upon the other side of the question, and must be equal thereto. Everybody knows the assertion that gold justly represents all values is untrue. If gold was one thousand times more valuable than the present standard it could not even then stand for all values, because it could not

represent all values. A dollar in gold can only represent a dollar of value in any other substance. And to say that all the gold in the world represents all the value in the world is so preposterous that a child even can see its absurdity.

The greatest financial mistake the world has ever made is in having attempted to compel gold to answer the purpose of money, which it never did and never can. All the practices under the gold standard have been positive and complete refutations of the value attached to gold. Gold long since ceased to be made use of to meet the common uses of money. Bank notes and other so-called representatives of gold have been resorted to, three dollars of which usually represent one dollar of gold coin. This very suggestive fact settles the whole question of making money of gold. The bank notes which we have used were in reality worth but thirty-three and one-third per cent. of their professed value.

A bank with a gold capital of one hundred thousand dollars issued three hundred thousand dollars in notes. Is it not perfectly clear if all the holders of such notes had applied to the bank for their redemption at one time, that but one-third of them could have been redeemed? Gold, then, is made use of as a direct means to swindle the people, by taking advantage of which a few persons obtain thrice legitimate interest upon their real capital for the very doubtful convenience they render the public.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MEANING OF THE RECENT WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTIONS.

The women's meetings at the anniversaries just held mark the end of one stadium of progress, and the commencement of another.

The demand for the suffrage merely has been treated as virtually settled in favor of the women's claims. The minority report in Congress on the Woodhull Memorial is accepted and claimed by both wings of the movement as the majority report of THE NATION, and as leaving nothing to be desired on that head but the acquisition of the habit with the community of seeing women at the polls. Some women have voted already under the amendments of the Constitution, and the case will now be suffered to go by default, doubtless, so far as any serious opposition to the cause of woman in that respect is concerned.

The real issue is already something other and different. It has been so pronounced consciously and unconsciously by these recent conventions. The Steinway Hall Convention—the Boston wing of the movement—felt called upon to hedge against the importation of meaning, just what many of the women sitting, then and there, on the platform, do really mean and intend, and what the logic of the whole movement really means—and resolved against free love—confessing surely, negatively, that that is now the issue, since the suffrage question is disposed of. The Apollo Hall Convention—the more enterprising and progressive, the more logical and consistent wing of the movement—planted itself, on the contrary, boldly and unhesitatingly upon the ground of absolute emancipation—"the right of private judgment in matters of conscience" ultimatum in morals. The resolutions offered by MRS. PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS, the president of the meeting, cover the whole ground, go the whole length, and are as conclusive on the subject as a demonstration of Euclid. They will bear continued study, as an epitomized ethical code, and will shine brighter and brighter the more they are rubbed.

The last was, as mournfully acknowledged by the New York Herald—that great stronghold and defence of religion and morality—the most audacious and revolutionary convention that has yet been held in the woman movement; and, let me add, the most dangerous to society, if society refuse to advance to the right comprehension and the acceptance of the new gospel. Freedom of the affections, social freedom—what the public have named free-love and slimed with the filth of their own prurient imaginations—does not mean licentiousness nor vice. It means order and virtue and harmony. It means the opportunity to do right by those who desire to do right; the opportunity to be pure by those who desire to be pure—instead of enforced pollution and crime. It means the opportunity to learn what is good and what is evil, and to inaugurate that which shall prove to be wisest and best. It means that science, by analysis, experiment and all other legitimate means, shall have free scope to run and be glorified in the domain of social relation, and the propagation of the same, as elsewhere.

This large and enthusiastic woman's meeting has, then, put the movement on a new basis. It has propounded three new, and startling, and pregnant propositions:

First—That it is no longer the suffrage question but the social question entire, and the complete social enfranchisement of the sexes, which are to be discussed and vindicated on this platform.

Second—That a new government, adapted to the wants of the whole world, but continuing for the present in America, has to be inaugurated, and may be requisite at a very early day, to complete the political revolution in behalf of woman's rights.

And Third—That from now, henceforth, the inquisitorial impertinence of an investigation into the personal characters of women who are able and willing to co-operate in the movement, an investigation to which men are not called

upon to submit, shall be completely and definitely set aside and ended.

This last proposition has the advantage over the other two, that it is self-executing. It was in the power of the women to do on the spot, as they did, nobly, by action as by resolve, what they desired to do—to effect at once the abolition of this remnant of barbarism. This simple act of the women of Apollo Hall is the highest moral achievement that woman has ever made. They have righteously and voluntarily resolved to work side by side and equally with their sisters from Fifth avenue and from Mercer street whenever and wherever good can be accomplished. For the first time the Christian women of this country and the infidel and atheist women who were already working with them have swept away all phariseism and dared to act as Christ acted. This one event is a social revolution. It is as grand an event in America as the abolition of the suttee (which required women to be burned with their dead husbands) was in India; and a greater event still in the fact that it was voluntarily executed by the women themselves, instead of being enforced upon them by a foreign law.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

In our last we exposed the hypocrisy of the government in its administration of the finances of the people. All those who have any share in the management of the revenues know that increased collections means increased taxation. They profess, however, to have lessened taxation. What they have done is to lessen the rates, but to collect on more substance. We have ever held and still hold, and all experience demonstrates the truth of our position, that decrease in rates produces increase of receipts. When the duty on corn in England was 16s. per quarter, the revenue derived therefrom was about three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling per annum. When the duty was reduced to 4s. per quarter the revenue derived therefrom increased to over six hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum. When our whisky tax was two dollars per gallon the revenue derived was many times less than when it was reduced to fifty cents per gallon. Now that the duties on certain articles are reduced, the same results are obtained—the amount of revenue collected, increases.

There are good reasons for this, which at first appears an absurd proposition. As price diminishes consumption increases, not only in individual cases but the number of consumers also increases; because the lesser price admits of purchase by individuals who under the higher price were debarred from purchasing; they being compelled to the use of other things which were equal in sustaining or protecting power, but not so acceptable.

In the Post Office Department there is an excellent exemplification of this paradoxical proposition. Whenever the rates of postage are decreased, the amount realized from it increases: First, because people write more letters; and second, because more people write.

There seems to be a beneficent rule in everything of this kind which contributes to the happiness and well being of the people; which rule should always induce governments to legislate so that the people may secure the very largest amount of comfort at the very smallest possible price. If penny postage were adopted during the present year, within five years the receipts from postage would be largely increased; that is to say, where the people now write one letter they would under a reduced postage write four. Under a tariff which increases the price of sugar ten cents per pound, the revenue from sugar would be materially decreased from what it would be were the price increased but five cents; for the simple reason that the people would consume so much less sugar.

This rule will hold good in everything to which it can apply. In every case it is the consuming millions who are deprived of the necessities and comforts of life that a few monopolies may become still more powerful, the theories of the author of "What I Know About Farming" to the contrary notwithstanding. This very wise person lately gave a very wise illustration of the operation of the tariff system for protection. He said that this system was like the levees which confine the Mississippi River to its channels in times of great rises. He said these were erected and maintained by the State at the expense of all the people, whether interested or not, and that government had the perfect right to use the credit of the people for that purpose; thus attempting to argue that government has the right to levy protective duties upon all citizens, which is the reality of a protective tariff.

But the sage and philosopher forgets a slight fact connected with these matters. He neglects to state that while the levees are sustained at the expense of the State, whose revenues are derived from direct taxation, that a very large portion of the people of such State pay nothing toward the fund which is thus used; while every person who consumes sugar, tea, coffee, salt, etc., whether he be a millionaire or the forest laborer, is equally taxed by his beautiful and equal system of protection.

