

WOODHULL & CLARLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

Vol. 5.—No. 29.—Whole No. 107.

NEW YORK, JUNE 1, 1872.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

TOLEDO, PEORIA

AND

Warsaw Railway

Second Mortgage Convertible 7 Per

Cent. Currency Bonds.

Interest Warrants Pay-

able October & April.

Principal 1886.

We offer for sale \$100,000 of the above bonds in block. By act of reorganization of the Company these bonds are convertible into the First Preferred Shares of the Company, which amounts to only 17,000 shares, and into the Consolidated Bonds (recently negotiated at Amsterdam) of six millions of dollars, which cover the entire line of 230 miles of completed road, together with all the rolling stock and real property, to the value of more than ten millions of dollars. The road crosses the entire State of Illinois, and connects with the mammoth iron bridges spanning the Mississippi at Keokuk and Burlington. The income of the road for the year will net sufficient to pay interest on all the bonded indebtedness and dividend on the preferred shares.

For terms apply to

Clark, Dodge & Co.,

103

Corner Wall and William Streets.

NEW YORK
SAVINGS BANK,

Eighth Ave., cor. Fourteenth St.

SIX PER CENT. INTEREST

allowed on all sums from \$5 to \$5,000. Deposits made on or before August 1 will draw interest from August 1.
Assets, \$2,473,303 05.
Surplus, \$200,272 95.

Safe and Profitable,

THE

CANADA SOUTHERN

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND, THIRTY YEARS

7 per cent. Gold Bonds.

AT

\$90 and Accrued Interest.

The Road runs from Buffalo to the Detroit River, and is the Eastern link in the new

Air Line from BUFFALO to CHICAGO, and has been under construction for about two years past by railroad men who have seen the necessity for a

Steel Rail Low Grade Short Route

between the great railroad systems which diverge from

CHICAGO, TOLEDO AND BUFFALO.

Among the builders of the road, by whose cash subscriptions 200 miles (out of 290) have already been graded, bridged, and made ready for the superstructure, a large part of the steel rails bought, all of the materials for the stations and a part of the equipment purchased, are;

MILTON COURTRIGHT, JOHN F. TRACY, DAVID DOWS, WM. L. SCOTT, HENRY FARHAM, R. A. FORSYTH, HENRY H. PORTER, JOHN M. BURKE, M. L. SYKES, JR., B. F. ALLEN, all Directors either in the Chicago and Northwest or in the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; GEO. OPDYKE, of the Midland Road; JOHN B. ALLEN, SIDNEY DILLON, DANIEL DREW, J. S. CASEMENT, J. & J. CASEY, O. S. CHAPMAN, JOHN ROSS, DAVID STEWART, and F. H. WINSTON.

The road will be

33 Miles Shorter than any Other Road.

either built or in contemplation between Buffalo and Chicago, and will also shorten the distance between Toledo and Buffalo 23 miles.

THE MAXIMUM GRADE on the entire line does not exceed fifteen feet to the mile—and Ninety-six per cent. of the road is STRAIGHT.

The road will be completed and in running order on or before December 21st of this year.

The principal and interest of the bonds are payable either in New York, London or Frankfurt.

We confidently recommend the bonds to all classes of stores.

LEONARD, SHELDON & FOSTER,

No. 10 WALL STREET.

100ft.

RAILROAD IRON,

FOR SALE BY

S. W. HOPKINS & CO.,

71 BROADWAY.

Banking House of HENRY CLEWS & CO.,

32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Circular Notes and Letters of Credit for travelers; also Commercial Credits issued available throughout the world.

Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Bank of London, National Bank of Scotland, Provincial Bank of Ireland, and all their branches.

Telegraphic Transfers of money on Europe, San Francisco and the West Indies.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through the Clearing House as if drawn upon any city bank; interest allowed on all daily balances; Certificates of Deposit issued bearing interest at current rate; Notes and Drafts collected.

State, City and Railroad Loans negotiated.

CLEWS, HABICHT & CO.,

11 Old Broad St., London.

BANKING AND FINANCIAL.

The St. Joseph and Denver City Railroad Company's

FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS

Are being absorbed by an increasing demand for them.

Secured as they are by a first mortgage on the Road, Land Grant, Franchise, and Equipments, combined in one mortgage, they command at once a ready market.

A Liberal Sinking Fund provided in the Mortgage Deed must advance the price upon the closing of the loan. Principal and interest payable in gold. Interest at eight (8) per cent per annum. Payable, semi-annually, free of tax. Principal in thirty years. Denominations, \$1,000, \$500 and \$100 Coupons or Registered.

Price 97 1-2 and accrued interest, in currency, from February 15, 1872.

Maps, Circulars, Documents, and information furnished.

Trustees, Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York.

Can now be had through the principal Banks and Bankers throughout the country, and from the undersigned who unhesitatingly recommend them.

TANNER & Co., Bankers,

98

No. 11 Wall street, New York.

AUGUST BELMONT & Co.,

BANKERS,

50 Wall Street.

Issue Letters of Credit to Travelers, available in all parts of the world, through the

MESSRS. DE ROTHSCHILD

and their correspondents.

Also, make telegraphic transfers of money on California, Europe and Havana.

C. J. OSBORN.

ADDISON CAMMACK.

OSBORN & CAMMACK,

BANKERS,

No. 34 BROAD STREET.

STOCKS, STATE BONDS, GOLD AND FEDERAL SECURITIES, bought and sold on Commission.

Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell write to
CHARLES W. HASSLER,
No. 7 WALL STREET,
New York. 62-113

AN UNDOUBTED

Security,

Paying 60 Per Cent.
MORE INCOME

THAN GOVERNMENT BONDS,

AND

9 1-2 per Cent on the Investment.

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS OF THE

Logansport, Crawfordsville and South-Western Railway of Indiana.

THEY BEAR

8 per Cent. Gold.

INTEREST PAYABLE QUARTERLY IN NEW YORK, FREE OF GOVERNMENT TAX, AND ARE COUPON AND REGISTERED.

The issue is limited to \$16,300 per mile, in denominations of \$1,000, \$500 and \$100.

This Road, 92 miles long, affords the shortest existing outlet to Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Logansport, and intermediate points for the celebrated Block and Bituminous Coal of Parke County, as, also, for the large surplus products of the rich agricultural and mineral sections of the State which it traverses.

For the present we are offering these Bonds at 95 and accrued interest in currency, or will exchange them for Government Bonds, or other marketable securities, at the rates of the day.

Further and full particulars, with pamphlets and maps furnished by us on personal or written application.

JONES & SCHUYLER,

No. 12 PINE ST., NEW YORK.

FINANCIAL AGENTS OF THE COMPANY

THE NEW DISCOVERY

In Chemical and Medical Science.



Dr. E. F. GARVIN'S
SOLUTION & COMPOUND ELIXIR
OF

TAR

FIRST AND ONLY SOLUTION ever made
in one mixture of ALL THE TWELVE
valuable active principals of the well known
curative agent,

PINE TREE TAR.
UNEQUALLED in Coughs, Colds, Catarrh,
Asthma, Bronchitis, and consumption.

CURES WITHOUT FAIL
A recent cold in three to six hours; and also,
by its VITALISING, PURIFYING and STIM-
ULATING effects upon the general system,
is remarkably efficacious in all

DISEASES OF THE BLOOD.
Including Scrofula and Eruptions of the skin,
Dyspepsia, Diseases of the Liver and Kidneys,
Heart Disease, and General Debility.

ONE TRIAL CONVINCES!

Also, A
Volatile Solution of Tar
For INHALATION, without application of
HEAT. A remarkably VALUABLE discovery,
as the whole apparatus can be carried in the vest
pocket, ready at any time for the most effectual
and positively curative use in

**All Diseases of the NOSE, THROAT
and LUNGS.**
THE COMPOUND

Tar and Mandrake Pill.
for use in connection with the ELIXIR TAR,
is a combination of the TWO most valuable
ALTERATIVE Medicines known in the Pro-
fession, and renders this Pill without exception
the very best ever offered.
The SOLUTION and COMPOUND ELIXIR of

TAR

is without doubt the Best remedy known in
cases of

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER.
It is a Specific for such diseases, and should be
kept in the household of every family, especially
during those months in which

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER
are liable to prevail. A small quantity taken
daily will prevent contracting these terrible
diseases.

Solution and Compound Elixir, \$1.00 per Bottle
Volatile Solution for Inhalation, \$5.00 per Box
Tar and Mandrake Pills, 50cts per box.

Send for Circular of **POSITIVE CURES**
to your Druggist, or to

L. F. HYDE & CO.,
SOLE PROPRIETORS,
110 E. 22d St., New York.
Sole by all Druggists.

SAFES.

MARVIN & CO.'S

ARE THE BEST.
265 BROADWAY.

NATIONAL SAVINGS BANK.

THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST
COMPANY.

(Chartered by the Government of the United States.)
DEPOSITS OVER \$3,000,000.

185 BLEECKER STREET, NEW YORK.

SIX PER CENT. interest commences first of each
month.

Four per cent. allowed from date of each deposit
for full number of days, not less than thirty, on sums
of \$50 and upward, withdrawn before January.

DEPOSIT CERTIFICATES, as safe as Registered
Bonds, and promptly available in any part of the
United States, issued, payable on demand, with in-
terest due.

Accounts strictly private and confidential.

Deposits payable on demand, with interest due.

Interest on accounts of certificates paid by check to
depositors residing out of the city if desired.

Send for Circular.

Open daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., and MONDAYS
and SATURDAYS from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M.

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NOISELESS.

LINK-MOTION.

LOCK-STITCH



Sewing Machine

Challenges the world in perfection of work, strength
and beauty of stitch, durability of construction and
rapidity of motion.
Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents
wanted.

MANUFACTURED BY
BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,
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JOHN J. CISCO & SON, BANKERS,

No. 59 Wall Street, New York.

Gold and Currency received on deposit, subject to
check at sight.

Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate
of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of
each month.

ALL CHECKS DRAWN ON US PASS THROUGH
THE CLEARING-HOUSE, AND ARE RECEIVED
ON DEPOSIT BY ALL THE CITY BANKS.

Certificates of Deposit issued, payable on demand,
bearing Four per Cent. interest.

Loans negotiated.
Orders promptly executed for the Purchase and
Sale of Governments, Gold, Stocks and Bonds on
commission.

Collections made on all parts of the United States
and Canada.

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SAM'L BARTON.

HENRY ALLEN

BARTON & ALLEN,

BANKERS AND BROKERS,
No. 40 BROAD STREET.

Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on com-
mission

CHICKERING & SONS' PIANO-FORTES.

The Best Pianos at the Lowest
Prices.

And upon the most favorable terms of payment.
We invite the attention of persons intending to
purchase Pianos to our New Illustrated Catalogue,
giving full description of Styles and Prices, and the
terms on which we sell to those desiring to make
EASY MONTHLY PAYMENTS.

SEND FOR A CATALOGUE.
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FISK & HATCH.
BANKERS,

AND
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

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Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bank-
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at sight, and allow interest on balances.

We make special arrangements for interest
on deposits of specific sums for fixed periods.

We make collections on all points in the
United States and Canada, and issue Certifi-
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Union.

We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes
of Government Securities, and the Bonds of
the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also,
Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange,
miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis-
sion, for cash.

Communications and inquiries by mail or
telegraph, will receive careful attention.

FISK & HATCH.

89-17

PATENT STOCKING SUPPORTER

AND

LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE
DEFORMED LIMBS.

MRS. DANIELS takes pleasure in offering the
above articles to ladies, with the assurance that they
will give satisfaction.

The trade supplied at a discount.

No. 63 Clarendon Street,
BOSTON.

OR MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,
824 Broadway, New York.

SYMPHER & CO.,

(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1836.



A BEAUTIFUL

SET OF TEETH,

With plumpers to set out the cheeks and restore the
face to its natural appearance. Movable plumpers
adjusted to old sets, weighted Lower Sets, fillings
Gold, Amalgam, Bone, etc.

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN.

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$30.

L. BERNHARD, No. 216 Sixth Avenue,
Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side.

WM. DIBBLEE,
LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,
854 Broadway

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE
FIRST FLOOR,

where he will continue to conduct his business in al
its branches TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT. CHEAPER
than heretofore, in consequence of the difference in
his rent.

CHATELAIN BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

and everything appertaining to the business will be
kept on hand and made to order.

DIBBLEEANIA for stimulating, JAPONICA for
soothing and the MAGIC TAR SALVE for promoting
the growth of the hair, constantly on hand.
Consultation on diseases of the scalp, Mondays,
Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M.
Also, his celebrated

HARABA ZEIN,

or FLESH BEAUTIFIER, the only pure and harm-
less preparation ever made for the complexion. No
lady should ever be without it. Can be obtained
only at

WM. DIBBLEE'S,
854 Broadway, up-stairs.

MRS. H. F. M. BROWN'S

Postoffice address, till February, will be 132 Wood
land avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

IN PRESS.

The Life, Speeches, Labors and Essays

OF
WILLIAM H. SYLVIS,

Late President of the Iron-Moulders' International
Union; and also of the National Labor Union.
BY HIS BROTHER—JAMES C. SYLVIS,
Of Sunbury, Pa.

"We must show them that when a just monetary
system has been established there will no
longer exist a necessity for Trades' Unions."
—WM. H. SYLVIS.

PHILADELPHIA:

CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFELFINGER,
819 and 821 Market street.

LEO MILLER,

OF NEW YORK,

Will present to the public

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

SUBJECT:
"WOMAN, AND HER RELATIONS TO TEMPER-
ANCE AND OTHER REFORMS."

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to
Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says:
"I had the pleasure of canvassing with Leo Miller,
Esq., in New Jersey, and I most cordially recommend
him to our friends in your State as a gentleman of
rare talent and character and a most effective and elo-
quent speaker."

CHARLES H. FOSTER,
TEST MEDIUM.
16 East Twelfth street, N. Y.

DR. C. S. WEEKS, DENTIST,

No. 412 FOURTH AVE.,

Between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets,
NEW YORK.

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN.
By the use of Chemically pure Nitrous Oxide or Laugh-
ing Gas. Dr. W. has used it several years, extracting
teeth for thousands with complete success, and with no
bad effects in any instance. All operations pertaining
to Dentistry performed in the most careful and thorough
manner, at reasonable price.

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MAXWELL & CO.,

Bankers and Brokers,

No. 11 BROAD STREET,

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NEW BOOK.

TITLE.—A STONE; OR, THE HIGHEST CHURCH.

AFTER THE APOSTOLIC ORDER.