In the fact that people who should not be called upon to contribute a single dollar to the support of the government, are compelled to pay their ten, twenty or fifty dollars per annum for that purpose, lies the insuperable objection to a tariff for any purpose whatever. All individual taxation should be levied and collected in proportion to their ability to pay; that is, in proportion to what they possess upon

which taxes should be collected and from which they derive income or increase of wealth.

It is nothing less than the most iniquitous thing that the laboring poor of this country should pay the larger proportion of the expenses of the government, and it is quite time that they be aroused to the fact that they are continually doing this. Nearly everything the workman or his family eats or wears pays a greater or less tax to the government. Still, many laborers continue to listen to the story of their oppressors and think free-trade means pauper labor.

If government want to protect certain industries, let them be paid a certain per cent. out of the Treasury, which should be replenished by taxes derived from those who are entitled to pay them, and thus discontinue the oppression of the poor, which is maintained in order that they may forever remain poor. This business is a gigantic swindle, got up by the interested to compel the laboring people to support the government, which is now entirely against their interests and in the interests of monopolies. All capitalists understand this matter, and of course are constitutionally opposed to free-trade. Manufacturers understand this business, and they, too, are opposed to any reduction in the tariff.

We have often stated, and now repeat, that all legislation which looks to encouraging, maintaining or protecting any special interest does so at the expense of the producing interests of the country. Perhaps there is a no more conclusive proof of this than is found in the Syracuse salt interest. There are about sixty millions bushels of salt consumed in the United States annually. On salt there is a duty of 108 per cent. So it comes out that the salt consumers pay annually to the government and to the home producers some fifteen millions dollars per annum merely to satisfy a single salt company located at a single place in the country. What justice or what sense is there in compelling every person in the country to pay such an increased price for salt, simply that a single company may be able to manufacture it? What is true of salt is true in a degree of every protected industry in the country. It is an indirect way to compel the great industrial interests of the country to maintain the government, and take the burden from the capitalists, who should maintain it. The results of the greatly increased cost of nearly everything which the vast agricultural interests of the country consume are, that it increases the cost of their own products to such a price that it is utterly impossible for them to compete with the grain-growing countries of Russia and Hungary in the manufacturing countries of Europe.

It is too late in the ages to attempt to compel unnatural and artificial productions. Everything which the people of the world require to sustain life and to minister to their comfort and pleasures should be derived from those localities where most can be produced at the least cost, returning to such localities their own products in which they excel in producing. This is the great financial and commercial question which this country must solve before it can enter upon its destined career of increasing glory as the representative country of the world, from which all will pattern or to which all will gravitate.

[From Universal History.]

THE LAND OF EDEN:

OR,

The Sunken Continent of Asia.

In No. 1 reference was made to the Continent of Eden, the description and locality of which are here submitted.

The Continent of Eden, which now forms part of the bed of the Pacific Ocean, was once a land of peace and plenty. But as our object is only to trace out and explain the moral and physical causes which have so gradually and steadily led to the introduction and continuance of that system of worship denominated "The Christian Religion," no reference will now be made to the former conditions of the continent, and nothing will here be said respecting the origin of its inhabitants, and only so much of its history examined as the attainment of our ultimate object requires.

The Continent of Eden, which was also called the Land of Gopher, was situated in the Pacific Ocean, principally between the parallels of 16 degrees south and 25 degrees north latitude, and 150 degrees east and 170 degrees west longitude from a point of observation established in England as a meridian from which to calculate the relative situation of places upon the surface of the earth. The form of the continent was biangular, the eastern extremity being a continuous line running north about 15 degrees east, while the western (reckoning from our point of observation) was broken by many sinuosities and terminated in a narrow, rocky peninsula, which was uninhabited by man, but served as a kind of caravansary for wild animals, to which they were confined by a continuous wall extending across the narrow neck of the peninsula which united it with the main continent.

No very minute description of the surface of the country will be attempted, neither shall we dwell long upon the merits or demerits of its inhabitants, our object being to disabuse the public mind in relation to a universal deluge and the consequences resulting therefrom.

It will, therefore, be enough to say that the face of the country presented an even, level surface, with here and there a deep, open fissure, which contained vast quantities of pyrites of various kinds, which were duly appreciated by the people and applied to the commonest uses of life. They had also acquired the art of compounding the various kinds of metals, and the amalgam known as brass was in common

use. Gold and precious stones were also found near the surface of the earth, and were sought after with the greatest avidity—so much so that at one time the country was in imminent danger of starvation from the excess of labor engaged in this pursuit. The highest elevation of the country did not exceed two or three hundred cubits, and in many places the surface was so low as to require the construction of ramparts to protect it against the encroachments of the ocean, by which it was surrounded. The climate was mild and salubrious, and the productions were such as are now found in similar latitudes.

The catastrophe that in a few hours extinguished the Continent of Eden is but a single example of the natural conflicts between the calorific and terraqueous elements, the preparation for which had been progressing for centuries, and the denouement was only the fulfillment of conditions which the action of universal laws rendered inevitable.

Therefore the apparent calamity must not be ascribed to the exaction of man, which had no more agency in the procuration of human respiration than in the formation of a tornado. The eventful period had arrived when the interior expansive forces of the earth could no longer be restrained, and a sudden elevation upon one portion of its surface was followed by a corresponding depression in another, and the Continent of Eden became the bed of the ocean, where it has remained in undisturbed tranquility until every vestige of its history has been erased from the memory of man.

Yet the limitless wisdom of God must not be arraigned, nor any attempt made to measure it by the limited comprehension of man. For unto the latter the foundering of a ship at sea, the destruction of a hamlet by inundation, or the conflagration of a city by volcanic eruptions are events which impress the material memory with painful sensations, and present to the visual organs scenes of imposing desolation. But unto the former the submersion of a continent, the extinguishment of a planet, or the gradual decay and disappearance of the whole solar system would be no surprise, as it would be no violation of the order of nature; for the apparent catastrophe would but exhibit the ceaseless changes to which all material organizations are subjected in the grand design.

When such events are contemplated by the limited comprehension of man, they appear like unavoidable casualties which must produce a chasm in the stupendous works of nature commensurate with their apparent magnitude, effecting the designs and intentions of the creator in the same proportion that human operations are deranged, and the peace and tranquility of the world is disturbed when limited portions of the earth are, by the apparent exigencies of chance, removed from human observation.

But to omnipresent observation, all the stellar constellations that have ever been reflected by the object-glass of the most powerful telescope would be of no apparent magnitude, as the chasm produced by their entire dissolution would be less, when viewed by the omniscient eye, than the space occupied by the smallest atom that could be distinguished in the focus of a triple-lens microscope would be, when that object was removed from the eye of the human observer.

But the catastrophe of Eden is not without its importance, neither are its consequences void of instruction to man. It teaches him a valuable lesson in futurity, and admonishes him to judge the incidents of the future by the events of the past, and no longer suffer his mental hallucinations to determine his convictions, but rather depend upon philosophical conclusions sustained by analytical deductions.

The harmony of nature was not disturbed by the event, neither has the material or spiritual elements suffered any diminution, as these conflicting agencies are but the more apparent manifestations of the idiosyncracies of the universal plan. Yet in the unfoldings of the grand design through nature's ceaseless operations, the reposing continent may again be denuded, and the lingering remnant of the race who once possessed it, may there be gathered together, when the recollections of the past may aid them in comprehending the events of the future, and a knowledge of the operations of nature prepare them for a better understanding of coming events.

[NOTE.—We are not altogether destitute of traditionary evidence that goes to sustain the existence and submersion of the continent of Eden; as the Island of Atlantis and the continent of Eden are identical.]

Solon, the Athenian law giver, visited Egypt about 600 years before the Christian era; and in a conversation held with some learned Thebans upon the antiquities of the more remote ages, was informed of a vast island or continent which lay contiguous to Eastern Asia that was broken up and submerged by an earthquake in the short space of thirty-six hours. Upon his return to Athens he related this to his countrymen who viewed it as authentic and conclusive; and for several generations the existence, locality and submersion of the continent of Eden was no fiction to the inhabitants of Greece and the surrounding islands.

The catastrophe was at length dramatized, and fiction assumed the empire of truth, wherein the Atlantis was substituted for Eden, and the locality changed to the Western Ocean. Fiction also represented the inhabitants as being warlike and brave—entering Europe and Africa and subduing all before them until they were met, defeated, and driven back by the Athenians.

PLATO UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

"Shortly after this," says Plato, "there was a tremendous

earthquake, and an overflowing of the sea, which continued for a day and a night, in the course of which the vast Island of Atlantis, with all its splendid cities and warlike nations, was swallowed up and sunk to the bottom—which spreading its waters over the chasm added a vast region to the Atlantic Ocean."

[NOTE.—The name and locality of the continent was changed long before the time of Plato.]

The unfinished poem of Plato, although replete with every device which his ingenuity or judgment would suggest to strengthen and embellish the relations of Solon, is in many respects inferior to the actual account given by that philosopher to his countrymen.

When the mind is led to contemplate and comprehend the source of this supposed fiction of Platos', it will be perceived that nobler and more sublime sentiments actuated him in his attempt to paraphrase history, than is found to occupy the mind of the sophist, or to stimulate to action the energies of the more subtle casuist.

A further account of what Solon rehearsed to his countrymen upon his return from Egypt, has been preserved by Euclid, and partially transmitted to us in a conversation which he is represented to have held with a Sythian philosopher.

After having alluded to the supposed formation of the Hellespont and the mythological labor of Hercules in separating Europe from Africa. He says: "Beyond the isthmus of which I have just spoken, according to ancient tradition, there was an island as large as Africa, which, with all its wretched inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake."

[NOTE 2.—In the rhapsodical denunciations of Assyria by the prophet Ezekiel, 31st chap., such reference is made to Eden as to justify the conclusion that the fate of that devoted continent lingered in the recollections of the age, and was regarded by Ezekiel as an illustration of the wrath of God which he predicted was to be poured out upon the surrounding nations. Verse 9 reads as follows: "I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches, so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God, envied him;" verse 16, "And I made the nations to quake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit; and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Solomon, all that drink water, shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth;" verse 18, ¶, "To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden? Yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden into the nether parts of the earth; thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised with them that be slain with the sword. This is Pharaoh and all his multitude saith the Lord God."

The idea that Hades was in the nether parts of the earth was undoubtedly borrowed from the Greeks.

NATHAN SAWYER.

Brooklyn, May 10.

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

ADAM NOT THE FIRST MAN.

THE VOICE OF ABEL.

"Though dead he yet speaketh."—HEB. xi., 4.

The subject of our first paper upon Scripturalisms was Adam's first son, Cain; his fears that society would yet avenge on him the murder of his brother; his career in the land of Nod, etc. But we propose now to give some attention to the voice of Abel; and to us he seems thus to speak: "I am not a 'Salathiel,' a 'Valmondi,' nor yet the 'Wandering Jew'; but, as a son of Paradise, continue to live a charmed life.

"It has long been believed that mine was the first death in the newly-made world, but this is a mistake, for even in that portion of your beautiful earth, wherein I met my forcible fate at the hands of a loved brother, the animals died long before; and it is quite natural, indeed, for all things thus to change. Natural also is it for man to adore something outside self, for man is essentially a religious being.

"But, murderer as his deed has forever branded my brother, still we each bowed down, doubtless with equal sincerity to the same great Father, who received with equal favor the oblation of each, as the media through which we expressed to him the gratitude of our spirit for joy and equal life.

"My brother, more handy than I, pursued, from choice, the work of husbandry. He was a tiller of the soil, while I was better pleased as the simple shepherd. At the appointed time, as we had been instructed by our parents, we appeared at the accustomed place, with the first fruits of our calling, to offer especial worship to the Giver of all life.

"My firstlings slain, their clean, pure blood ascending from the altar, imparted to the rose-scented atmosphere a peculiar aroma; and as I prostrated myself to the ground, even within sound of my brother's voice of thanksgiving, I fell into a deep trance-like swoon, and presently saw a great concourse of spiritual beings circling my brother. In advance of the greater number of darker ones, and within the space betwixt us, there were two light beautiful beings—the angels of science and art, I thought they were—strenuously engaged in shielding me from some impending evil. Con- tending with them were several scowling, dismal-looking

spirits, led on by one much larger and more fiercer than they.

"My two celestial guides now spread their hands and beckoned me away. The beauty of the angels attracted my attention, yet, though I felt unknown danger near, I continued to lie on my face, without the power or even will to move away.

"I remember a strangling sensation of suffocation, a struggling, and then a crushing shock, as of a mountain pressing my face deep into the earth, seemed to paralyze me a moment, and the next my body was stretched along the ground immovable and stiff.

"My brother, seemingly exhausted now with the struggle, was kneeling a short distance from me, his face toward me, but buried in his hands. Broken from the dark power that possessed him, he now saw the terrible work of a murderous, passionate spirit; and, relenting, groaned and sobbed aloud, as though his great heart was bursting. His howl of pain almost shook the earth; and the air where I then was was greatly agitated. His tears—the first he had known—came at length, and flowed like rain down over his face, which paled at last, and he sank exhausted with grief flat on the ground, as lay my murdered body.

"Yes, 'tis true, as one of your poets have said: 'Our passions, our thoughts, the essentials of our nature are the condition, the media, by which we attract or repel spirits of good and evil.'"

And who shall say that, joined to my receptive condition at the moment, the smell of the ascending blood of my lambs did not attract spirits of the olden time whose appetite and relish for blood when in the body slew the beast in his tracks, and feasted on the blood as it spurted warm and gushing from the dying brute?

Does "like attract like?" Ah, "blood for blood" is the law still, and, oh, our Father, where and when shall it cease?

Yes, this life being but the reflex of the spiritual, this great law of attraction and repulsion prevailing through all worlds becomes the universal arbiter of punishments and rewards, so-called, as we are attracted to some and from others repelled in this life. So will be our life and condition in the spiritual, and in this sense the orthodox couplet is very true:

"Wives and husbands there will part,
Will part to meet no more—"

Those who have been joined by the civil law simply, and not by the pure and only marriage law of spontaneous attraction, the wedding of

"Two souls with but a single thought,
Two hearts that beat as one."

But Abel continues:

"Soon as my brother Cain had recovered from the death-like swoon into which he had fallen at the strange sight of my lifeless body, he started up like one beside himself; but as he caught sight of our father and mother, bowed in an agony of sorrow near my corpse, he ran, and falling on his face at Adam's feet, placed with the most pungent humiliation, father's foot on his neck, as though he would have him crush him into the earth and from human sight forever.

"No anger throbbed in father's breast, but giving voice to a prolonged groan of intense anguish, he fell to the ground on his knees betwixt us, and, lifting his hands and eyes to heaven in painful prayer, eased thus his surcharged soul of some of its terrible burden.

"At length as our parent stood up on his feet, again and somewhat calmer, he turned toward mother a look of sorrowful affection. She drew near, and together they carried my inanimate body gently toward their grotto-home, just outside the gate of Paradise. My two sisters followed, weeping; Cain, also; to the gate, but, unwilling to enter, he passed sadly on to the eastward, and on through the wilderness down into the land of Nod. There he found a rising city, and to aid him to forget the past he fell to work at building, and, with his two sons, did much toward the city extension.

"Yes, you may rest well assured, your own records even being witnesses, ours was not the only family then inhabiting your vast and beautiful globe. If there were not other human beings living on the earth at the time, why should my brother be "marked" to protect him from human vengeance?