A real Spiritual bolder, this little gem should be in the
hand of every true Reformer.

Price, 50 cts. at this office, or of the author,

S. E. BURR,

Southford, Ct.

Postage by mail, 8 cents.

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The Great Discovery!

CATHARTIC MEDICINE MADE PLEASANT
TO THE TASTE AND DELIGHT-
FUL IN EFFECT.

DR. ORVIS'

CATHARTIC COMPOUND

Is pleasant to the taste, and will be readily eaten by
children or adults. It is free from poisonous drugs,
is purely vegetable, and, unlike other Cathartic Medi-
cines, the dose need not to be increased from con-
tinued use. And it positively cures constipation,
the directions accompanying each package. Read the
following recommendations:

"New York, July 8, 1871.

"Dr. Orvis.—Dear Sir: Please send me C. O. D., one
box such as I had before; and am pleased to say, it has
acted as a charm with my wife.

"Yours, TUNIS H. BLACWELL."
(This was one of the worst cases of Constipation I
have ever known.—A. O.)

"Brooklyn, L. I., Nov. 3, 1871.

"Dear Sir: Since your Cathartic Medicine was made
known to me, I have used it, and not only in my family,
to obviate the evil it is intended to remedy; and I assure
you I prefer it to all other expedients. Its operation
is gentle and wholesome, not enervating the system, or
leaving a tendency to increased difficulty. It clears the
complexion, relieves oppression, and invigorates the
whole physical economy.

"Respectfully, Mrs. R. C. MAITLAND."

It is extensively used by Dr. Foster of Clifton Springs,
and many other eminent Physicians.

SPECIAL AGENTS:

Tudnut, Herald Building, Broadway, New York; D.
G. Farwell, cor. Amity and Broadway, do.; Macy, cor.
6th avenue and 14th street, do.; Robt. S. McCurdy, 494
Broadway, Albany; J. K. Post & Co., Lane & Taine, and
Almy, Osburn House, Rochester, N. Y.; S. E. Samuels,
Columbus, O.; Dixon & Deidrich, Dayton, O.; Briggs,
Clifton Spring, N. Y.

FOR SALE BY DRUGGIST GENERALLY.

Price, 25 cts. per Package.

Address all orders.
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DR. A. ORVIS,
Rochester, N. Y.



The Books and Speeches of Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claflin will hereafter be furnished, postage paid, at the following liberal prices :

The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull ;	\$3 00
Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin ;	2 50
Woman Suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull ;	
The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull ;	
The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull ;	
Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin ;	
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial ;	
Carpenter and Cartter Reviewed—A Speech before the Suffrage Convention at Washington ;	
Each per copy ;	10
per 100 ;	5 00
The Principles of Social Freedom ;	25
The Impending Revolution,	25

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, June 1, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 12 M., on Thursday at 11 A. M., and on Saturday at 5 and 11 A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

Recently we gave our readers some account of this talented lady whom we are able to count among our most respected friends. She is open to engagements to speak upon any subject of general interest—religious, political or social—anywhere in the States east of the Mississippi River. Terms, \$75 and expenses. We take pleasure in recommending her to our friends, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members of, or to form sections, and trades unions or societies wishing to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association, can procure all the necessary information and documents by addressing the regular officers of the Federal Council of North America, as follows :

English Corresponding Secretary, John T. Elliot, 208 Fifth street, New York.

German Corresponding Secretary, Franc S. Bertrand, 214 1/2 Broome street, New York.

French Corresponding Secretary, B. Laugrand, 335 Fourth avenue, New York.

Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.

Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

THE INTERNATIONAL IN IRELAND.

BY A REFUGEE EX-SECRETARY.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.]

The first individual who conceived the idea of introducing the International Workingmen's Association into Dublin, was a Frenchman named Charles Wery. He is tall, attractive looking, and about thirty-five years of age. In the early part of his life he served for a lengthened period in the French army, but subsequently deserting from it he retired to Switzerland, where he resided till the time when he left that country for Ireland. Dislike for the military organization in which he filled some inferior office of trust, contempt for the Emperor and his "one-man" system, an intense love for freedom, and above and beyond all a fierce hatred for warfare conducted by the enemies of the working classes, were among the most powerful reasons which induced M. Wery to forsake the army. In consequence of his desertion a French court-martial passed, as might have been expected, a very severe sentence against the absent offender. Notwithstanding the opinion of his impertinent judges, however, my friend very justly considers that he acted both a manly and a righteous part when, in the face of an unrelenting military code, he turned his "sword into a ploughshare." He knew not in what respect the Austrian, the Russian, the Mexican, the German, or the Algerine, had injured him, that he should for gold become their murderer. The policy of all governments appears to resemble that of a pickpocket who gets up a fight among the crowd in order that he may steal with impunity the cash of the combatants. The Spanish government may well utter its squeal in the presence of an organization which makes fraternity or love for ones fellow man a vital reality, and not a creed farce, to be jumbled up with a solemn prayer for the well-being of an army. Why should French and German human beings tear each other to pieces any more than French and German mice, sparrows, or cows ? The brute creation knows but little of geography, and its ignorance appears to be bliss. Oh ! when will men use aright those qualities of mind which, by being at present so abused and misapplied, actually make the possession of intellect a rather doubtful advantage. The International, by binding together the working-classes of all lands in the bonds of

affection and respect, will enable them to employ against rulers, capitalists, and monopolists, that energy which has heretofore been wasted in warfare at the command of a jeering "upper" class. Be it the duty of the men of the United States to exhibit to the world the sublime picture of the various races, forgetting their national prejudices in the bosom of the International.

Possessed of a very great share of ability, mental independence and energy, and being well acquainted with the position and wants of the toilers of Ireland, with whom he had lived for seven years, M. Wery came to the conclusion that the International Association was well qualified to meet the sad necessities of the population.

In coming to the determination to organize in Dublin a section of the much needed society, I have little doubt he was actuated to some extent, by a strong and very pardonable desire to see established in the Capital a society, which by spreading correct information on the hidden subject of the matchless hypocrisies and atrocities of Thiers and his confederates, would do a great deal toward removing from the Irish mind those thick prejudices and dislikes with which his beloved Parisians were being regarded. With noble intentions actuating him he proceeded to put himself in communication with the International London Secretary, Mr. J. P. McDonnell. By return of post he received a large number of very valuable pamphlets entitled "The Civil War in France," copies of the Association's rules, stamps of membership, and a letter of introduction to Mr. McKeon, of Denmark street, Dublin. Mr. McKeon, who is engaged in the cabinet-making trade, is a remarkably clear-headed, able, unprejudiced and candid citizen. If report speak true, he holds a high position in the Fenian organization, and certain it is that some years ago he was arrested by a suspicious, unjust and tyrannical government. For his devotion to his native land he was incarcerated for a weary period in one of those numerous bastilles which a civilized and enlightened, and a Bible-loving government finds it so necessary to cultivate in conjunction with poor-houses, barracks and lunatic asylums. Notwithstanding the dreadful sufferings which he had experienced in Mountjoy, Mr. McKeon who has travelled in America and other countries, welcomed Monsieur Wery with zeal, and without hesitation, determined to run the risk of identifying himself with the International in Ireland.

The two friends of humanity at once began their operations. They waited on or sent printed circulars to a number of those who were distinguished for their enlightened views, advanced political leanings, or correct social theories. Among the rest, they saw and conferred with Mr. John Landye, of Queen street. In considering the attitude of a society, and above all, its prospects or probabilities of success, it is highly important to be acquainted as far as possible with the calibre and antecedents of its leaders. Now Messrs. Wery, McKeon and Landye directed the movements of the Dublin Section of the International. I played but a very insignificant part myself in its concerns. As I have given a few facts in connection with each of the lines of the two first named useful members, it may not be out of place for me to devote a few lines to the last mentioned citizen.

Mr. Landye, who occupies a very responsible position in one of the public departments is a native of Tipperary, and about thirty-two years of age. He is distinguished for thorough wisdom, freedom of thought, and absence of bigotry. I have passed many delightful hours in company with Mr. Landye and have ever warmly admired his strong analytical talent, his rich stores of knowledge, and his profound insight into the mysteries (I was going to write *miserics*) of human nature. I feel certain that Mr. Landye, whose ability is only equalled by his honesty of purpose, is destined to exercise an important influence on Irish affairs. Full of warm sympathy for the working classes he at once joined with Messrs. Wery and McKeon, in their efforts for the emancipation of Labor.

One strong reason which induced Mr. Landye to join the International organization, arose from a strong, though unwelcome, conviction that the Gladstone government (which is the most Liberal the governing classes will ever tolerate, and, therefore, likely to be succeeded by a more despotic one), will never confer any substantial advantage on the unhappy and oppressed millions. In his own person he experienced some of the advantages which result from living under a truly Liberal government. Last Fall he went on Sunday, as was his custom, with his son to the Park, in order that they might breathe the fresh air and contemplate the works of the Great Creator. Observing a crowd in the most picturesque portion of the beautiful grounds, he went over to enquire what it was gathered together for, and he discovered that Mr. A. M. Sullivan, of the *Nation*, an enthusiastic and really honest Home Ruler, was presiding over a meeting convened for the purpose of petitioning the batches and braces of princes then in the city to do something for the patriots in prison. Being so far from Ireland, I, of course, feel a very natural tendency to exaggerate, but I will repress this and simply state facts as they occurred. While Mr. Landye was gazing in the direction of a speaker, whom he could not hear, he received a blow and fell to the ground with violence. While lying prostrate he was kicked with savage fury, and on recovering slightly from the shock, he perceived about three hundred policemen tripping up; spitting at; striking with batons, or chasing a surprised, defenceless and unarmed crowd of men, women and children. Yes, women were hurled to the ground by the savage agents of British rulers. The hospitals were thronged with citizens. I will not enlarge on this incident or affair, much as I may feel inclined to do so. I have already given to the press my impressions on the sad subject. I have now said enough to arouse indignation in the bosoms of the true hearted sons of that Washington who chased away the English vampire from his land—freeing it from the shores of the Atlantic to the beach of the Pacific. Rising from the ground Mr. Landye arose a determined foe of English tyranny. With eagerness he obeyed a summons to attend as a witness in the case of "O'Byrne versus the Marquis of Hartington and other officials." The case was originally brought against the Lord Lieutenant by O'Byrne, the intelligent editor of the *Irishman*, who was almost slaughtered in the park; but the "no-respecter of persons" decided from the depths of his venerable wig that there was "no case" against his excellency. The action was therefore brought against Lord Hartington and some of the bashaws with but one tail. In newspapers printed since my last article on the subject of the "International in Ireland" was published, telegrams have appeared stating that the Irish secretary, Lord Hartington, said in the English Parliament, "The Home Rulers were as bad as Fenians," and that Mr. Isaac Butt, indignantly denying that he (Butt) was a Fenian, contended that the Home Rule Association had actually sapped Fenianism. Now such a weighty statement on the part of Mr. Butt, who is the exceedingly able head of the Home Rule Association, will serve to demonstrate the truth of my statement made in the last article that the modern Home Rulers were not really revolutionary at heart, and that they hoped to "head off all political movements which might if neglected endanger the political, the religious, or the Mammon aristocracies." By calling Mr. Butt, Q. C., M. P., a "Fenian," it is quite

evident from the result that the noble lord intended to deeply wound the feelings of the respected chief of the Home Rule Association; and such an intention on the part of my Lord Hartington is not to be wondered at when it is considered it was Mr. Butt who conducted with skill O'Byrne's case against the chivalrous noble.

Mr. Butt's legal acquirements, heart-rending facts, and hosts of indignant witnesses were having their natural effect upon the mind of the British people, when Providence, in the strange shape of a judge, decided that the case against Hartington and the other castle bashaws should be postponed for a lengthened term. When the case comes on again it is not likely that the unjust decision of a packed jury will arouse that intense excitement and disgust which it would have created a few months ago. The postponement of the trial was clouded under an amount of legal jargon and sophistry absolutely bewildering and nonsensical. A row, which I have little doubt was prearranged, between the judge who hypocritically leaned all through to the side of the prosecution, and the barrister for the "defence," on the very last day of the "trial" had the effect of distracting public attention from his lordships extraordinary, or, at all events, unexpected and damaging decision to postpone the conclusion of the case. Before the subject comes up again every effort will be made to carry the "Parks Bill" at present before Parliament and which will shield the members of the Irish executive from the natural result of their outrageous conduct.

Who will wonder at ill-treated men like Mr. Landye joining the International in Ireland? Does there not plainly exist a necessity for such an organization in that unhappy, though lovely country?

Can any crime be worse than for a judge to swerve from the line of duty in favor of the wealthy, the corrupt, or the gay? The individual who so acts, and who has no mercy for the weak, the tempted, or the forsaken; who can close his ear to the accents of human woe, and his heart to the soft breathings of compassion, is a monster whose cloak of deceit and fraud should be plucked away by the strong hands of an indignant nation.

O, it rejoices the hearts of the dwellers in king-cursed lands to know that away beyond the blue waters of the Atlantic there dwells a people whose motto is "Excelsior," whose statesmen are self-sacrificing, and whose judges are immaculate. Yes it rejoices them to know that virtue has nestled in the judge's wig in those American States, where the people may fold their arms to sleep; where they need not watch the movements of their high-principled politicians; where they have nothing left to agitate for; where the toiler does not in his old age starve; because the form of government is perfect. O rapture! Is it not a republic?

I have said that besides waiting on individuals, as on Mr. Landye, for instance, Messrs Wery and McKeon sent printed circulars in numerous directions. The result was a meeting on a Sunday evening in a room above a public house, at which many elements of disorder were present.

THE INTERNATIONAL "SPLIT."

Below we publish the pronouncement of the Universal Federal Council of the I. W. A., of London. The same schism that exists in the society in this country also exists in London. Unable to endure the despotic assumptions of those who would rule the International, a large number of the General Council withdrew from that body and organized under the above name, to await the action of the General Congress, which will meet in September, at which it seems that the would-be-despots will be compelled to come forward and show their hands.

UNIVERSAL FEDERALIST COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AND OF REPUBLICAN AND SOCIALIST SOCIETIES ADHERING.

CHAPTER I.

Considering that according to its manifesto, its statutes, and its rules, the Workingmen's International Association should consist of a vast and free Federation, composed of all its independent sections and of all Socialist and Republican associations, seeking to obtain the same goal as itself; namely, the complete emancipation of the working classes by themselves and for themselves.