"Besides, men cultivate land for either a livelihood or for profit. They keep sheep for the same purpose, it has been reasoned before. But to follow these occupations as professions for the use of four persons seems quite barren of sufficient motive."

Allusion has been made to the renowned sons of "Ish," who were great giants, and not Adamites. But for further reference to races of men anterior to Adam, see chapter v. and verse 14 of Romans, also Job xxxviii., 7.

Besides, Lucifer, "Son of the Morning," as he is called, says another, was a pre-Adamite mortal and a great king, who reigned and suffered in battle a terrible defeat—celestialized by the dramatic Bunyan. "Satan also, was another great warrior and king," says Abel, "who lived long anterior to our time of entrance on the stage of earth's changing drama."

A first man, then, Adam may have been, or even the first of a new order, the first of his clan or tribe—"may his tribe increase." The first red man, doubtless, he was; but the first man that ever lived, Adam was not.

REICHNER.

OUR INDIAN TROUBLES.

THEIR CAUSES, COST AND CURE.

BY JOHN B. WOLFF.

No. IV.

The plundering of the Government is done in this wise: contractors from combinations put in numerous bids. Some of these are wholly irresponsible. The award is made to the lowest bidder, who fails to fill the contract or to give the security if the pay does not suit, and so they in turn slip out of the way, until the Quartermaster is compelled to accept such bid as suits them. Another trick is to buy up the market; another, to induce the Quartermaster to refuse broken or small contracts. And it frequently happens that somebody is paid before the contract is awarded. For the benefit of the tax-payers a sample may be adduced.

A has a large contract at 14 cents per lb., or \$7 84 per bushel, for corn. He is behind time; contract forfeited; goods in bad condition; corn growing; sacks green. The A. Q. M. refuses to receipt. The contractor is about to be ruined. Now comes M, who undertakes to remedy the difficulty. The A. Q. M. is labored with, the sacks are sheared like sheep, turned over, receipted for. A is saved. M clears \$10,000 for two days' work, and the conscience of the A. Q. M. is appeased.

The building and maintenance of military posts necessitates military roads through their country; these then furnish the conditions for emigrants and travelers, and offer a kind of bribe to push settlements into their territory. I say their territory, because it is theirs by every rule of law by which nations hold possession of territory—to wit: original, continued and undisputed possession, running beyond the statutes of civil society and the memory of man. The soldiers, emigrants and settlers, not only kill the game for food but often wantonly destroy it in large quantities. This was frequently done by the emigrants to California, Colorado Territory and other western points.

Now, all these things tend to make the Indians dissatisfied, restless and inclined to retaliate. Besides, they have preserved among them, by tradition, their past history, and know all about the manner in which we have become possessed of their lands, and the treatment they have since received. At these posts, stations and trading agencies, the Indian has no rights to be respected. He is a legitimate subject for all spoilers. Sometimes he is made drunk before he will yield to their offers. It is a well-known fact that men get immensely rich on very small salaries, and that the traders make from two hundred to one thousand per cent. on their transactions with these untutored savages. First, they are cheated in the original treaty; then they are cheated in the kind, quantity and quality of the goods, while many times, for years, there is a total failure on the part of the Government to fulfill its pledges.

And I make this broad assertion, that in no instance where the stipulations of a treaty were fairly made and clearly understood have the Indians been the first to violate the treaties. On the contrary, they endure the state of things just described with more patience and forbearance than any civilized nation. That the people of the United States may fully understand this part of the subject I will recite examples. A former governor of Colorado informed me that a treaty was made with the Utes, a mountain tribe, running seven years, by the terms of which they were to receive \$10,000 per annum in goods adapted to their needs. When the first installment arrived at Denver, it was chiefly composed of rice, an article Indians don't like; sugar of the lowest grade, and full of dirt, while the rice was in sacks, had been wet, was mouldy and unfit for food. When these goods reached the Middle Sark, the point of distribution, the freight alone had cost 37¢c. per lb.

This was bad enough. But the worst remains to be told. For years after not another dollar was paid. And yet all this time we were on their lands—building, farming, mining, hunting. Then when our Indian war commenced on the plains, these same people offered to Governor Hunt two hundred warriors to assist in protecting the settlements. A beautiful incident, worthy of preservation, occurred to General Pierce, surveyor of Colorado. On a former occasion he had bestowed some old blankets on an Indian. On his return from a trip south of Denver, in company with two other men, they found themselves surrounded by one hundred armed and mounted warriors, who, having their prey fully in their power, were anxious to lift their hair. But among the Indians was the recipient of the General's bounty, who persistently opposed the killing of the prisoners, and finally secured their release with the horses and wagon, minus saddles and blankets. I could go on multiplying facts until the reader would weary, and shall conclude this number by a general statement. From the year 1859 until the year 1864, the California and Colorado emigration traveled through the Indian country singly and by hundreds with perfect safety to man and beast. The worst thing the Indians did was to beg from us such things as we were willing to spare, while they were always willing to trade and pay when they had the peltries. For one pint or pound of sugar we got a well-dressed antelope skin, which would be worth in the States from one to two dollars, and all other things in like proportion. The pound of sugar was estimated at twenty-five cents.

THE LAND QUESTION.

No. IV.

In my last article I did not feel fully authorized to cite Mr. John Stuart Mill in support of the programme of the English Land Tenure Reformers, except as his sanction might be inferred from his presidency of their association. Happily, I am now able to quote him explicitly.

The London *Daily Telegraph*, of April 8, contains a statement explanatory of the programme of the Association, prepared by Mr. Mill himself. I trust you may some time find space for the entire document, which, although relating to land reform in Great Britain, is full of suggestion for ourselves. For the present, I must confine myself to quoting from that portion of the statement which bears upon the proposition to "intercept, by taxation, the unearned increase in the value of land."

Mr. Mill says (I now quote from the *Telegraph*): "That there are some things which, if allowed to be articles of commerce at all, cannot be prevented from being monopolized articles. On all such the State has an acknowledged right to limit the profits. Railways, for instance, are inevitably a monopoly, and the State accordingly sets a legal limit to the amount of railway fares. Now, land is one of these natural monopolies. The demand for it in every prosperous country is constantly rising, while the land itself is susceptible of but little increase. All such articles, where indispensable to human existence, tend irresistibly to rise in price with the progress of wealth and population. The rise of the value of land and of the incomes of landowners during the present century has been enormous. Part of it, undoubtedly, has been due to agricultural improvements and the expenditure of capital on the soil. Much of it, however, is merely the result of the increased demand for agricultural products and for building land, and would have taken place even though no money had been laid out in increasing the productive powers of the soil. In allowing the land to become private property, the State ought to have reserved to itself this accession of income; and lapse of time does not extinguish this right, whatever claim to compensation it may establish in favor of the landowners. The land is the original inheritance of all mankind. The usual, and by far the best argument for its appropriation by individuals is, that private ownership gives the strongest motive for making the soil yield the greatest possible produce. The society do not propose to disturb the landowners in their past acquisitions. But they assert the right of the State to all such accessions of income in the future. * * *

"Mr. Mill admits that objections have been made to the taxation of a prospective increase of rent* on the ground of difficulties of execution; but those difficulties, fairly encountered, would not, it is conceived, be very serious. It is not necessary to enforce the right of the State to the utmost farthing. A large margin should be allowed for possible miscalculation. A valuation of all the land in the country would be made in the first instance, and a registration established of subsequent improvements made by the landlord. Taxation would not commence until there had been time for an increase of value to accrue, and should then be kept carefully within the amount of increase due to general causes.† If a landowner would prove that, owing to special circumstances, his estate had not shared in the general rise of value, he would be exempt from the tax; and, at all events, if the just limit was exceeded, the power of surrendering the land to the State at its original valuation, augmented by a just compensation for subsequent improvements, would be a sufficient protection to the pecuniary interests of the landlords."

Such is Mr. Mill's explanation of the aim of the association over which he presides, as expressed in the proposition already quoted.

In order to form some idea of the amount of wealth which the proposed plan would divert from individual to public benefit, let us examine a few figures (derived chiefly from Parliamentary papers, which may be found in the Congressional Library,) tending to indicate the extent of "the unearned increase in the value of land" which has taken place in England and Wales alone during the present century. The annual (or rental) value of property assessed to property and income tax under "Schedule A"‡ for the year 1814-15, was £53,495,375; for 1864-65 it was £131,341,499—an increase of £77,846,124, or over 145 per cent. According to some figures just presented to Parliament in a report by Mr. Goschen, late President of the Poor Law Board, in relation to the ratio subsisting between the value of houses, lands and other

* The *Telegraph* has probably not preserved the exact language of Mr. Mill. The thing proposed is hardly "the taxation of a prospective increase of rent," but the taxation of an actual increase of value; and according to the principle in question, that taxation would be equal in amount to the entire increase of rent resulting from the unearned increase of value. Thus, if a place which had yielded £1,000 a year rent, should double in value, "without effort or expenditure on the part of the proprietor," and should then yield £2,000 a year rent, the entire amount of the second £1,000 would be payable to the State as a tax on the land. So it would be with any further "unearned increase" which at any succeeding valuation might be found to have accrued.

† It is important to note that all causes independent of "effort or expenditure on the part of the proprietor," would be comprehended under the principle, though some of them might in a certain sense seem to be special. The increase arising from such causes would often be a proper object of local rather than national taxation.

‡ Previous to 1867 Schedule A comprised lands, tenements, tithes, manors, fines, quarries, mines, iron-works, fisheries, canals, railways, gas-works, water-works, tolls, etc.

property embraced in this schedule at different dates, the value (rental) of houses and lands alone for 1814-15 may be set down at about £51,890,513, and for 1864-65 at £105,073,199, showing an increase of £53,182,686, or more than 100 per cent. Capitalizing this increase at five per cent. we should get a cash value of £1,063,653,720, or about \$5,318,268,600.

It must not be supposed that these figures show the total value of all houses and land in the nation at the given dates, but simply those subject to assessment. In 1861-62, for example, the assessed annual value of houses was £27,468,225, and the estimated annual value of houses not subject to assessment £30,544,956. Another important defect in the assessed values is that they do not afford us the data for separating the value of houses from that of the land on which they stand, although in the large cities the latter is often the greater of the two.

But there is another method by which we may approximately estimate the increase of value which has taken place. The population of England and Wales in 1801 was 8,892,536 and in 1861 it was 20,066,224, excluding in both cases the army, navy and merchant marine. Of the increase, which exceeds 11,000,000, by far the greater part occurred in the cities and towns, many of which may almost be said to have had their birth since the first of the two dates mentioned. It is this wonderful growth of the urban population in connection with which the great increase in the value of land has been most strikingly exhibited.

In 1861 there were in England and Wales 781 towns and cities having an aggregate population of 10,960,998, or some two millions more than the entire population of country and towns together in 1801. I have not been able to ascertain the exact population of these towns at the beginning of the century; but it is entirely safe to say that its increase between 1801 and 1861 was considerably more than seven millions. The seventy-two largest towns alone—those having over 20,000 inhabitants in 1861—increased from 2,221,753 to 7,767,622, an addition of 5,445,869, during the same period. For convenience in reckoning, suppose we call this addition to the population of the large towns 5,000,000, and then endeavor to estimate roughly the amount of land which must have been added to their area in order to make room for this increase. In the most densely crowded district of London the number of square feet to each person in 1851 was about 215. At the same rate the amount required for 5,000,000 people would be 1,075,000,000 square feet. But what would be the value of such an area so densely peopled? About a year ago I noted in the London *Times* an item regarding the lease of two choice lots in the city at upward of one pound sterling per annum the square foot. Taking the annual rent at 5 per cent. of the cash value—a rate which is probably high enough to allow for land, though it may not be for houses—these lots could not have been purchased for less than £20, or about \$100 the square foot. This is undoubtedly a somewhat extreme case. But suppose we assume that the value of land in the most compactly built city districts of England and Wales will average one-twentieth of this rate, or \$5 the square foot. The area under consideration would even then amount to \$5,375,000,000.

This calculation is, however, based upon the extreme density of population in the Central District of London, whereas the average density within the municipal limits of the 72 cities and towns under consideration is stated at 14 613-1000 persons to the acre, or about one person to every 2,981 square feet. At this rate the area actually required to accommodate 5,000,000 people is nearly fourteen times as large as that already found at 14,905,000,000 square feet—a quantity, which at the low average of 36 cents a square foot, plus a very small fraction, would be worth the amount above mentioned, viz.: \$5,375,000,000.

Those who are at all familiar with real estate transactions in populous towns and cities will know that 36 cents a square foot is a price not likely to be found except toward the outskirts of such places, and will not consider it an extravagant estimate for the general average. Suppose, then, we allow one-fourth of the area above stated for streets, squares, etc., and only apply this estimate to the remaining three-fourths; we shall still have an aggregate value equal to three-fourths of the sum given above, or \$4,031,250,000.

Now, how much of this enormous amount is due to an "unearned increase in the value of land?" One cent a square foot is \$435 60 an acre, at which liberal rate the agricultural value of the 14,905,000,000 square feet occupied by the 5,000,000 people added to the city population of England and Wales between 1801 and 1861 would only have been \$149,050,000. Subtracting this from the \$4,031,250,000 already found, there remains \$3,882,200,000, or an amount about equal to the British national debt, as the clear profit accruing to the land-owning class from the conversion of country fields into city lots solely in consequence of the increase of population in the 72 largest towns alone.

It may be objected that it is not country but suburban land which has usually been thus converted. This objection is without practical force, however, for as the cities have encroached upon their suburbs the latter have encroached in a still greater degree upon the adjacent rural districts. It follows that there is, at least, quite as much suburban land as there ever was, and that it is the quantity of agricultural land which has been diminished, as the areas of the cities have increased. If, then, there were 14,905,000,000 square feet more city land, and 14,905,000,000 square feet less agricultural land in 1861 than there were in 1801, it is quite correct

to say that this much land had advanced from agricultural to city prices during the intervening sixty years. It is equally clear that the enormous profit resulting from this advance was realized entirely by persons belonging to the very small land-owning class, and it does not concern our present inquiry whether it was divided between suburban and rural owners or reaped by the latter alone. The essential point is that the masses of the people had no share in it, and that the increased rents which this increase of value implies have been and still are a tax upon the products of their industry.

Had the principle embodied in the programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association been adopted at the beginning of the century, this enormous tax, which must amount to some £40,000,000 a year, would have been turned into the Exchequer, and diminished to that extent the fiscal burdens of the nation instead of being applied, as it now is, to the support of a privileged class, while the people starve.

It must be kept in mind that we have thus far considered only the unearned increase of value resulting from the addition of five million inhabitants to the population of the larger cities and towns. But the total increase of population was upward of eleven millions, and though the enhancement of value in the smaller towns and rural districts in consequence of the additions which they have received has been less marked than in the cities, it is probably only because the effect has been distributed over so much wider an area. It is very likely that the aggregate increase of value per capita of the added population has been about as great in the one case as in the other; and if this be so the figures above given (\$3,882,200,000) express less than half of the total "unearned increase in the value of land" which occurred in England and Wales between 1801 and 1861.