Considering that the rights and interests of the working classes are now more than ever menaced; that the capitalists, landlords, and all those who prey upon them are allied together to oppose their emancipation, and have agreed not only to triumph on their rights, but even to deprive them of the possibility of uniting so as to discuss the value of their labor, and to resist the reduction of their wages or the increase of their hours of work; that it is for their purposes that the International Association has everywhere been denounced and persecuted; that in France an odious and criminal law has been voted against this Association by the Assembly of Versailles, yet the General Council of the International, late of Holborn, now of Rathbone Place, Oxford street, remains inactive and incapable of ameliorating this grave state of affairs.

Considering that the above Council has not only ignored the spirit and violated the letter of the general statutes and rules of the International, but has also disregarded the principles of justice and right, which constitutes the basis of the Association it pretends to represent :

1. By causing, during the space of six years, the re-election of the members who compose the General Council by means of elections of second degree instead of appealing to the universal suffrage; by presenting the names of the candidates all together instead of separately, and without any real discussion on the matter; by sanctioning their election by acclamation, and excluding all semblance of a serious vote, thus openly violating the principles of the sovereignty of the people and of direct universal suffrage.

2. By abusing, during the same period of years, an article of the statutes, which, contrary to the principles of the Association, conferred on the Council the autocratic right of adding to its numbers as many members as it might think expedient.

2. By rendering itself culpable of another abuse of power in the arbitrary nomination of corresponding secretaries who had received no regular credentials; and who, for the most part, are unknown by the foreign nationalities which they profess to represent.

3. By constituting itself into a centralizing and despotic power, assuming the functions of an inquisitorial tribunal against which no appeal could be made, though it pronounced condemnations and expelled members; thus the Council became a doctrinal power, giving forth verdicts and laws and claiming for itself a character of infallibility.

5. By openly violating not only the statutes and rules of the International, but the decisions of the Congresses as well; which, indeed, is simply treated as a dead letter.

6. By seeking to impose its will on the sections of the International, and attempting to force the acceptance of ultima-

tums as wounding to the dignity of the Sections as they were contrary to their autonomy and liberty. By expelling from the International, ancient sections, and by refusing to receive new ones, when these latter did not display their entire willingness to submit blindly to the despotism imposed upon them.

7. By profiting by special pretences to avoid convoking for the last two years the annual Congress of the International, which, according to the rules, should be called once every twelve months, and thus fraudulently perpetuating the despotical power of the Council.

8. By convoking a secret conference, though such an act is contrary to the spirit and letter of the rules of the International, and has also a tendency to convert that Association into a secret society.

9. By interpreting in this secret conclave the manifestoes, statutes, and rules of the International after its own unrestrained desire, and by revising, modifying, and violating them; also by creating an autocratic jurisprudence which conferred dictatorial power on the General Council.

10. By not rendering any account of the management of its finances to the members of the Society, and in failing to justify the use it has made of the sums which were confided to its care during the last seven years; notably the funds gathered for the refugees of the Commune of 1871.

11. By continuing to exercise an usurped power, when according to the rules, that power should have come to an end during the month of September of the year 1870.

In the face of all the preceding facts, and so as to ensure that the International shall no longer be deterred from realizing its object by a usurping Council which seeks to satisfy occult ambitions, dangerous and contrary to the interests of working men in their struggle to obtain by themselves their complete emancipation—a Universal Federalist Council has been formed at London, composed of delegates of sections of the International, of all the working men's societies, and republican and socialistic associations which accept the statutes and general rules of the International, and whose individual rules contain nothing opposed to the spirit and aim of that great Association.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL STATUTES OF THE UNIVERSAL FEDERALIST COUNCIL.

1. The Universal Federalist Council is composed of delegates of the sections of the International, of the Working Men's Societies, and of the Republican and Socialistic Societies which adhere to this programme. These delegates shall be elected for one year only, by direct universal suffrage with an imperative mandate, which shall always be subject to revocation.

In countries where free and public associations cannot be formed, members may organize themselves as they may deem most useful and expedient. They will send their delegates to the Universal Federalist Council, and this latter will observe all the precautions necessary to avoid compromising the Societies in question.

1. All associations forming part of the Universal Federation and which do not reside in London, have the right to select, if they desire, one of their fellow-countrymen, who resides in London, and belongs to the association, to represent them as their delegate at the Universal Federalist Council where he will be received on presenting regular credentials from his society.

2. Each Section of the International, and each adhering Society, having not more than 500 members, has the right of nominating two delegates as its representatives at the Universal Federalist Council.

3. The Universal Federalist Council, thus composed, shall constitute itself immediately in London, as soon as it has united at least 10 delegates. It shall verify the mandates of its members, and accept them or annul them by an absolute majority of votes. The chairman shall be elected at each meeting. A general Secretary, an assistant Secretary, an Accountant, and a Treasurer, shall be nominated for three months; but they shall be held responsible for their acts and always subject to revocation.

Each member of the council shall act as the corresponding secretary of the section or association which he represents, and to those sections which have not yet adhered to the Federation, but whose alliance it may be judged useful to try and obtain. Correspondents to the various newspapers of Europe and America, which sympathise with the Federation, shall also be nominated.

At each meeting of the Federalist Council, the correspondences received, or a summary of them, shall be read, and the latter mentioned in the minutes.

The meetings of the Federalist Council shall take place once a week, and all members of the Federation may be admitted.

The Federalist Council is bound to respect the sovereignty, the autonomy, and the independence of each section of association which has joined the Federation. These latter will always possess the right of appeal against all the decisions of the Federalist Council. Such appeals shall be made to the Congress, or to all the societies composing the Federation. In the event of an appeal being made to all the sections and societies which constitute the Federation, each member of sections or societies shall have the right of voting, and the number of voters, for and against, shall be sent to the Federalist Council, where the votes will be added together and the result proclaimed. The verdict thus obtained will be considered as final.

The Federalist Council will establish, by its correspondents, constant relations with all the sections and associations which form part of the Federation. The council will urge all workmen to organize themselves into workingmen's societies, uniting as far as possible the same crafts together, to form co-operations, to found institutions for production, credit, exchange, aliment, mutual assistance, integral instruction, and, above all, societies to resist decrease in wages. The council will convocate and organize leagues, agitations, manifestations, etc., to obtain an increase of wages and the reduction of the hours of labor.

The Federalist Council will also recommend the formation of numerous local federations; which should be united together so as to form in each great state one or several National Federations.

The council will, among other duties, collect, and, if possible, publish in several languages, all documents relating to the working classes; establish a general statistic on labor and production, and help the working classes in all matters relating to labor generally. Each section should also be well informed concerning the work accomplished by the rest of the Federation, the Congress and the Federal Council.

To cover the general expenses of the Federalist Council, namely, its correspondence and the publications, etc., necessary to assure the progress of the Federation, the sum of one penny, or ten centimes, shall be paid every three months by each member of the Federation, apart from his subscriptions to the particular, local and national section or association to which he belongs,

CHAPTER III.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESSES.

1. A Congress shall be held every year in the first week of September.

The Federal Council shall forward the requisite information to the adhering societies and sections, together with a copy of the programme of the Congress. In the event of this rule not being complied with, the Council shall cease to exist, and the members of the Federation will no longer recognize its authority.

The Council shall lay before each Congress a report of its administration, its receipts and expenses, together with all the documents necessary to prove the accuracy of its statements.

The first Congress shall be convoked by the Federalist Council at an earlier period than the date fixed upon for the succeeding Congresses, and on this occasion the Council shall draw up the programme of the questions to be discussed—for it is absolutely indispensable that this first Congress should be called upon to pronounce its opinion on the Universal Federation, on its general statutes, its aims, and purposes, with the least delay possible, a fair opportunity of amending or revising all it may deem necessary to correct or improve.

This first Congress shall also be called upon to pronounce an opinion on the conduct of the General Council of the International, meeting at Rathbone place, Oxford street, London, and will demand an account and explanations concerning its administration, the employment of its financial resources, and its continuance in office though its mandate had expired two years ago. The Congress will give its verdict on these questions.

The Congress will be called upon to revise all clauses in the statutes and rules of the Workingmen's International Association that may be proved to be defective or contrary to the principles of Republican and socialistic Democracy.

It shall also decide on the programme of the next Congress, which will be held in the first week of September, 1873.

The Congress shall inform all the adhering sections and associations that they will be called upon to nominate, at a date to be ultimately decided upon, new delegates to the Universal Federalist Council. And it shall also warn the members of the latter that their functions will cease on the members entering into office. Members of Federalist Council may be re-elected.

2. Every Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the free, untrammelled, direct universal suffrage of the Sections or Associations forming part of the Federation.

3. The Federalist Council shall have the right of assisting at the sittings of the Congress, and may tender its advice on all matters, but it shall only be represented by five delegates elected within its own circle, and these latter alone shall enjoy the same rights as the other members of the Congress.

4. Each Section and Association can send the same number of delegates to the Congress as stipulated in Article 2 of the statutes, Chapter II.

5. Should events render it impossible to hold the Congress in the town designated for that purpose, the Federalist Council may, after having consulted all the adhering Sections and Associations, and by abiding with the will of the majority, convocate the Congress to meet in some other town. But under no circumstances whatever is the Congress to be postponed.

6. All the members of the sections and the adhering societies may, on presenting their card, participate in the discussions of the Congress, by conforming, to the rules of the Chairman and the majority of the delegates; these latter, however, shall alone possess the right of voting.

7. Though the decisions of the Congresses must be respected as possessing all the force of law, appeals can be made against them before the sections and associations by conforming to the provisions laid down in the article of the second chapter. The decisions of the Congress, however, can be annulled by a majority of two thirds of the total number of voters of the sections and associations. The Federalist Council, and each section or association adhering, has the right to provoke an appeal against the decisions of the Congress.

8. Each Congress, in drawing up the programme for the ensuing Congress, shall introduce economical, political, and philosophical questions.

9. The Congress shall also act in the capacity of an Arbitration Court, in the event of any misunderstanding or dispute arising between the sections and association, or between them and the Federalist Council. The right of appeal, however, to the sections and associations, will also be maintained in this instance.

10. The Congress shall assure itself that the Federalist Council has punctually performed all its duties, and will pass a vote at each annual session condemning or approving the administration and financial accounts of the Council.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL FEDERALIST COUNCIL, THE PROVISIONAL DELEGATES.

1. Henry McAuley, compositor; John Belliston, photographer, delegates of the Soho Republican Federalist branch of the International.
2. William Lowe, bootmaker; A. Smith, journalist, delegates of the Council of the Universal Republican League.
3. James Blich, shoemaker; Richard Denis Butler, compositor, delegate of the No. 3 Section of the Universal Republican League.
4. William Sims, stone mason; H. Woods, shoemaker, delegate of the 4th Section of the Universal Republican League.
5. John Weston, carpenter and professor of joinery, President of the Land and Labor League.
6. B. Landeck, jeweler; T. T. Metard, jeweler, delegates of the French branch (de traite) of the International.
7. Philip Walter, shoemaker; Hayes, laborer, delegate of the Mile End branch of the Land and Labor League.
8. Czilinski, sculptor; Grune, tailor, delegate of the London German branch of the International. (Arbeiter Bildungs Verein).
9. P. Vesinier, clockmaker; Leverdays, professor of chemistry, delegate of the 1871 French branch of the International.

All correspondence to be addressed to R. Denis Butler, compositor, 6 Eagle street, Red Lion Square, London.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

It is with some hesitancy that the following criticisms are offered on an organization with which I am not fully acquainted, though I have read and carefully considered everything conveniently acceptable, pertaining to it; believing, however, that its influence in the United States could be largely and beneficially increased by the modifications suggested, and that its very cosmopolitanism should make it rather adapt itself to varying conditions than keep it everywhere a unity,

without reference to divers geographical, political and social circumstances. It is hoped that the expression of those criticisms may be considered appropriate.

The proposed constitution of the United States Federal Council of the I. W. A., comprises too many officers, too much rule and regulation and too much work. Mr. West's proposed substitute of February 24, appears to be an improvement.

Nearly all societies (like most nations) are governed too much, have too many laws and writings. I know from personal experience in connection with public documents, that one of the greatest blessings that could happen to secure an economical administration would be a fire that would burn up nine-tenths or ninety-nine-hundredths of them.

In a century more, at present rates of accumulation in Washington, it will take a few thousand clerks just to keep files. Ditto as to law books, decisions, etc., which grow more and more cumbersome every year, or that an army of worse than drones are required to be paid large prices to tell what they mean. Yet, with this experience of centuries before it, it is proposed in behalf of the I. W. A., that an officer called an "Archivist" is to make it his business to preserve more records of "dead issues" and repeat old blunders in an organization expressly designed to get rid of their consequences. Being a sort of "Archivist" by trade, and knowing the general uselessness of such things, I say to the International, burn your letters when acted upon, filing and recording only briefs of the more, and copies of the most important; keep your energies for live work and not fritter them away on records or petty debates over how not to do it. Curtail your rules and regulations to the utmost; have as few officers and as little organization as possible, so as to leave all practicable margin for the discussion, investigation and application of great principles, and not take up half the time of the meetings (as is done in so many societies for various purposes) on petty points of precedence and method. There are too many practical issues urgently needing consideration and action to admit of frittering away time on useless details.

Now as to the purposes and methods of the International in the United States. In one country one class of evils are paramount; in another, other classes. In France and England where the country is explored with some thoroughness, the mines nearly all discovered, and every source of natural wealth utilized, manufacturing and mining capitalists may be the principal enemies of the producer. In England monopoly is one of the greatest evils; here it is probably the greatest material evil, while in France the land is more divided among small holders, and comparatively little is owned in large tracts. In the former country primogeniture has resulted in immense estates; while in France that law is abrogated; with the vast territory of the United States land speculation and R. R. grants produce results in some respects similar to primogeniture in England. In France and England, or wherever manufacturing and mining enterprise has developed natural resources to the fullest extent and where profitable enterprise of this character often become hereditary, a limitation of profits to ten per cent. per annum may be a matter of simple justice. Here, where it is the interest as well of the laborer as of the capitalist to develop the sources of natural wealth, who is going to run the risks of mining or manufacturing if limited to ten per cent., with all the chances of loss inevitable to new enterprises, the uncertainties of mining and the fluctuations of commerce? Here, in this as in other matters it may be the wildest insanity to do that which in England or France may be an absolute right of necessity.