Moreover, the same process is still going on, even in densely-peopled England, so that the measure proposed by the Land Tenure Reform, late as it comes, is not too late to be useful. It would have been far better, however, to have locked the stable door before the best horses were all stolen; and with this manifest truth in view we shall be prepared to inquire how the principle in question would apply to our own country in its present circumstances.

E. T. PETERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1871.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

No. I.

Labor and Capital is a branch of the great Social Problem which the immediate future will be called to solve. All things which relate to order and progress among the people belong to this Problem. Though at the present time almost every division and sub-division is the subject of a distinctive reform movement, it should be the first duty of the true reformer, who can comprehend that all these various reforms should be united in one grand reform, to organize a movement so broadly based in general principles as to admit them all. The principles of reform are the same in all cases. They are to bring about a wider freedom, more perfect equality and exact justice among the general people. And every movement should be tested by these principles.

In proceeding to a complete analysis of all there is to be accomplished, it may be well to say that there are really three great questions involved in the Social Problem, which must be answered in the following order, to wit: Political Right, Social Order and Moral Responsibility. The first attained, the second will be organized and the third naturally follow. While the first is not attained the second is impossible and the third preposterous.

Humanity is a body of interdependent persons, every one of whom sustains certain dependent relations to the aggregate, and is entitled to certain protection from the aggregate. The interests and rights of each individual are, therefore, merged in a community of interest and right, which it is the duty of the government to maintain and protect, so that the community of interest can by no possibility be made subservient to individual interests, or to the interests of any number of individuals less than the whole.

If this is a position which is sustained by reason and principle, it follows that my first postulate, that social order cannot exist unless political right is equally possessed by all persons among whom order is sought to be maintained, is true; for if a government is organized to maintain order in which but a portion of the community participate, or, what is worse still, in which a portion are denied participation, a departure is made from the principle of equality which will prove fatal to harmony.

So long as there are inequalities existent among the members of a community first made possible and afterward maintained by law, so long there will be inharmonies in the community. This is a self-evident proposition. And so long as there are inharmonies in the community there can be no equality of moral responsibility, because the inharmony arising from an equal distribution and exercise of rights, to which all are equally entitled, places those who are below equality at the mercy of those who have usurped this distinction, and who are thus placed above equality. In such conditions equal moral responsibility is not justice, and hence our second postulate is maintained.

There are five millions of women in the United States who desire suffrage. Let every one of them sign the necessary petition, to be found on page 8, and mail to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Secretary National Woman's Suffrage Association, Washington, D. C.

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Subscriptions to convertible bonds.....600,000
Mortgage bonds, \$20,000 per mile, on 345 miles.....6,900,000
Total.....\$14,000,000
Equal to \$40,000 per mile.

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

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New York, Dec. 2, 1870.

Messrs. GEORGE OPDYKE & Co., New York:

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

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

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

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

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

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

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

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7:30 A. M.—For Easton.

12 M.—For Flemington, Easton, Allentown, Mauch
Chunk, Wilkesbarre, Reading, Columbia, Lancaster,
Ephrata, Litiz, Pottsville, Scranton, Harrisburg, etc.

2 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, etc.

3:30 P. M.—For Easton, Allentown, Mauch Chunk,
and Belvidere.

4:30 P. M.—For Somerville and Flemington.

5:15 P. M.—For Somerville.

6 P. M.—For Easton.

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7:45 P. M.—For Easton.

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ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

The theatres are at a comparatively low ebb of popular favor. It is not expected from managers and purveyors of public amusements that they will display a spirit of superhuman self-sacrifice. If the public demand the bad and reject the good, those who live to please must please to live, and must furnish the goods in demand. But the stuff just now offered for the public approval does not hit with the public fancy. It is not worse than plenty of other stuff. It is put on the stage with all scenic art and appliance, but the public is a capricious master and will not when it will not. There is "Kit" now, with its incidents of Southwestern life, its steamboat landings, its gamblers and adventurers, bowie knives and revolvers, plots against simplicity, and daring rescue, and above all with Chanfrau to do the hero, and yet it won't go. The public have had enough of octoroon and across-the-continent business. There is nothing new, and the old is not so dressed up as to make it attractive.

"Randall's Thumb," at Wallack's, and "Rank," at Lina Edwin's, are stories of English life; "Rank" being by far the better of the two. The scenery in "Rank," something wonderful, considering the size and resources of the little theatre. Lina Edwin herself plays *Doe Maynard*, an unsophisticated young female, transformed from a working-girl into a great lady. George Clark does a *Village Carpenter*, the brother of the girl, whose country dialect and quaint manners furnish matter for mirth, while his common sense and brotherly love protect his sister against misfortunes incident to her change of rank. The plot is far from improbable, not even without interest. The funny business predominates, and two English noblemen of the Lord Verisopht school help to heighten the burlesque of society. Why it should have been expedient to break this butterfly on the wheel, as some of the big dailies have done, passes comprehension. George Clarke's brogue, as if imitation brogues were ever perfect or the precise local twang were of any signification, the absurdities of the English lords, as if exaggeration were not of the very essence of farcical character, were made subjects for heavy slashing. Critics, however, are but men. The east wind and a bad digestion, with other causes more or less disturbing, will affect criticism. For our part we thought the English lords no worse than fine gentlemen usually are on the stage, while George Clark did a part quite new to him, very effectively, and was especially natural in his half-repentant, half-humorous, drunken scene.

The Fifth Avenue, with Charles Matthews, is justly the point of attraction for those who do not remember the first of light comedians in the zenith of his powers. The irresistible buoyancy, the torrent-like flow of words, the ceaseless elasticity and vivacity, if not quite the same that they once were, are, perhaps, even more admirable as a work of art, when the veteran actor's age and long service in the public cause be taken into the account.

At Booth's, "The Winter's Tale" is told to admiring audiences. Ada Clifton scarcely rises to the classic stature of *Hermione*. But the vast proportions of Shakespearean drama cannot be dwarfed even by mediocrity in the actor; they are still impressive and majestic. Lawrence Barrett plays *Leontes* with his usual ability, and the declamatory style appropriate to the antique setting of the character gives room for the display of his fine voice. Miss Pateman plays the sweet, though weak character of *Perdita* satisfactorily; and Mark Smith does the jovial rogue *Autolycus* with a rich, rollicking humor that makes his rascality more acceptable than the respectably virtuous parts in which the actor has been usually cast. The scenery and stage appointments cannot be praised too highly. They are superb. The breadth of treatment and the grand style are most instructive lessons of art, conveying to us the very fashion and manner of the ancient life. The king's chamber, with the tapestries and fine columns, seems to us even preferable to the amphitheatre, which has won so much praise, although the darkness and the storm, with the anger of the immortal gods, makes almost an awful spectacle. The "Winter's Tale" is never a satisfactory play. The unrealities and incongruities are so marked that they defy belief. The anachronism of flower-bedded shepherds and shepherdesses interjected into a classic epos is too violently impossible. The very story of *Hermione* herself, her eighteen years standstill in form and feature, is an unreasonable fact—even the wave of Shakespeare's mighty wand cannot compel our faith.

The Grand Opera House continues its attractions with Aimee as the grand centre. This fine artist is altogether beyond the ordinary range of burlesque. Her powers partake more of refined satire than of broad caricature. Less appreciable, perhaps, on that account by the many, but more enjoyable by the few. Mr. Fisk's grand concert is well enough, but his hundred will scarcely compete with the thirty-five of

Theodore Thomas, who resumes operations, to the delight of all true lovers of music, at the Central Park Gardens.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.—THE WOMAN ARTISTS.—There are forty-five lady exhibitors by the catalogue. Among their productions there are very few worthy of passing notice. The pictures are not worthy the name, not even fit to be classed as studies. This ought not to be. There is no reason whatever why women should not attain proficiency, even eminence, in art, particularly in certain classes of art. The claim of equal political and social rights does not in the least involve the assumption of equal intellectual or physical powers, although interested disputants have chosen to make this stand-point. Those most interested in the welfare and advancement of women, socially and intellectually, cannot too earnestly insist on the necessity of her work for self-advancement as a principle of life. It may be very well to talk about the independence of the sexes, and of man's duty and willingness to support woman.