It is probable that in England, France and Prussia, most government officials are honest in the details of their duties. Officials appointed for party services whose terms of office are contingent upon political necessities are not likely to be as cheap, honest or efficient as those whose official tenures are more permanent. Hence much less should be entrusted to official care here than in those countries. Again, in France and Germany government for generations has been in the habit of doing for the people what in England and the United States is far better done by private enterprise. For these reasons that what in continental Europe may be done by government, could in the United States and England be so done only at a heavy loss. This would be the case if government should have undertaken to manage the railroads, as is done in France; though this government had better have built all the trans-continental roads, and leased them to companies to run, than to have paid five prices for questionable services, as in the case of the N. P. R. R. To remove the obstacles which prevent direct intercourse of the producer with the consumer, to curtail the power of monopolies to exact exorbitant prices from those who are compelled to use the articles which they produce, to reduce transportation to a minimum, to prevent land being kept idle by individuals who claim to own it, all these objects are everywhere profitable; but their relative importance and the means securing them must vary with peoples and localities. Here they are paramount.

The party machinery by which primary meetings and legislative bodies from corporations to congress are controlled, should be one of the main points of attack here. The people have no choice in the selection of a candidate, as they have in a degree, both in France and England. A few wire-workers attend a ward or district meeting, when the candidates are selected; and a man must vote for one of two candidates thus selected by chicanery or "throw his vote away;" at least so it is imagined. Now the remedy for this is complete representation, or representation according to numbers, by which candidates are elected *en masse*, every man having as many votes as there are members to be elected, or that by concentrating all his votes for one candidate, a minority of one twelfth or one twentieth can elect a candidate by which they will be represented *pro rata*. As the matter is now managed it is doubtful if the majority is represented at all. Add to this complete representation, the referendum, and all the electoral power needed to accomplish the objects of the International is attained.

The abolition of land monopoly, the assertion of the principle that title to land is contingent on cultivation and on that only would indirectly settle the labor question by government construction of irrigating canals, artesian wells, etc.; the laborers thus transported would mostly remain to cultivate the land thus rendered fertile, paying enough on it to replace the cost of construction and repairs.

Corporations should be compelled by means of taxes on real estate, to provide free markets for the disposal of all perishable provisions. Railroad companies should be restricted to maximum freight and passenger rates per mile, adding a fixed rate per mile for handling, and another fixed sum, according to weight, for cartage from one depot in a city to another, or to a steamboat landing, and be held responsible for unnecessary delays. The government should also regulate the currency in the interest of the people.

Thus with a complete representation of all the people free from the contrivances of cliques and the dictations of conventions, all unoccupied land open to culture and its productions freed from *in transitu* degradations of market-house exactions and licences, and a cheap, reliable and untaxed medium of exchange, each would receive all that his labor might produce,

paying only for such services as would necessarily be rendered. Our government should also devolve as at present the protection of person and property from violence and fraud; it should also assume the construction and carrying on of all enterprises necessarily monopolies which it cannot repudiate, and all those such as the irrigation of large tracts of land which, though highly beneficial to the community, could not be made remunerative to individuals or companies. Beyond this it should be the object in the United States to limit rather than increase government functions.

The attainment of the objects would finally involve that of all others sought by the International. Without free land, complete representation and the referendum, labor cannot be permanently secure. So long as labor and land are unnaturally divorced, there must be a superfluity of the former, resulting in inadequate compensation, while transportation and market monopolies increase expenses. That more may be taken in and less paid out, this surplus must be transferred to fields in which its employment becomes profitable, no bolstering-up process by means of trade unions can abolish this necessity. The first right of labor is land; no other right will compensate for the deprivation of this. To be successful in the United States the International must become adaptive and practical, striking where its blows will tell and working in harmony with the genius character and circumstances of the American people. Cut away the topmasts, there is too much sail and too little ballast.

A. C.

THE PASSIVISTS.

None, more than we, regret the confusion that has entered into the ranks of the Internationals in this country. Still no one can wonder that it exists, when he looks over the history of the movement, both in Europe and this country. The elements of German character do not seem to be able to approximate to Democratic ideas of government. They do not seem to be able to grasp the idea of effecting a change in government, except through the means of a bloody revolution. A peaceful, political revolution by means of the ballot is to them a thing incomprehensible; and this, too, in the face of the pronouncement of the late London Conference, that political action is absolutely essential to the success of the International programme.

It is over this simple question of political action that the trouble in the Society has occurred in this country. Since there began to be English speaking societies formed, having the American ideas of political matters, the German element has seen that the control of the movement would pass from their hands, unless they could, by some means, stop the spread of the movement among Americans, and confine it to the foreign elements present in this country.

Thus when Section Twelve made its appeal to the people to form English speaking Sections, they arose *en masse* protesting against all such proceedings as against the "rules," when the rules distinctly assert that Sections have the right to take the initiative in such things. But failing to crush the new impetus given the cause by the efforts of Sections Nine and Twelve, aided by this journal, they turned their attention to the General Council, and by an entire misrepresentation of the whole case succeeded in obtaining an order of suspension from them for Section Twelve. But as fate would have it, what they had hoped would prove an efficient damper upon the American growth of the movement, proved instead, their own defeat; since the large majority of the Sections protest against the suspension of Section Twelve, even refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the General Council over the case as presented by them.

The action on the part of the American and French Sections has evidently come very unexpectedly upon the Germans; but this was not the end of their objection. They are bent on protesting against everything that has any appearance of affiliation with American customs. They object to Internationals acting with the Equal Rights Party, when the platform of that party includes all the International principles: which, as Mr. Banks very aptly remarks, shows that they have no principles, and that they are only governed by motives of policy; and very selfish ones at that.

Had some prominent German Internationalist been nominated by the Apollo Hall Convention, instead of a prominent American Internationalist, we haven't the slightest doubt they would have approved as heartily as they now protest. But it seems so much like child's play for the German Internationalists to protest against the action in convention of a body of seven hundred delegates from all parts of the country, that we can but consider the persons who engage in it as slightly beside themselves.

The withdrawal of Section 2 from the Federal Council did not seem in the least to alarm the remaining members. The delegates from that section have been a stump in the way of all practical action by the Internationals. They oppose everything, no matter how good it may be, which promises to militate in the least against their present power and position. A former member of that section does not, however, hesitate to charge upon it some of the foulest and most dishonorable practices, which, if true, and we have no doubt they are, should make the Federal Council doubly rejoiced that they are rid of the incubus. We predict for the principles of the International in this country the most rapid spread, when the head of the movement shall have become purified of those elements which corrupt its fountain, and this process is rapidly advancing to completion.

"Twas but one whispered—one—
That muttered low for very shame,
That thing the slanderer dare not name,
And yet its work was done.

A hint so slight,
And yet so mighty in its power,
A human soul in one short hour;
Lies crushed beneath its blight.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Our correspondence column admits every shade of opinion; all that we require is that the language shall be that current, in calm, unfettered social or philosophical discussion. It is often suggested that certain subjects should be excluded from public journals. We think that nothing should be excluded that is of public interest. Not the facts but the style to determine the propriety of the discussion.

We are in no wise to be held answerable for the opinions expressed by correspondents.

N. B.—It is particularly requested that no communication shall exceed one column. The more concise the more acceptable. Communications containing really valuable matter are often excluded on account of length.]

THE BASIS OF REFORM.

NUMBER XL.

MARRIAGE.

I have spoken of the interchange of elements from one individual to another, and named iron and phosphorus as illustrations; in the absolute sense each of the elements is capable of being transmitted to another, and under favorable circumstances this is beneficial to both. In the most transient intercourse there is something of this transfer going on. Much of our happiness or suffering comes from this interchange, which is not confined to our fellow beings but extends through all nature, as we shall see in future articles on this subject.

The most important subject in connection with this interchange of elements is that of marriage. It is one upon which much has been spoken and written, but which is still very little understood.

This relation of the sexes must be considered under the three divisions—physical, mental, and spiritual.

First, then, of the physical. The interchange of elements, of which I have briefly spoken, is of the utmost importance. The transmission of these elements to and from persons of different sexes is the most marked and decided; it produces the chief attraction between the sexes. A demand in the system of one for that which another has, draws them together, and awakens new and pleasurable feelings in each; these are the result of this interchange of elements, which takes place without contact, but much more so where there is a grasping of the hands or a contact of the lips. Such intercourse may be conducive to the health of both parties, and yet it may be of a temporary character, and herein lies the danger, for should a marriage result from this alone, and it very often does, the mutual benefit ceases in a short time and there is no pleasure in the association of each other; that which was attractive becomes actually repulsive and disgusting.

The majority of marriages are of this character, and the result is indifference, unhappiness, bickerings and often violent and cruel treatment on the part of one or both.

Mentally there is an interchange of thought, which is also material, and which strengthens both the giver and the receiver, where conditions are favorable. From such an attractive marriage may often result.

This is not, however, much more safe than the former, for in most cases it is not permanent, the supply of ideas does not continue, and coldness and indifference follows.

There is a third source of interchange and of union, from whence with the others comes the true marriage. Soul standing by soul in the perfect freedom of truth, interblending and mingling of one in the aspirations hopes and feelings which belong to this nature. Contemplating, measuring and understanding each other as in a beautiful mirror, without any concealment, then and there may be holy alliance formed which neither time, nor circumstances, nor internal discords can destroy. For a time and permanent marriage union, and all else are unworthy the name, you must have physical adaption which is calm and peaceful, and devoid of passionate excitements, which are transient; intellectual harmony and adaptation in which kindred subjects awaken thought, and draw out the mental powers of each, and lastly this soul union to which we have referred.

Let none deceive themselves in the hope that either one of these will do what all of them alone can do.

Such a triune marriage is that in which the God nature within hath joined two individuals, and no man can separate them.

Such a marriage needs no legal form or ceremonies, inasmuch as it is above all these. It is a proper question for each one to ask himself whether, while society is in the present low condition, it is not better to have some legal form.

Jesus fulfilled certain ceremonies of the Jewish law, not that He needed them himself, but that others might be restrained.

Such a marriage is as far above human law as heaven is above earth. It is a union which will grow and endure through eternity. It is not a state of restraint or fear on the part of either, but on the contrary, one in which there is the greatest and purest liberty.

Perfect confidence asks no suspicious questions, but in the full consciousness of the rectitude of both parties it exhibits a freedom without restraint, without watching or suspicion and thus becomes a heaven to both wherever they may be.

ARISTOTLE.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

As far back as we have any account of man on this planet, and any particular knowledge of an unseen, there has been historically declared, and in the measures of men freely confessed, a quarrel between some hitherto unexplainable, unseen power and man, who has always been an unwilling party in this matter. The acknowledged frivolousness of its beginning and cause, together with the absolute childishness of the ceremonies invented for man's conciliation of such power, the display in worship and the bombastic exhibition everywhere given, goes to show that this whole subject is justly open to close criticism; for it is certain that whoever or whatever such power was, in the beginning, that set up this rough, awe-striking dealing with man, requiring his abjectness and devotion, is in some way concealed in all the various theories and developments down to the present. And notwithstanding the changes in modes of man's service, or his association with such power, there has been no especial change in his relation to it or any let up in its war on man. Although at times the man has been hopeful of better things, he has after various struggles lost heart, and fallen back to his former level, so far as the total abnegation of the sovereign rights of the human soul are concerned. With a new theory which he complacently calls progress, the man to-day, with all his boasted improvements in arts, science, and discovery, is personally the same crippled deformity that he was thousands of years ago. As much the unresisting tool and craven dependent, as when the first feeble gleams of his existence lighted upon his consciousness. And with all the cultivation in letters, and enlarged performances in literature, the multiplication of books and assiduity in study, man begins and ends his wisest perorations to-day in

learning, just where he did, at any point in the thousands of years in the past; and that is in mystery. That, however much he may have changed his position, so far as individualized being is concerned he has not improved his condition. He who gives forth his learned disquisitions on science, art, philosophy, and religion, for the amusement and information of those denominated the higher classes, while he taxes their pockets, is but the enlarged, improved, and embossed edition of him, who "jumps jim crow" to a less aspiring class for the same purpose; and the trouble is not with man. There is a mischief elsewhere to which it properly belongs. For gild our chains as much as we may, they are still galling; and the mighty soul of man feels it, and demands unfettered freedom for its essential development. It, however, need not be demanded of his fellow-man; for man does not hold it. Farther than men have been swindled into adopting measures for pursuing life, in such a way as to entangle one another, which schemes have always served to screen the wily character of the operators, and complicate the original difficulty. For it was not man against man, but some unseen power against man, that not only took great pains to make it known, but to magnify its fearfulness. Hence man has always in some way been negative to the unseen; and when he comes to scrutinize the matter closely, will find it the principal source of his misinformed life and sufferings. Whenever any new developments have been brought out and incidentally exposed the weakness of the past, awakened hope and stimulated man to adopt a change, some subtle, wily influence has adroitly converted his whole energies into fiercely blaming man, for the supposed inexcusable ignorance of the past. Just as if the cunning forces that are craftily at work in setting all new theorists to fire away at the stupidity of older ones were not as directly the authors of those old philosophies as they are of our newer ones. The main craft being to keep man in the fog, the unction that stirred within the soul dissatisfaction with the condition of man, under the dismal nightmare of old theories, did not originate from this source; but it came from a better one in response to a conscious want, felt within the human soul. And no sooner has this feeling become intelligent enough to be understood, than some new deformity has been surreptitiously sprung upon the race, and sets man on a tilt in another direction, to "jump jim crow" in some new and authorized improvement of that performance, to hush for the moment the freshly awakened longings of the human soul, while this craft could gain time to defeat the prospect of what threatens to become chronic in this disturbance of old landmarks. And after awhile this new surprise in ethical, and spiritual gymnastics, has as gloomily settled down into as deadly an incubus on man, as any of its predecessors. This has been the fate of all theories, and will be the fate of all succeeding ones. Man in his essential soul of being is as unlike anything that the best of theories have written out, as is symmetry in proportion from ugliness or deformity. When He of Nazareth gave utterance to the spontaneous promptings of his quiet and unpretending soul, it sent the death shiver quivering through old Judaism. And devils were on the alert to imagine its drift and head it off. Meantime taking care that no one should be simple, and artless enough to comprehend a single thought he uttered, until they could entrap him, and force a compromise, or rudely hurry him out of this mode of being, where only they fear any one. The only alternative with so honest and earnest a soul, was death. Salaries, titles, honors, ovations, nor terrors could arouse him. And hence, all that was left was violence; the sublime sensation he awakened, lived just long enough to become externalized, and be the occasion of a new deformity, which should stealthily wither every awakened hope within the human breast. For everything he said lost all significance when applied to the modifications of external relations. And this drift of subordinating acts, instead of energizing feelings, has up to the present, sat in sullen silence upon the world, stubbornly refusing any explanation, except such as has been wrung from it, or what has come to us, meanly apologizing for its villainy. Protestantism under Luther, was but a negative affair after all. It simply declared popery wrong. And to be religious with this declaration was to be right. When Wesley, Fox and others, felt the throbbing of a soul want within themselves, they were cunningly thrown into the dangerous arena of becoming teachers, before they had learned the first letter in the alphabet of individualized existence. And that first letter, is man's thorough knowledge of himself, the key that quietly unlocks the secrets of a universe to the inner soul. When noble souls, in all ages of the world, have been awakened to feel a want within, they have been set to urging others to fall in with God's plans or designs. Just so sure as matters are managed to promote design, just as certain this management is tyrannical and arbitrary. And man can be responsible no where; even his obligation to himself is gone. And whatever claims such power may profess to have upon him, can have nothing to do with his consent. For if in the least dependent upon it, there can be no design in it; for in the absence of such consent the design would be frustrated; and if not dependent upon his consent, why so much worry and fuss in attempting to get it. The whole land is in a stew for man to fall in with "God's plans." Every sermon preached, every Bible printed, every tract distributed, and every prayer made has this for its burthen. Why a moment's cool reflection would demonstrate that a God has no plans the instant they are dependent upon human concurrence. For in the absence of such concurrence, who shall ever be able to tell us what the plan was, or that only human imagination, or diabolical invention had anything to do with it? If a plan or design in any sense, the whole of existence must be arbitrary. If there is violation it may upset the plan. Will some easy reasoner say that the plan embraces volitions? It would be just as clear to say that it did not. For there are a great many involuntary acts. In every attempt that loved ones have made to get man to the point, where he could be the master of his own momentary satisfactions, they have failed, just where every measure they have instituted has failed, and that through the various decays that have directly put man on a wrong scent. Hope, perhaps, never loomed up brighter to the race than in the advent of spirit manifestations. But instead of our thoughtfully pursuing its first laughing story, "we are always with you," and following out its simple suggestions, and thereby comprehending what had always been the cause of all obliviousness in this direction, we have gone kiting after new extravagances, guessing at enigmatical monograms, and gravely nursing our beautiful philosophy while we fight other stupidities. Who are so thoroughly wedded to theories as are ourselves. At the time Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, I was in New York. On the following Sunday I went to St. Mark's Place to call on a friend. On arriving at his house, I learned that he was at Cooper Institute listening to an oration on the tragic death of Lincoln. I thought to go in, and wait until it was over, would be the readiest way to beguile the time. I went in, but preferring to wait outside, to listening to a sensational harangue on any subject, I retired. Yet I returned in time to catch the finishing touches of the very solemn discourse, which were nearly, if not precisely in these

words: "When the soul of this martyr took its flight from the mortal casket, it was carried by angels to rest in Abraham's bosom." I wickedly said to myself, "thunder, what a bosom Abraham must have, he has already got a beggar in it." After getting again outside, watching the throng as they crowded each other into the open air, and seeing the medium pass me, George Fox quietly said to me, "the very spirit, who managed the whole affair in the taking off of Abraham Lincoln, has here personally controlled the medium in the delivering of this oration." I was before aware of the marvellous exploits of low spirits, in all villainy, as I supposed; but the uniting of the greatest apparent antipathies in rascality, was, I confess, a chapter that I had not read. This was to me a new leaf from "the mystery of iniquity." The minister who very gravely mouths his weekly tautologies, and earnestly warns his hearers against "the wiles of the devil," and particularly in the development of Spiritualism, is as really managed by spirits, as is the medium who scoldingly throws the javelin at "the old fogey" for not advancing with this new light. And it is not infrequently that they are both managed by the same spirit. "The conflict of ages" has been just here. A better spirit has no sooner awakened interest in man, before these wily creatures have cast about to get him entangled in some abstraction, as inapplicable to the real wants of the human soul, as would be a supper of moonshine. Will the questions be asked "is nothing true, can we trust nothing? No, absolutely nothing is true to man, until he is true to himself. And nothing to be trusted until he can trust himself, until man is in harmony with himself, his chief business will be to manage, and benefit others, while he neglects himself. When I can find somebody in the seen or unseen, more important to me, than I am to myself, I will unhesitatingly give this importance all due attention. Until I do, all must stand aside for my first respectful attention to myself. It is through the perspective of my own essential being, that every thing, and everybody are to have their proper estimate by me. For it is directly through the medium of this perspective that I shall ever see anything of importance in myself, in others, or in the objective universe. Deformed here, everything else is of necessity too, also a deformity. And will suffer in my estimation correspondingly. Bad spirits understand that to make everything unnatural, unlovable, and in almost every way, to adaptation is to spoil the observer. Say what we may, that power, whatever it was, that undertook to throw man in the shade at first, is still at its work, however much it may be modified. And man suffers by it to-day, as directly as he ever did. And what it cannot effect through a superstitious veneration for the institution, it will craftily work out by personal impositions on the individual. Man is daily and hourly conscious of this dual condition. A something he feels oppressing, directing, annoying, upsetting his plans, interrupting his feelings, and always in some mysterious way assuming to be his master. Accusing him while he suffers, blaming him while he seeks to palliate or justify, and holding terrors over him while he seeks to shy them. Do not call this conscience. It is high time the sheep skin was torn off from this wolf. There is no portion of man, being at war with another, if so, he is not immortal. This war will eventually spoil him as a creation. But there is no such thing. War as a specific creation is a unity.

There is no "law in his members warring against the laws of his mind." For mind is as much in one part of the body as in another, in proportion to its importance in the scale of relations in an intelligent organic form. And is everywhere in the individual being a unit with itself. This impossible trash that the head and the heart, or thought and love are at war, and that love should necessarily be subordinate, has been the invention of unseen manipulators of the human brain, to screen the perpetrators of a discord arising from a subtle personal war on individual man, to keep him oblivious to the presence of the loved of unseen being. And all other inventions in our methods of pursuing life were originated for the same purpose. Man is not bad, and has no war with his fellow man. It is these petty abstract interests with which nobody has any business farther than uses are concerned, that force humanity to corner each other and fiercely contend for the best end of a bargain. And also the diabolical assumptions of rights to govern one another, which constitute both the occasion for these wily operators and the cloud that conceals them. Whatever our improvements in theories, they have never told us what ailed us. And through them all the same artful dodge is at work on the individual, making a will of the human frame, through which to grind out absurdities to bewilder man. I gather up my earnest soul while conscious of every inherent right and hurl it in firm defiance in the teeth of any abstract authority possessed with single right of any being. If possession points with any significance to legitimate ownership, the question of individual sovereignty is settled without debate, and beyond any possible call for reconsideration. E. W.

DEADHEADISM.

BY A. GAYLORD SPALDING.

To be a dead-head is to get your cream and sugar, your milk and honey, your bread and fine cloth, free of cost. You have a complimentary ticket to the world's fair, on the great railroad, and to all the comforts, conveniences, beauties and pleasures of life. It is charming and glorious thus to be a privileged specimen of humanity. Thus you become fashionable, respectable, and belong to the upper ten. True, somebody has to dig the dirt and turn the grindstone, use the hoe and spade, and raise the corn and wheat. But the clodhopper class throughout the earth was made on purpose for that, for so it has been since the days of Cain.

I make no reference to pilfering, hooking, cheating, stealing, burglarizing, robbing, swindling, embezzling, defaulting, or confiscating on a private, smallscale, or on a government big scale, for this is always more or less vulgar, and would alone pay all the cost of a decent government. But I mean the legitimate rights and privileges of the pure and innocent dead-head. That class have a divine sanction. David was a man after God's own heart, and therefore had a right to wives and concubines, and his cattle on a thousand hills. Solomon was the wisest man that ever lived, and of course his claim was good for seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, and all the gold and silver needed for his big temple. But those poor men who picked the stones for his temple had no rights, neither had their wives, that he was bound to respect. David and Solomon were distinguished favorites of old Bible times, and worthy examples for modern deadheads. So, in our day, we have the system perfected on an extensive scale of democratic-republican and Catholic and orthodox dead-headism—leaving out the extra wives—with schools to train and qualify all young men aspiring for those high positions.

Professional life is the universal attraction, and must be expensively accomplished. Nobody wants education to grow potatoes, or push the plane, or do any other productive labor. But if a young man have comely features and a pert mind, and some tongue and little wit, it is clear that he was not made

for common or useful things, but for an ornament in polished society. He must be a dead-head. Society is adorned with many kinds of that genius. One can take his choice according to his peculiar fitness. If he have grace and solemn sanctimony, he is right for a minister; if noisy, blustering eloquence, a good politician; if straight, with a proud gait, a first-rate candidate for West Point and epaulets; and so on. Society is sadly defective without these privileged classes for trimmings. They are quite as necessary as Colorado potatoe bugs, Minnesota grasshoppers, or Egyptian locusts, to eat up things.

For example, the clerical profession, ancient and sacred, is a consuming horde. To minister, sometimes, means to serve. Then it is useful. But now the church minister is served by all the world. He has a high and holy calling, or exemption, and workmen must give him reverence, feed him and his horse, build him a church and parsonage, and pass round the hat for all hands to throw in their money. Seventy thousand such in this blessed and favored nation! Who wouldn't be a minister? Such soft, pretty hands; not allowed so work or earn his bread, and yet have everything. He wears deadhead broadcloth, and reads deadhead newspapers!

The minister's doctrine is dead-headism all through. Personally, he is free from all rough duties and responsibilities in life; he preaches a dead-head theology; and saves the people on the back of Jesus in a deadhead heaven of eternal rest and idleness. Church property is deadheaded from taxation—three hundred millions valuation which is made up by extra taxations upon the horny hand of labor.

In Europe Deadheadism is worse than here, only because we have more land and elbow room. As growth with us is mighty and rapid, and is a controlling element of our religion as well as our politics, fostered by all our popular education in high schools and colleges which tends to aristocratic social exclusiveness.

Among the Chinese and Hindoos, the distinction of ladies of high caste is to wear silks, jewels and fine things, and be helpless and useless. That is the doctrine of deadheadism prevailing in all countries called civilized. It is the doctrine of capital and monopoly, and the burden of the working classes. The higher one class is the lower another must be to balance it.

Has not the time come for a change? Is the abused class prepared for a peaceful reconstruction? Productive labor is healthful for body and mind, and pleasant and desirable, when duties and chances are made equal. But, when one class, under pretext of governing the country or the world, and protecting the people, or saving their souls, become themselves exempt and scapegoats, the other class may justly conclude that they need no such government, protection or salvation. It is hypocritical deadheadism, and should be immediately superseded by a method of self-government, equal industry and brotherhood.

CHAMPLIN, Minn. May 1, 1872.

STRIKES vs. THE BALLOT BOX.

There is a great deal of arrant nonsense talked nowadays about strikes. On both sides, too; on one side by men who assume to speak on behalf of the workmen, or profess to be their special and particular friends. On the other side by the enemies of the men and the champions of the masters. Both sides join in a chorus of unanimous condemnation of the strike as a means of social action. It is wasteful; a terrible loss to these poor, blind, ignorant workmen. Besides breeding bad blood and what not.

A strike is a losing operation on both sides, is it? Where is the loss? A strike is a temporary cessation of work; a rest, a pause, in which men stop to reconsider the conditions under which they are co-operating together, and as a mere matter of temporarily ceasing to work and taking a rest, where is the harm? These strikers work hard, habitually, doing some useful service to humanity, year after year all their lives long; why should they not rest awhile? If it be so great a loss to society for these men to cease working for a few weeks, how much greater loss for others to be never usefully employed at all, but employed only in wantonly wasting—spending in "Grecian bends," point lace and other harlotries—the products of others' labors.

But these strikers do not cease working merely to rest; they drop their tools for awhile to think. Hence these crocodile tears. If they would quit the shops only to fuddle themselves in vile drinking dens (yielding cent per cent. rentals), there would be no first word of outcry. What is so entirely beyond endurance is that "low," ignorant workmen should have the insolence to stop and think; and then naturally enough to use their leisure and thought in conferring together. It is plain enough that if that goes on, something will happen by and by. It cannot be stopped, however, and so something will happen.

Moreover, it is a sure thing that plodding on eternally in one dull round of unrelenting toil; steady industry is another thing, and admitted by us all to be indispensable, and a social duty, is not the brightest, the quickest nor even the surest road to real human progress. Where would have been all our inventions if no man had ever stopped to think? Is an invention for facilitating our textile processes, or to speak more generally, for adding in any way to man's controlling power over the brute forces in nature, to be deemed of inestimable worth, and the discovery of improvements in that far more delicate machinery by which the various passions and desires of human nature itself work together in spontaneous, social co-operation to be lightly esteemed?

If the social law operation is to be really free, what should men do but cease to act together when the conditions under which they have been acting together cease to be satisfactory? Surely that is better than going on nursing mutual grudges till concentrated hatred bursts out in deadly warfare. That is the old military method so much beloved still by our Thiers and Bismarcks, and pious Emperor Williams and their admirers in American Harvards and Yales! But our modern society is ceasing to be military and becoming industrial. It will naturally replace military methods of social action by industrial methods. And a really industrial society can not be any other than a profoundly free co-operation. Not one whit the less so from the fact that the two fundamental functions of administration and operation naturally differentiate themselves more and more.

The opponents of strikes are so, really because they have never yet risen up to the idea of a perfectly free co-operation. One side believes in keeping the operatives eternally enslaved to the administrators, and if we must have any form at all of this slavery, why not take the bull by the horns at once, adopt the plan of the late Southern confederacy, and let the capitalist own the workman—all the workmen, black, yellow, and white equally? The other side believes not one whit more in a free co-operation, but only in putting the boot on the other leg, and having the administrators enslaved to the operatives, and as near as may be owned by them. But then as the operatives are, or with proper economy of administration ought to

be, twenty or thirty to one of the administrators, this latter system seems to be, on the "greatest happiness" principle, more excusable than the other. As indeed it might be if *owning a slave* were necessary to happiness. But owning a slave is wrong, and it is never right to do wrong. And after all, in spite of "Bibles" and "religious tracts," the supreme human blessedness still consists in *doing right*.

Neither side can by any possibility carry its point. We have done with slavery. It is not going to be revived in any form. Nor will Karl Marx succeed in making himself the new Napoleon, and riding to absolute power on the shoulders of the European Proletariat, let him plot and scheme never so cunningly. The keen common sense and clear intellects of the French workingmen will rise gradually above all the many forms of demagogical clap-trap.