This is mere talk. There is a numerical excess of women. The British census shows 800,000 more females than males in the United Kingdom. What is to be done with that excess? They must be self-supporting. Woman, in the existing form of society has, to a great extent, to provide for her own wants, and for the wants of those with whom she is a social dependence. Every one knows this truth: but society shuts its eyes and pretends ignorance—because the truth overturns cherished sophisms. In the new dispensation woman will be known and recognized as a worker, and will come with power. Women will have to study faithfully to prepare herself for her place among the leaders. There is no reason why she should not take that place now in art. But it requires persistent energy; the pre-requisite of excellence is earnest will to succeed.

Among the lady pictures in the Exhibition we would particularize No. 56 (Corridor), by M. Josephine Walters, a forest piece, moss-grown wells, cascade and rugged pines—a strong vigorous piece of treatment, worthy a pupil of Durand. No. 88, Mrs. T. M. Wheeler, a bouquet of flowers in a small vase—the coloring is rich and effective. Nos. 99 and 100 have already been noticed. No. 107, Miss Sarah Gray, is a nicely finished crayon head. No. 117, Miss L. C. Church, is bold and vigorous. No. 126, a series of small pictures in one frame, Reminiscences of Conway Allison, G. Slade, contains some nice work. No. 143, "A Child," H. A. Loop, is promising, and, if not good, is better than many others. No. 162, an exvoto of flowers, Mrs. James M. Hart, has abundance of color, but wants depth and transparency. No. 329, Conway Arches, Julia H. Beers, may be called a picture, though the background is careless and unfinished. No. 337, "In the Catskills," G. W. Barstow, though stiff and hard, bears evidence of talent. No. 342, "Still Life," Mrs. Hotchkiss a *genre* picture, in which a woman ought to do as well as men, is, by no means, without merit. The pearls and jewel-case are pretty good—the little flower-glass and bouquet nicely done—the pillar and the drapery hard, and without tone or gradation. No. 341, Mary Kollock, quite a nice picture, and bearing no unfavorable comparison with the Kensett near it. The atmosphere, that severe test of art, is commendable. Nos. 363 and 378, F. Elliot marine views, are strong and promising. No. 378 particularly so. No. 375, Mr. L. B. Culver, is a nice bit. In the antique school prizes were awarded.

LET IT PASS.

Let former grudges pass.—SHAKESPEARE.

Be not swift to take offense:

Let it pass!

Anger is a foe to sense:

Let it pass!

Brood not darkly o'er a wrong

Which will disappear ere long;

Rather sing this cheery song—

Let it pass, let it pass!

Strife surrounds the purest mind;

Let it pass!

As the unregarded wind,

Let it pass!

Any vulgar souls that live,

May condemn without reprieve;

'Tis the noble who forgive,

Let it pass, let it pass!

Echo not an angry word:

Let it pass!

Think how often you have erred;

Let it pass!

Since our joys must pass away,

Like the dew-drops on the spray;

Wherefore should our sorrows stay?

Let it pass, let it pass!

If for good you've taken ill,

Let it pass!

Do not with scorn your measure fill,

Let it pass!

Time at last makes all things straight;

Let us not resent, but wait,

And our triumph shall be great;

Let it pass, let it pass!

Bid your anger to depart;

Let it pass!

Lay those homely words to heart,

Let it pass!

Follow not the giddy throng,

Better to be wronged than wrong;

Therefore, sing the cheery song—

Let it pass, let it pass!

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

Parental opinion is divided as to the best method of disposing of little children. There are those who think that letting them play with loaded guns is the most effectual, though sliding them down stair-banisters in a six-story hotel has its advocates; in fact, three instances have been reported within a few days, in various parts of the country, where, this latter method worked with complete success.

WOMAN ITEMS.

FRANKIE REVENGE.—When a lady of sunny Spain has become jealous of her sweetheart, she produces a very sharp knife from the garter where she usually keeps it, and stabs the faithless one on the spot. The outraged Italian beauty does not inflict the stab, but she lures her big brother, or hires a ruffian from the neighboring street corner, to waylay the individual on his way home from the cafe, and smite him under the fifth rib. The German girl, under similar circumstances, sniffs her nose and blows her eyes out. The lively and impulsive Frenchwoman either scratches the verdigris one's face, shuts herself up in the garret with a pan of charcoal, and "asphyxiates" herself, or yet farther—she gives the person of whom she is jealous the very amplest reason to be jealous of her. The Yankee girl is wont to satisfy the green-eyed monster in a summary manner. She either cowhides the offending party, or produces a revolver and shoots him "at sight." The practice of the lower classes of English females when they are jealous differs from every one of the processes mentioned. Alone among their sisters in civilized nations they throw vitrol, and unhappily this seems to be growing in frequency every season. It should be, moreover, a source of bitter shame to those who are so fond of deploring the use of "the knife" amongst foreigners, that this atrocious crime should be almost exclusively confined to the women of Great Britain.

Fashion kills more women than toil or sorrow. Obedience to fashion is a transgression of the laws of woman's nature—a greater injury to physical and mental constitution than the hardships of poverty and neglect. The slave woman at task will live and grow old, and see two or three generations of her mistress's pass away. The washerwoman, with scarcely a ray of hope to cheer her in her toils, will live to see her fashionable sisters extinct. The kitchen-maid is healthy and strong, when her lady has to be nursed like a sick baby. It is a sad truth that fashion pampered women are most worthless for all good ends in life. They have but little force of character; they have still less power of moral will and quite as little physical energy. They live for no great purpose; they accomplish no great ends. They are dolls formed in the hands of the milliners and servants, to be fed to order. If they become mothers, servants and nurses rear their children; and when reared, what are they? What do they ever amount to but weaker scions of the old stock? Who ever heard of a fashionable woman's child exhibiting any virtue or power of mind for which it became eminent? Read the biographies of our great and good men and women. Not one of them had a fashionable mother.—*Western Recorder.*

Miss Gilbert has visited many of the Eastern jails to learn from the different systems in vogue, in different States, what improvements she could suggest, in the great and philanthropic work she has undertaken at home. She finds that many of them are far in advance of us in theory and in practice. In the course of her work she has had many times to endure the gibes and sneers and arrows which "patient merit of the unworthy" gets when its energies are directed against evils which the world has either sanctioned or acquiesced in, until it is almost regarded as a breach of the peace of society to speak against them. But every opposition has served but to strengthen her in the determination to press on in the work which in her heart she feels God has marked out for her.

Biddies are no doubt very aggravating at times. It is not pleasant to have the silver scoured with sand and the piano dusted with a dish cloth, nor to have the cook and waiters "give notice" on the eve of a party. But neither is it pleasant to be an underling; to be "instant in season and out of season;" to be obsequious and untiring (willing the advertisements word it); to serve faithfully where one is despised. For mistresses do despise their "domestic helps," those on whom they are dependent for comfort and ease. Not one "lady" in ten treats her servants with common humanity, or recognizes the fact that they are made of flesh and blood.—*N. Y. Star.*

Addie L. Ballou, in a lecture on the social evil, relates the following incident: "In the city of Chicago I knew a young girl who spent two nights and three days without food, and almost without clothing, and the Young Men's Christian Association refused her admittance to their costly halls, and declined to aid her because she had no certificate of good character in her pocket; and a woman, who was said to be a woman of the town—though I have no reason for saying that she was such—took her in and cared for her."