The refusal to co-operate is really the normal method of exercising the popular power. It is the one method which will finally conquer a real liberty, and its inseparable concomitant—government by a virtual unanimity. It is *unanimous consent* which is really the true foundation for government among a people free, in our sense, the positivist sense of the word free. The man has only a low ideal of freedom and the social harmony of the industrial republics of the future, who has no objection to despotism as long as it is the despotism of the majority. Despotism is despotism still, no matter how great the majority which decrees it, and it is destined to pass utterly away, replaced by a real and profound liberty.

How such a liberty can be finally attained, conciliated as it must needs be with order and organization, we shall discover in good time, if we stand faithfully by the ideal and have patience. But it is plain enough from the very outset that what is now-a-days commonly called "legislation," has a very small part to play in the institution of any so perfect a social state, which indeed, cannot be instituted in the sense of being decreed into existence at all, but must needs grow up gradually. Legislation can hinder the natural development, and indeed, does so. Many a bad, hindering law might be advantageously taken out of the way. But there is a much shorter method of doing that than by getting up a new party for the purpose, and "appealing to the people at the polls." What do the people know or care about any new social order? If they really did care, and wanted badly to know something, the newspapers would not let them.

At the present day, moreover, men of sense are coming more and more to recognize that for "legislation" by arbitrary decrees, whether of potentate or democratic assembly, we need to substitute "legislation" by scientific discovery. The business of inventing laws turns out to be a great failure; we can put them on our statute books, so many words, but the facts laugh at us and at them. We have now to try and find out the laws that exist of themselves in the nature of things. We refuse to submit any longer to arbitrary will, no matter whose the will may be. We will have no sovereign. The sovereign people is no better than the "sovereign by divine-right King," so long as it pretends to make its mere caprice—its arbitrary will—the absolute lord. We repudiate this lord.

We positivists offer no resistance, it is true, to the actual government, here or elsewhere, preferring to employ our forces in organizing the successor that is to replace it. Nay, we would sustain the Government here against all military violence, such violence being a movement self-evidently *backward* instead of forward. Bad as our Wm. M. Tweed may be, he is not so bad as Wm. M. Tweed at the head of an army, like that one, for example, who at Sedan and Metz traitorously gave up his army to its country's enemy! We ask no credit, indeed, from the actual governments for our non-resistance; for that non-resistance is based, not certainly on contempt, for they are fulfilling, for the moment, an indispensable function; but still on our conviction that they are far less sovereign than they dream themselves to be. Public opinion—a very different thing from the majority vote!—is in the last resort sovereign. And as to this country, the *real practical power* does not reside in the official governments, State or Federal. The real power, here, in the United States, lies back of them, concealed and therefore irresponsible: the money power. We seek, first and foremost, to destroy, at all events, that irresponsibility by bringing out the real fact into the bright daylight. The masses of the American people may not trouble themselves much, perhaps, whether their boasted free institutions are or are not a delusion and a sham. But the working men—the real workingmen—upon whom the hopes of the future in great measure depend, will care to know, and will find out in time, some way or other, to turn their knowledge to account.

The coming power is really, in fact, that of the working man. It is true that the *Modern Thinker* told us, in a spicy little article not without some glimpses of the real truth, of "King Wealth coming!" But, in the first place, we are not in the real future going to have any king at all. Then in the next place, the power of wealth is here already, greater than it ever will be in the hereafter. For to-day, indeed, it has chained to its footstool the organs of public opinion itself, both press and pulpit fawning and licking its blood-stained hand, instead of asserting with calm dignity the supremacy of the ideal, which is religion. The coming power is the power of numbers made available only by organization. And grandly is the organization growing, the organization of the workmen as workmen, men who mean to remain workmen, too, in spite of the low-browed demagogues.

Talk about "coming" kings indeed, at this time of day! The tottering Crowns of Europe are all conspiring together to crush out the "International," first rude spontaneous form of proletarian organization, and the more they conspire the faster it grows! Their conspiracy is natural enough, truly, for unless they can put down this International, and that right speedily, their occupation is gone. But they must contrive wiser schemes than their recent diabolical Bismarck-Napoleon War, directed really against this new power—the Workingman power; for in spite of all the fiendish slaughter, the International is incalculably stronger to-day than it was two years ago. But even if they could destroy this particular form of organization, the spirit which animates it would remain, and speedily clothe itself with a new body more robust than the last. The workingmen of the West have learned that they are *one body*, with the same interests, the same difficulties, the same future everywhere. And they have learnt also—Thiers and Bismarck conspiring together to teach them!—two things more (1) that the actual governments are all their enemies, and (2) the idea which is the very core of the Republican spirit; *L'Union fait la force*—in union is strength!

That which has been, still is, and will yet be, the most efficient instrument of all in engraving this double lesson deeply on the minds of the workingmen everywhere, is the massacre of the Communists at Paris—thirty thousand men, women and children (it cannot be too often repeated) mown down with mitrailleuses *after the combat had entirely ceased*. And as though this were not enough the madmen of Versailles must needs supplement it by the purely gratuitous murders of the plains of Satory!

It is in this grand and universal union and co-operation of the workingmen, that lies one main element of the real hopes of the future. It is true the definitive triumph of Good over

Evil demands also the other two leading elements: the similarly universal union and co-operation of the thinkers who believe in and devote themselves to the service of humanity, and the co-operation of woman; especially this last, the other is spontaneously realizing itself. But the co-operation of woman cannot be counted on just yet. Denied the ballot, the leaders of the movement for female enfranchisement, conscious—as the most advanced of them are—that this Enfranchisement means something, a great deal more than the ballot, which latter is but a means towards its attainment, they still naturally fall into an illusion as to the value and capacities of this ballot from which the workingmen are already half set free by the simple fact that in this country they already have the ballot, and so know by experience what it is worth. The sooner the women get their vote the sooner they also will find out the cheat. Then will the best women, seeing their long-coveted political power snapping asunder in their hands and piercing their own sides, come to see the infinitely greater power inherent in the strike, especially that peculiar modification of it properly adapted to their sex.

In vain may workingmen organize "labor reform" parties. What can they amount to? Long before they can come anywhere near a majority at the polls they will be sold out by the leaders like a flock of sheep. That is what *third parties* are up for under our American system.

The women and the workingmen alike should ponder well the lessons taught us by the old Garrisonian Abolitionists. They would have nothing to do with politics, but kept hammering away at the public conscience. I know that at the present day journalists, and knaves and fools generally, don't believe in the public conscience or any other conscience, as a power worth speaking of. And naturally enough, they have had no experience of its force. But it is the supreme force nevertheless. True, the noble lion sleeps sometimes. The abolitionists undertook to wake him, and they did it. And, once awake, the politicians, naturally enough, ranged themselves on his side, and set their machinery to work to execute his purpose. We see the result.

On this occasion, it is true, it is our share in the common work, the share of us positivists, to awaken the sleeping lion, the public conscience. The workingmen, as such, have on their side a work of their own, possessing indeed, an engine of immense power in the simple union of their own class; to develop which, however, they must keep their organization in their own hands, if they would not expose themselves to be sold by intriguers. We and they are co-operating toward a really one end, even when the workingmen do not themselves fairly comprehend it; experience will teach them; but we should each work in our own organization. The "International" is the workingman's organization; those that should be working with us are only doing mischief by intruding into it.

Their real strength is in the union of their own class, and their true weapon is the strike. Susceptible of modification, perhaps, but in principle profoundly just and true. While our American political machinery is utterly unsuited to their service, let them attempt to use it and they will find it only "a mockery, a delusion and a snare." Suppose their "Labor Reform party," or any other "party," in our American sense, could actually get a majority at the polls, how much nearer would they be to the attainment of any of their real ends? They could in that case, of course, elect their ticket. But what then? The one thing they could not do is to elect men whom the money lords could not buy.

For the workingmen to attempt to secure the real redemption of their class through our present political machinery, or any other juggling with ballot boxes, is really to capitulate to the enemy. The women will find out the same thing as soon as they get their vote. Would that they could have their vote to-morrow therefore. For as soon as they do find it out then will come, vote or no vote, the beginning of the end.

HENRY EDGER.

THEISM VERSUS ATHEISM.

"You say, Marvin, that the elements were the earliest objects of man's adoration."

"O, Pan! I invoke thee, O, powerful God; O, universal nature; the heavens, the seas the earth who nourish all, and the eternal fire, because these are thy members, O, powerful Pan," etc.

This, Wilson, is a portion of an early Pagan invocation, not void, I think, of sublimity; but thrilling in its completeness with the spirit of genuine worship.

The Theism inculcated by Moses, practised by Abraham and his family and their successors, designed as an improvement upon Polytheism; appears the most empty pretence. For although the Jewish language opens the august authority of his decalogue with "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Yet his theological system necessitates the acknowledgment of quite an hierarchy of subaltern Gods, and we have cherubim Seraphim, angels, archangels and messengers infinitum, all subject to the mandate of Jehovah, and the prompt ministers of his will. But we must not offend or undervalue the importance of his right, royal satanic highness in the great hierarchy. The vast advance of intellectual science, the logic of events have proved the devil rather the best god of the two, not to mention the Holy Ghost and Messiah. So that even in Theism, contradictory to the very term as it is, we find "Lord's man and God's man." And why should it not be so? Can man be any other than he is? Composed of the elements, as his organization is his unfoldment cannot be other than the legitimate bent of their own natural tendency.

It was said once to a celebrated man that "God made man after his own image."

"And man has returned him the compliment," returned the philosopher.

How logical the reply; for, after all, what more is the Jewish Jehovah than a big, exaggerated man, too oft alas, a very bad one at that. A very devil of a God we would say. But we wish not to slander Satan. "Nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."

"As a man thinketh so is he." His God, therefore, is sure to be a reflection of his own dear sweet self, or plainer, his life is likely to prove a reflex of his ideal diety. So that if a man's God-idea be that of the Hebrew Jehovah, cruel, vengeful and vindictive, a God of lust and war, such a "beauty will he also grow."

"Still, Marvin, as free thinkers, let us be candid, what is the difference between the Bible God and the Infidel's God? The God of nature, as they seem to prefer to term him."

"I confess, Wilson, since you ask, I can see little or no difference between the God of nature and the God of revelation so called." For though Infidels have much to say against the revoltingly lascivious and terribly atrocious and blood-thirsty nature of the God of the Bible, and they do not overdraw the character, the book bears them out, in all their worst revelations. But has nature or nature's God a cleaner, purer page to present to our admiring eyes? Reverting to the past, how shall we speak leniently of the cause, be it a God or hidden

pent up natural chemical force, which opened the earth beneath not only vast populous cities, but entire nations, flourishing mayhap, in the very acme of civilization and luxury, and drank them down amid sulphurous flames, thus wiping out millions of humanity's members without a note of warning, shrouding from the light by vast sweeping oceans their very history.

Besides, take into account the terrible conflicts and bloody wars among nations and man. Has nature less to do with these than all those other multiform commotions, earthquakes and death, and life imparting phenomena of our strange and wonderful globe? Or are not the countless conflicts and vicissitudes of the races, but the grand panorama of reflex, the magnetic arcana from which man has been rejected; and in which he is compelled by an inexorable necessity to play, pulpit like, a part. Nations and men appear in almost perpetual hostility, each living at the expense of his neighbor; they are bouqueting upon that which causes the desolation, the misery of the other profiting by misfortunes, rioting upon disasters which, indeed, ultimately destroy them.

The most deadly poisons spring up beside the most wholesome fruits; the earth, nature nourishes, equally the fatal steel which terminates man's career, and the fruitful corn that prolongs his existence, his antidote, his bane is borne towards him by the same hand; both repose on the same bosom, ripen by the same sun.

The military tactician displays his skill, fights a sanguinary battle, puts his enemies to the rout, lays waste his country, slaughters thousands of his fellows, plunges entire districts into tears, fills the lands with the moans of the fatherless, the wailings of the widow, that crows may have a banquet, ferocious beasts gluttonously gorge themselves with human gore, and worms riot luxuriously.

And so it is throughout the animal department of nature; the serpent feeds on the dove, the lion devours the lamb. Even were the cruel blood thirsty Jews prompted, in their hellish deeds on surrounding nations, by Jehovah, they still prove such was their nature. Indeed all art, chicanery, skill and deceit, is nature simply acting with the tools she herself has made.

"Nature, then is self-existent, and all her motions are a necessary consequence of her existence." "Yes, for without motion we could form no conception of nature. Her perpetual motion, and her ceaseless commotion and changes, are the prolonging conservators of her life-giving forces." "You cannot believe then, Marvin, that the Hebrew Jehovah is the formator of the universe." "Never!"

"But the book—and it, to be consistent, even though gotten up simply by man, must be at least a portion or an effect of nature; nature, if you please, testifying of herself,—says, 'all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist.'"

"If in Him all things consist, he has little or no cause to find fault. For then is He unmistakably the parent of all our passions, as also the projector of all the varied, conflicting and cruel impulses of nature with all the apparent injustice and actual oppression everywhere. And so, if He prove the benevolent being some have tried to make Him, there is some prospect of redemption for even the devil, for he, no less than the rest of us, must be the offspring of the maker of all things."

"Why yes, Marvin; such a philosophy imparts hope, to even the worst of sinners." But is not atheism incompatible with good citizenship? Is it not dangerous to the State? We shall be happy to answer at our earliest leisure.

REICHER.

THE COST OF CREED-WORSHIP.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: According to the published report of Dexter A. Hawkins, Chairman Committee on Political Reform Union League Club, there has been abstracted from the public Treasury of the City and County of New York in the last three years alone, for sectarian purposes. Nearly two millions of dollar of which the—

Roman Catholics have had.....	\$1,396,388 51
Protestant Episcopal.....	56,956 74
Hebrew.....	25,851 56
Reformed Dutch Church.....	22,216 06
Presbyterian.....	13,960 52
Baptist.....	5,325 63
Methodist Episcopal.....	7,270 95
German Evangelical.....	3,694 16
Miscellaneous.....	194,044 02

Grand total for three years.....\$1,725,702 15

filched through the process of law by this pious "brotherhood of thieves" from the tax-payers of New York City and County. Labor being the basis of all wealth, every dollar of this vast amount has been robbed by law from the sweat and toil of productive industry. The men who have been benefited by this process of legal pious fraud, are of that class who have recently met in convention at Cincinnati to take measures for the further amendment of the constitution, by which God is to be more distinctly recognized in that instrument, the divinity of Jesus Christ acknowledged, and the Bible accepted as the teacher of a national code of morals. Judging from analogy, these robbers of the laborer are the legitimate descendants of that class of fanatical puritans, who persecuted the Quakers some two centuries ago, and who met in convention, and are said to have passed resolutions as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the earth and the fatness thereof belong to the saints.

2. *Resolved*, That we are the saints with the full knowledge of these sectarian stealings, the enormous frauds of the Tammany, and the gigantic swindle perpetrated upon the people under the operations of the syndicate in the negotiation of the new government loan, how is it possible to prevent a further commission of like crimes and rebuke and bring the perpetrators to justice except through political action. The men who produce wealth, through labor, are the class who are outraged by these frauds, and it is for them to decide how long they will peacefully consent to be robbed by a lazy, licentious priesthood and the dishonest imperious demagogue politicians who now have power, to plunder the people. Lest some of the sanctimonious "whitened sepulchres" should demur to my application of the word licentious, I beg leave to call their attention to the recent case of the Rev. L. D. Huston of Baltimore, a distinguished Methodist divine, who is charged with the seduction

of several young ladies attached to the Sunday school of his church. Shade of Daniel, King of Israel, what a lamentable case of sectarian free love. As enormous as are the amounts raised for revenue purposes from the taxes levied upon whisky and tobacco, these amounts are insignificant when compared with the sums expended in the building of so-called Christian churches and the salaries paid to the priesthood. What a commentary upon justice and an insult to intelligence, was the white-washing resolution of the Committee of Ways and Means of Congress, that pretended to exonerate Secretary George S. Boutwell from the consequences of a criminal construction of law.

I once heard of an old man who said he liked to listen to a popular minister because he never meddled with politics or religion in his sermons. Now it seems to the writer, this old man is like that class of reformers who are fearful politics may get mixed up with Spiritualism, and that Spiritualism will suffer in consequence. Any philosophy or religion that can be made to harmonize with religious or political depravity is not the kind that "leadeth unto salvation," and I have an abiding faith that the glorious harmonial philosophy of Spiritualism will ultimately triumph over depravity in every and all shapes. The unblushing frauds perpetrated by officers of the Government, connected with the New York and Buffalo Custom Houses with the apparent approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, because the men who have perpetrated the fraud are retained in their official positions, though the full knowledge of their frauds has been made plain to the Government, should make it incumbent upon every honest man to aid with his vote the reform of such abuses. The time has come when the people need, and are demanding more freedom and less government in matters of church, state and the social relations of life, and through whose efforts may such desirable increase of freedom—political, religious and social, be looked for unless it is the progressive and liberal Spiritualists? Spiritualism, as it is now progressing on the American Continent, under our form of government, in its broadest religious, philosophical, scientific and political sense, to the writer, seems the bright star of hope for ignorant, oppressed, stubborn humanity.

SELAH.

THE GRUNDYS.

AIR—"Comin' thro' the Rye!"

If you nominate a woman,
In the month of May;
Dare you face what Mrs. Grundy
And her set will say?
How they'll jeer, and frown, and slander,
Chattering night and day;
Oh! did you dream of Mrs. Grundy
In the month of May?

If you nominate a negro,
In the month of May?
Dare you face what Mr. Grundy
And his chums will say?
How they'll swear, and drink, and bluster,
Raging night and day;
Oh! did you dream of Mr. Grundy
In the month of May?

Yes! Victoria we've selected,
For our chosen head;
With Fred Douglass on our ticket
We will raise the dead.
Then around them let us rally
Without fear or dread;
And, next March, we'll put the Grundys
In their little bed.

H.

COL. FISK'S SUCCESSOR.

[From the N. Y. Times.]

The Ninth Regiment is in search of a Colonel. As will be remembered, its last Colonel was the eminent soldier, the hero of the Orange riot, James Fisk, Jr. Under the care of Col. Fisk the regiment prospered in various ways. It was admitted to the Grand Opera-house; it was led on pleasant excursions to Long Branch and Boston; it was gorgeously clothed and sumptuously fed. And then Col. Fisk gave it a superb band, and lent to its parade the majesty of his own presence, resplendent in gold lace and lacquered belts. To be sure, with these delights came certain unavoidable inconveniences. There were those who asserted that the regiment had not peculiarly honored itself in selecting Fisk as its commander; and wicked persons, clearly envious of the good things enjoyed by the Ninth Regiment, coarsely called it the opera bouffe regiment—merely because it had chosen an eminent patron of opera bouffe to lead it to picnics and provincial parades. The regiment, like the legendary person who sells himself to Satan, enjoyed unusual worldly blessings, at the cost of secret uneasiness. Fisk, however, finally fell, if not precisely in front of the battle, at all events beneath a pistol bullet, and the Colonelcy being thus vacant, it is necessary that a successor should be chosen.

And now comes Miss Tennie C. Claflin, and applies for the vacant Colonelcy of the Ninth. She is quite in earnest, and insists that she will make a fit successor to the lamented Fisk. Moreover, she uses the same argument that was employed by Fisk when he first asked the regiment to elect him; the promise that her assumption of command will be the signal for large numbers of volunteers to enter the regiment. The application and the arguments that support it ought to be quite sufficient to satisfy the regiment that selected Fisk to be its Colonel, and there is really no reason why she should not be his successor.

Miss Claflin is at heart as expert a soldier as was Fisk at the time of his election. Her appearance in uniform at the head of her regiment would be quite as martial and rather less ridiculous than was that of the fat person whose vanity was the laughing-stock of the city on the occasion of the reception of the Grand Duke.

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Published by the Equal Rights Party.

AN OMISSION.

Our readers may have noticed that the report of the Equal Rights convention, in our last issue, appeared without the official names of the Secretaries, Harriet B. Burton and George R. Allen. In justice to them we would say that it was simply an undesigned omission.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Every subscriber who has read the WEEKLY long enough to know whereof it consists should send in one, two or three subscribers at once. Now is the time for every lover of reform, and of his kind, to set to work with a right down earnestness of purpose, which will know no such word as fail. There is no reader of the WEEKLY but has sufficient influence to obtain one subscriber; and it is just this individual work that will win us this campaign. Then let not a day pass without sending in a new subscription to the WEEKLY.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

Now is the time when those who are in arrears with their subscriptions, and those whose time is about expiring should remit. A great work cannot be carried on unless the people in whose favor it is inaugurated support it by something further than mere sympathy. Good wishes won't furnish a single ream of paper, nor pay a single em's composition, or a month's rent. Money is indispensable, and we trust our readers will not neglect us at the present juncture, when of all times we most need that they be prompt and just. If you have found the WEEKLY a welcome visitor, renew your subscriptions; if not, order it stopped at once.

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS.

Every man and woman who has the success of the campaign for Equal Rights at heart should constitute him or herself into a committee of one, to circulate documents setting forth the issues of the canvass. It is intended before November, to put into the hands of every family in the country sufficient documentary evidence to convince any reasoning person of the justice of the cause. Those having special facilities for distributing such documents will please address Carrie H. Spear, Head Quarters, Equal Rights Party, New York City, stating the number they can circulate to good advantage.

THE RATIFICATION.

On Friday evening, the 24th inst., the nominations of the Equal Rights party will be ratified by an immense mass meeting, to be held at the Grand Opera House. Many eminent (not so perhaps in the ephemeral reputation given people by the busy tongue of the meddling world, but eminently so in this, that they have been for years earnest students of the great questions that now, for the first time, begin to take form) speakers will be present and address the audience upon the several features of the platform which aims to give equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal compensation to all people of all classes. At that time Mr. Douglass' acceptance of the nomination will undoubtedly be read, since it is known that he has said that he "will not decline it." Let every friend of all-sided reform attend this, the initial meeting of the grand canvass, which is to be extended in all directions all over the country.

"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY, THEY FIRST MAKE MAD."

This old proverb is continually having new verification. When slavery agitation first began to wax warm, those who were to be destroyed began to show a spirit of resistance to all movements favoring the abolition of negro slavery. Every possible objection, human and divine, was arraigned against them, while to go into its own territory and even admit sentiments at war with the institution, was to forfeit life. Nevertheless the principle of freedom spread through free minds, and a tremendous under current of sympathy for the colored slaves came into existence. This sentiment, however, was not of that aggressive character that speaks for itself aggressively, but rather of that sort which responds only when some indignity appeals directly to it with sufficient force to compel expression. Thus it remained dormant in almost all minds, negatively affirming the constitutional right of property in man.

But when the general idea of freedom had gained so much diffused strength and had become morally aroused against the idea of the nationalization of slavery as to feel compelled to say it must be stayed in its spread, and confined to the country it had already cursed, the slave-holders saw that their doom was sealed unless the movement which aroused this opposition could be made successful.

Therefore, when the issue came they struck, fully believing that the moral resistance to their demand would be the sum of the opposition they would have to encounter. In this, however, as in all other similar events of which the history of civilization contains the records, they were mistaken. An opposition beginning in the moral sentiments, always will, so long as physical injustice exists, eventuate in physical opposition. Hence, when the South became mad enough to fire on Sumpter, the whole passive moral resistance to the principle of slavery, which existed in the North was fired into expression; and from Maine to California, there was but one predominant feeling; and that was of physical resistance to the demands of slavery.

The same question at issue then is being repeated again now in the more subtle agitation involving the slavery of industry to accumulated wealth. The same moral sentiment that found expression only in wordy protests against chattel slavery, now finds expression among the masses against industrial slavery. As it was said that the slave owners had a legal right to their slaves, so it is now said that the owners of wealth have the legal right to make the use of it that reduces industry to a virtual bondage to them.

And just here the query arises; Do the Gods intend to destroy them, as they did the slave aristocracy, and to that end will they be made mad enough to do the thing that shall raise the moral opposition into physical expression and resistance?

The slave oligarchy ought to have had wisdom enough to have seen the approaching storm and to have sheltered themselves from its fury. But they were to be destroyed and were blind to it. So also, ought the wealth oligarchy to see the storm that is now approaching, and to join hands with industry for their own protection. A few of the many who constitute this oligarchy do see the signs of the times and read their significance, but the large majority laugh at the under-current which now simply protests in feeling against their sway, thinking it will never rise into physical resistance to their power.

Some are already even mad enough to insult the respectful claim made for the most common of rights, bloated landlords and pompous house agents snub the representatives of the movement for abolition of the money, wealth and land oligarchies. Houses held for public rental are refused simply because the use to which they would be put is in the interest of industrial justice. Are these classess of persons already insane? Have they not the common sense to know that when they thus insult the leaders of reform that they are heaping up coals which shall hereafter burn them? The masses will not forget these things, and good care shall be taken that they have not the opportunity to forget them. You who laugh to scorn, who insult and mock now, shall remember, when it is too late, that you ought to have been simply human and just.

For as surely as slavery of the negro fell so surely also will that which you are enforcing, fall. Take care when it fall lest it shall grind you into powder.

We have no desire that the words of James, the servant of God, when he says, "wo unto ye rich men: weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you," shall indeed come upon this generation; but time must roll on, and justice must come uppermost; and if, in its course, it crush you for the cruelty you have rendered to those who have "reaped down your fields," you will have no reason to say you were not warned of what shall befall you.

Justice, equity and human right for every individual, is what is now demanded. You who stand in their path cannot afford to withhold your hand; since to do so is to call destruction upon yourselves. The time for you to render correct accounts of your stewardship has come; the demand for them is even now rising; and it requires but a single shot fired upon the Sumpter of this issue to rouse the moral power that is against you into a flame of resistance, that will sweep as ruthlessly over the country as did this war over the land of the slave; and if it come, its path will be left as clean and free as was the war-path in the South.

CAPITAL AND LABOR row together in the same craft, at least, so say political economists and social science reformers. Notwithstanding this assertion of the philosophers, it is believed that it was not the labor locomotive that brought over the Sampson coolies to North Adams. What think you on the question, Knights of St. Crispin?

A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.

After the smoke and excitement of the grand inauguration of the movement for Equal Rights has somewhat cleared away, a clear and calm view of the situation can and ought to be taken. Being a movement to be conducted by means of our present political system, to be consistent we must overlook the political situation and analyze its conditions. The present political situation is an anomalous one. Never before perhaps were party lines so nearly obliterated. A person calling himself a Democrat, might with equal propriety call himself a Republican. The old political questions of Revenue, Tariff, Protection, Civil Service, etc., no longer form dividing lines. In short, the contest is divorced from any question of principle and vested in personality. It is Grant, Greeley or somebody else, in utter disregard of the principles of either; in fact it is doubtful if the candidates have any principles except those which success seems to make necessary that they should enunciate; or having them, they must remain dormant, lest their speaking injure the prospect for success.

Therefore, the more closely and analytically the political horizon is scanned, the more clearly it becomes evident that the real question at issue is not between any old political parties, but as to the system of government under which it has been possible that these parties should grow to such power as to threaten the liberties of the people by their assumptions. Look where we may over the country, there we find a growing distinction of caste. The rich are becoming fewer and richer, and the poor poorer and more numerous every day.

The power that the few once had over the many, exercised by the mere caprices of will, is now possessed and exercised by the few over the many by an organized system of law. The real difference between the present and past consists in the fact that the people have the opportunity to consent to the same general results. The few formerly monopolized the services of their many subjects, leaving them only the means to support life. The few do the self-same thing now, only by a different method.

And it is this issue that must be brought into this campaign. The people must begin to think politically, for themselves. Long enough have they marched up to the polls, blindly electing the people to office whom the packed caucuses selected for them. This power they must take back into their own hands. The politicians have deceived them already too long. And the moment they do assume self-government, that moment the present condition of things will fall to the ground, and great will be the fall thereof.

It is the programme of the Equal Rights Party to induce the people to again assume the reins of government; and, having regained them, then to legislate for themselves and appoint their own official servants. The grand distinction, then, between the new party and the old parties lies in this: that while the old seek success for the sake of retaining or obtaining personal power and position, the new seeks to wrench the government from them and restore it to the whole people; its propositions and platform being positively and earnestly expressed in this direction. Nor will the people be slow to see this distinction.

LUCY STONE AND THE CONVENTION.

In the *Woman's Journal* of date May 18, Lucy Stone in speaking of the Steinway Hall convention says: "The most noticeable event of the meeting was Mrs. Woodhull's unsuccessful attempt to displace Mrs. Stanton in the control of the convention. An appeal to the proprietors of the hall decided the question in Mrs. Stanton's favor."

Now when Lucy Stone wrote that sentence, she either knew she was penning a falsehood or what is equally unwomanly, that she was writing whereof she knew nothing, or at least next to nothing. In the first place, Mrs. Woodhull neither made a successful or an unsuccessful attempt to displace Mrs. Stanton in the control of the convention. Lucy Stone must have read the Calls for the convention published in the WEEKLY for nearly two months. From them she must have known that Mrs. Stanton, Hooker, Gage and Miss Anthony invited all classes of Reformers to join with them to form a new political party, and she knew that the other Call repounded to theirs, agreeing to do the thing requested.