The Princess Dora d'Istria is said to be the most learned woman in the world; reads and speaks fifteen languages, has written novels, historical, philosophical and philological works is an honorary member of ten academies and learned societies, and is still said to be quite good looking.

Dr. Mary L. Wadsworth, for several years a successful and highly esteemed practitioner of medicine in Springfield, Mass., has accepted an appointment from the American Board, and the Woman's Board of Missions, as medical missionary at Constantinople.

Mrs. Ellen H. Burnham has been appointed Librarian of the Amherst Library Association. What pay does she get? Is it justice or parsimony that causes the women to be appointed?

Miss Nabby Joy left by will to the Boston Young Men's Christian Union the sum of five thousand dollars, which amount has been paid to the treasurer of the union. She will be a joy for ever.

An Indianapolis woman at the grave of her husband not long ago, according to all the papers, said there was one consolation—she knew where he was nights now.

An exchange's advertisement runs thus: "Partial board for a single gentleman; house kept by a widow and her daughter; *buses* and cars convenient."

An Illinois undertaker advertises: "An elegant stock of neat and nobby shrouds, warranted to give satisfaction to the most particular."

An Illinois girl has charge of the mail route on the Hannibal and Naples (Mo.) Road.

A "maternity" hospital will soon be opened in Constantinople for women of all nationalities and religion.

The Russian Minister of Finance authorizes the employment of women as book-keepers and clerks in custom-house offices.

Miss Elizabeth Parrot so successfully treated headache in a thesis before the Paris Ecole de Medicine as to obtain a diploma.

Miss Mary Parsons, of Columbus, Ohio, is the recipient of endless felicitations on the future Princess von Lynar. It does not seem so great a thing after all to be a republican born.

A Women's life insurance company is being organized in London. One of its provisions is that all employees are to be women.

The Princess Beatrice says she intends to marry an American.

A Boston youth advertises for "a self-supporting wife, who is pretty and well educated."

According to the latest census, there are 800,000 more women than men in England.

The anti-chignon pledge has been signed by 50,000 ladies in Germany.

UNIVERSOLOGY.

SCIENCE AND ORIGIN OF SPEECH.

A Universal Language for the World.

THE PRIMARY SYNOPSIS OF UNIVERSOLOGY AND ALWATO—THE NEW SCIENTIFIC UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. New York: Dion Thomas, 142 Nassau Street. Price, \$1.50. [From the Daily Globe, May 6, 1871.]

The inconveniences which flow from the multiplicity of languages in the world and the great advantages which would result from there being out one general mode of oral or written communication among all nations, have induced a number of scientific men to turn their attention to the subject of Universal Language; and after the revival of letters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many different systems of this nature were proposed. Descartes greatly applauded the idea, and in one of his letters to the Pere Merenne, seems confident in the belief that the learned of various nationalities will ultimately agree upon some one scientific basis of expression.

But before this happy result can be attained it seems indispensable that we should decide what language is. What is the origin of speech? Do the words we utter represent in a merely arbitrary manner the objects of the external world? Or are they occultly connected, by similarity of essence, as it were, with the things themselves? The first question is answered in the affirmative by Socrates and the English school of philologists. In the Cratylus Socrates is reported as saying, "Tell me, if we had neither tongue nor voice, and wished to call attention to something, should we not imitate it as well as we could by gestures? Thus, if we wanted to describe anything lofty or light, we should indicate it by raising our hands to heaven. If we wished to describe a horse or other animal we should represent it by as near an approach as we could to make to an imitation in our own persons"—the inference being that speech has just this imitative function, and no other. This position is condemned by the German school, on the ground that if it is admitted, we must also admit that man was at one period of his history in a state of mutism, and that language was only attained after years of laborious effort. "But," says William von Humboldt, "Man is only man by speech; but in order to discover speech he must already be man." This paradoxical mode of reasoning is deemed unsatisfactory. Speech, according to these philosophers, is something inherent in the nature of man, and therefore a part of nature itself.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS is a prominent advocate of this line of thought. As a department of the great system of Universology which he has been for years elaborating, linguistics are of high importance; and in order to round off and complete the universal science a universal language appeared to him to be essential. The book now before us is partly a synopsis of the former, but mainly an exposition of the latter great branch of speculation, as far as he has hitherto carried it.

The position he has assumed upon this question is remarkable—we had almost said astounding. It has been remarked above that he is an adherent of the German view; but he is much more than this. Language, he says, has a mystical origin; and he quotes St. John to prove it: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made by him." Hence, by a circuitous mode of reasoning we discover not only that language in man and substance in nature are identical, but that they are identified in the Divine Essence.

If it be objected that the vast varieties of language which flourish and have flourished are so many proofs against this theory, Andrews has gained the very point upon which he wished to fix the rest of his argument. "Of course they differ," he says. "They are so many fluctuating, imperfect modes of one perfect thing, mere *disjecta membra* of the great original, true and perfect speech. But analyze and compare all these various modes of communication; anatomize the sounds of the human voice down to the merest impulse of sound, the faintest whisper, and by and by you will ascertain the inherent significance of articulate sounds; you will discover the elements and develop the forms of what must be the universal language—as I have done and found Al-wa-to!"

Thus, at page 165 of his book, he says, "It cannot be too emphatically repeated that the Elements of Sound, the Elements of Form, the Elements of Number, and the Elements of whatsoever other domain, or in a word, of all Things, and of Thought itself are in close relation with each other, and are, in a word, so identified by an indelible Echo of analogy that they are substantially One. There is, therefore, at the bottom of all Science, an Alphabet of Sound, an Alphabet of Form, an Alphabet of Thought, and so on Alphabet of all Things; and these Alphabets are, in an important sense, One."

This theory of an Universal Alphabet, in a truly magnified sense, he proceeds to apply with amazing ingenuity and fertility. In every vowel and consonant, and in all the elemental combinations of these, he discovers the radical ideas of which thought is composed, and with which speech is impregnated. Thus I is Being, E Relation, A Substance, U Time, O Expanse, and so on. K is Differentiation, T Integration, P the state of being compounded, G Force or Active Energy, D Resistance or Inertia, B Conflict, H Spirit, Y Individuality, W Mutuality, and so on. Out of these crude elements he proceeds to build up "two letter roots," trilliterals, and other syllables; and thence to long compound words. In these, however, it must be confessed that he has dwelt too much upon the multiplied refinements of abstract thought to the neglect of practical notions and considerations. But this abstract quality seems to be the dominating characteristic of his mind. And, as a further result of this too potent quality, he can never be content with endeavoring to express his meaning in clear and graceful English, but must always surround his statements with clumsy, new-coined words, a jargon which greatly disfigures and obscures his most interesting disquisitions.

Apart from these defects, the work is undoubtedly one of great value. It is an earnest effort in pursuit of a splendid purpose. Andrews may not be entirely successful, but he has exploited an interesting domain—as the alchemists failed to discover the philosophers' stone but gave mankind ingredients almost as valuable as the precious metal they sought. Language is the study of studies. Language is the prolific parent of poetry, philosophy, and all the Humanities and whatever helps us to a fuller appreciation of this admirable vehicle, helps the cause of human civilization and progress.

Our cords are clumsy. Strand by strand and rope by rope we twist our cables; yet we dare not lengthen them too far for fear their own weight would break them, and in the strain of the tempest the strongest fly asunder like flax in flame. God spins his cords so fine that except in diffracted light you cannot see them; but these cords of his are seldom broken. You befriend a youth or relieve a stranger, and you think no more about it till on a distant day, perhaps in a foreign land, in some hour of need, help is raised up, and in your deliverer you recognize the object of your former bounty. And just as in such an instance, help by a mystic clue, the little seed which you cast on the waters comes back into your bosom a loaf of bread; so the old saying also holds true, and curses come home to roost.