It was with that distinct understanding that all the delegates from the country came to the convention. It was both agreed upon and understood that the first day, Thursday, should be devoted to woman, to give to those who desired to speak an opportunity to do so, and they were not to be interfered with. But on Friday it was also agreed and understood that the convention should enlarge into a People's Convention, to be composed of delegates. All this programme was duly announced through these columns.

But it appears that some one called Mr. Steinway's attention to the fact that this was to be a political convention, which it seems he had not discovered until Miss Anthony's arrival in the city, although he had rented the Hall for that purpose; and also, that he suddenly conceived a decided objection to such a convention being held in that sacred place.

When Mrs. Woodhull was informed of this new position assumed by Mr. Steinway, she saw in it an attempt to defeat the purposes of the Calls, and to place her in the position of issuing a Call for people from all parts of the country to come to a convention that could not be held; and this was cunningly delayed until too late to announce a change in these columns. But she at once engaged Apollo Hall for the 10th and 11th, to supply the loss of Steinway Hall on those days. And thus in this way matters stood on the assembling of the convention in Steinway Hall on Thursday morning.

Almost immediately after the convention came to order it

began to be made apparent that the "powers that were" did not intend that there should be anything like a People's Convention, and inquiries passed among the delegates, some of whom had come even from California to attend a delegate convention, and bearing credentials to such a convention, as to whether a joke had been played upon them; the deliberate announcement being made that no new party would be formed.

We ask Lucy Stone if it was not natural that these delegates should have demanded some explanation of the extraordinary position of affairs. Now, since she knew all that we have said before she wrote what we have quoted from the *Woman's Journal*, may we not well exclaim: How great it is to be just!

What becomes of Lucy Stone's assertion? Why, this: Her charge that Mrs. Woodhull attempted to displace Mrs. Stanton in the control of the Convention turns out to have been the simple announcement made by Mrs. Woodhull and others, that those who had come to attend the Peoples' Convention for the purpose of forming a new party, would meet in Apollo Hall the next day, to which six hundred and sixty-eight delegates responded. With this stamped upon her, how can Lucy Stone ever again claim to be an honest, truthful woman?

The next statement made by Lucy Stone shows a still more barefaced attempt to misrepresent. One of the morning papers reported that after the nomination of Frederick Douglass had taken place, the platform was adopted "amid great confusion". These words she artfully takes from their connections and places them thus: Mrs. Woodhull and her friends then withdrew, and held a separate meeting in Apollo Hall, at which, "amid great confusion" Mrs. Woodhull was nominated for the Presidency.

Now, the intention of this trick is transparent. Lucy Stone would convey the idea that Mrs. Woodhull's nomination was made under conditions at war with those which were really present. Lucy Stone knew when she wrote the above that she was penning a base misrepresentation, since, although she was not present, all the papers reported that the nomination took place under the most unimpaired conditions of harmony that were possible to be conceived of. Not a single voice said nay. If that is what Lucy Stone calls "amid great confusion," we venture to say that when she shall, in the future, attend nominating conventions, she will be happy if the same kind of confusion prevail. The question is, can a person who deliberately attempts to misstate a case, for the purpose of creating a false impression, save herself from being adjudged dishonest?

The remainder of the article from which these two precious sentences are taken, is a legitimate sequence to such an introduction. It is as follows:

"We congratulate the National Suffrage and Educational Committee and the Woman Suffragists who prefer to work, under their auspices, upon having excluded side issues, and thus virtually adopted the platform of the American Society. We hope they have got rid of the Free Love incubus which has done incalculable harm to the cause of Woman Suffrage. Women, like men, are 'known by the company they keep.' The withdrawal of Mrs. Woodhull and her so-called 'radical reformers,' will result, we hope, in bringing once more to the front of the New York Society, women whose intellect and character command public respect."

To this beautiful and Christian peroration, we have no remarks to append. We leave our readers to digest it, each according to his or her own idea, simply expressing the hope that those congratulated may fully appreciate the honor conferred on them of being permitted to a stand on the platform of the "American Society," with women who, like Lucy Stone, can in bitter vindictiveness, stoop so low as to forget to speak the truth.

NOW IS THE TIME TO SUBSCRIBE.

The WEEKLY is the authorized organ of the Equal Rights Party—the only outspoken advocate of political and industrial equality without regard to prejudice or policy. It speaks the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about all things. It believes that all subjects relative to human well-being should be treated with plain speech and candor. It believes there is such a thing as justice; and that the time in the ages has come in which it can be realized even in the individual. In such an age people need to hear the whole truth; and it is the WEEKLY alone of all the various journals that stand upon principle, swerving neither to the right or left to suit this or that policy. Moreover, a political campaign has just begun, which has never before been equalled by the momentous questions involved in it. A Woman and a Negro—representatives of the two down-trodden classes of the community—are before the people as candidates for the highest official positions in our system of government. Not only do they stand most prominently as the specific representatives of these classes, but in their persons they also combine more of the elements of reform than any other two people who could possibly be selected. In them the industrial interests of the country will find their best exponents. They represent justice in regard to the distribution of the products of labor in the highest degree; and they have often, and in terms not to be mistaken, proclaimed war to the death against a system which permits seventenths of the people to labor all their lives long to support three-tenths as wealthy paupers.

As the advocate, then, of their election, the WEEKLY should receive the support of every person in whom a sense of justice has had birth. A sixteen-page paper, equal to a common one hundred and twenty-four-page book, or 6,448 pages for the year, for the inconsiderable sum of three dollars; and filled as it always has been, and always will be, by the most pro-

found thoughts of the most profound writers of the country, it should be upon every family table. No other similar amount of matter contains so many elements of general educational matter. The best test of its fitness for the reformatory spirit that is abroad in the land is, that they who are born into the idea of a common humanity, the brotherhood of man, once having tasted the food it furnishes, cannot do without its weekly report of soul-fattening things. Discard all milk and water mental diet, and for the next six month feed upon the strong food designed by nature for the full-grown man and woman.

ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!! ORGANIZE!!!

It is in the tiny springs of the mountains that the gigantic rivers find their source. Gathering from all directions as they flow onward toward the ocean, from insignificant streams they merge into the tremendous torrent. The mighty tide that continually makes the mightier descent over Niagara is no exception to the general rule. It is the diffused fountains rushing to the vast deep. It is the organization into a common movement of millions of diverse powers. It is the uniting of many separate powers for one common purpose.

Thus should it be in the case of the new political party for the attainment of equal rights. From millions of small centers, where its principles exist in small fountains, must the influence and power go forth to merge into the great stream, which, finally centering in one common purpose, shall displace all opposition, and the nation shall be born anew in a single day.

Then let every man and woman who believes in freedom, in equality without limitations, and in justice without regard to sex, condition or any other distinction, at once begin the work of organization, remembering where "three are gathered together in my name," there a power will be generated to aid the common cause.

Already the application for the form for, and instructions about organizing sections of the "Victoria League" are flowing in from all quarters. If the work continue for six months, as it has begun, there will scarcely be enough Republicans and Democrats left to tell the tale of their final overthrow.

To arms, then! To arms! Let the cry ring from the centre to the circumference of this nation—from one extreme to the other; and let it bear no uncertain sound. Let it be, down with the despots who have usurped the whole political power; and down with all paupers, whether they are from the hovel or the palace, who live by filching from the productive classes. Plant the banner firmly on the outer wall, and let there be inscribed,—There shall be no peace until justice is installed, where demagogism, favoritism and party corruption now hold their daily revels, at the expense of the muscle of the daily laborer.

THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

MESDAMES EDITORS:—I find much to advance, and much at which to cavil in your admirably conducted journal. Of the objectionable features are the words put together by Messrs. Andrews and Fowler, and your own idea of government. As to the first, it may be stupidity; but I am ready to confess inability to comprehend words not found in Webster, and sentences either without a subject or when one is present, of which nothing is predicted. As to the second, being a disciple of the most clear-headed philosopher of modern times, Herbert Spencer, who holds that government is merely an agent for the protection of life and property—an agent employed and paid by the people for that purpose, my views are, of course, very different from yours, which would have government do everything, from giving a man his daily bread to providing for sending his soul to heaven. One function of government you think is to prohibit property in land. Now, I desire to know if you hold the same view in regard to property in the lower animals. It seems to me, that to be consistent, you should condemn personal ownership by a man of his horse or cow, or even by a lady of her lap dog. A man improves his land to double its original value, but that fact gives him no absolute ownership in your opinion; so a breeder improves live stock, but animals are really no more the product of man's industry than the land on which they feed. The two cases seem analogous to me, the soil and the original denizens of the same. I should mention that Mr. Spencer illogically agrees with you on the land question. Very respectfully,

THOS. K. CRUSE, M. D.

We are indifferent to criticism about style or construction, since we aim at principles; one of which is the distinction between the wealth of nature upon which man is dependent for life, and those things which merely contribute to his comfort. Man could exist if there were no horses or cows, and women, if there were no lap dogs; but they could scarcely do so if there were no land, water or air. Beside, the interest one person may have in a horse may be counterbalanced by the interest another has in something else not possessed by the first; but each must eat, drink and breathe, to do which requires the aid of the natural wealth of the universe, which, for these reasons, ought never to be monopolized by the few and dealt out by them to the many for a consideration. No man ever absolutely added to the value of land. He may have cultivated it, and thus made it more productive—made it contribute to him more than it otherwise would, and in this increase of contribution he has his reward, but should have no increase in the land itself, for the reason that he cannot, as an individual, rightfully say that anything that he did not create nor receive in equitable exchange from some one who did create, is his own. God never gave absolute ownership of his wealth to any individual; but He permits each to make his own best use of it; and government ought to secure like opportunities to every individual, to realize the benefits of God's wealth, given in common to all mankind. If one man labor more diligently than another, upon the same opportunities, he is entitled, during his life, to the increase of the benefits and

the additional comforts derivable from them. But afterward, this increase belongs to the public, and not to individuals. These are our ideas of human and divine justice in regard to natural and produced wealth; and we are glad that so clear and systematic a reasoner as Herbert Spencer, agrees with us, even if our correspondent hold us both to be illogical.

ANTI-USURY.

The third annual meeting of the American Anti-Usury Society was held on Monday, 6th inst., in room 24, Cooper Institute, the President, Edward Palmer in the chair.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT.

The object of this society is to put an end to the most gigantic system of iniquity that the world has ever known. A specious and overpowering device, transmitted to us from past generations, and which we are morally bound not to have transmitted to the next. Usury, modernly called interest, is a subtle system of falsehood of such mighty false power that it over-rides and falsifies all human affairs. It leads directly to extravagance and profligacy, on the one hand, and poverty and degradation on the other. Even at 1 per cent., unrighteously giving ten thousand a year to every millionaire, from the hard earnings of honest labor. The power of the system to injure and oppress would still be sufficient to subvert moral principle and prevent the establishment of truth and righteousness among men. Justice demands that we no longer tolerate, or by our silence, sanction a system of such consummate wickedness.

The meeting was addressed by E. H. Heywood and John Orvis, of Massachusetts, J. H. Ingalls, of New York, and Mr. Joslin, of Rhode Island.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That usury, modernly called interest, is essentially unjust and demoralizing.

Resolved, That the abolition of the usury system is the only way possible to re-establish moral rectitude and stay the revealing tide of moral corruption.

Resolved, That as usury is the principal source of the poverty of the working people, by abolishing usury we shall thereby abolish poverty without taking anything from the rich, but by doing away with a system which takes all the net product of labor from laboring men to double the capital of capitalists.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EXTRAORDINARY POLITICS.

Correspondence Cincinnati Commercial.

NEW YORK, May 11, 1872.

THE SPECTACLE.

Last night I stepped into Apollo Hall, one of the noblest and most picturesque halls in the city, where the National Convention of the Woodhull and Claflin, Male and Female Labor Party are holding a two days' session. As I approached the place, I heard the voice of Mrs. Woodhull resounding through the hall, and when I entered I found her standing in front of the platform, which was filled with people of both sexes, and declaiming in the most impassioned style, before a crowded audience of men and women who had been wrought up to a very high state of excitement. The scene was really dramatic, and to those who were in sympathy with it, it was, doubtless "thrilling," "glorious," "sublime." Somehow or other, Mrs. Woodhull, as she stood there, dressed in plain black, with flushed face, gleaming eye, locks partly disheveled, upraised arm and quivering under the fire of her own rhapsody, reminded me of the great Rachel in some of those tragic or fervid passages in which the dominating powers of her nature and genius were displayed in their highest effect. She seemed at moments like one possessed, and the eloquence which poured from her lips in reckless torrents swept through the souls of the multitude in a way which caused them to burst, every now and then, with uproarious enthusiasm. A moment after I entered there was one of these spiritual explosions, which brought her to a brief pause, and the first sentence I heard was her exclamation, in loud, clear tone: "Who will dare to attempt to unlock the luminous portals of the future with the rusty key of the past?" Aye, indeed, who will? was the thought which involuntary came to one's mind while looking at the extraordinary spectacle displayed in Apollo Hall.

When her declamation ended, the audience, masculine and feminine, sprang to their feet and cheered till their wind was exhausted, cheered with a frenzy and force that must have startled the multitudinous promenaders who swept along Broadway. The heroine of the moment disappeared from the platform, but the multitude encored till she returned, stepped to the front, and bowed once and again her acknowledgments for the applause.

Then a stout and hearty personage, who was recognized by the Chair as Judge Carter, of Cincinnati, stepped quickly to the front, and in stentorian tones nominated Mrs. Victoria Woodhull as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. "All who are in favor of the nomination, say aye," were the words from the Chair, and instantly the shouts of the Convention, delegates and outsiders, burst forth in a roar, thunderous and continuous, which might have blown the roof of the building to the skies. Again Mrs. Woodhull appeared on the platform, and accepted the nomination in a few words.

Then followed an hour's wrangle, with countless speeches, as to the candidate for the Vice Presidency. The first nomination made was that of Frederick Douglass, who was eulogized by half a dozen speakers in succession, and opposed by two or three, on various grounds. We had the oppressed sex represented by Woodhull; we must have the oppressed race re-

presented by Douglass. Other names followed: Ben. Wade, Theodore Tilton, Spotted Tail, Ben. Butler, Henry Ward Beecher, Robert Dale Owen, Governor Campbell, Wendell Phillips, Richard Trellick, and others. Frederick Douglass, however, at last got the vote of the Convention, and was thus nominated for the second place on the Woodhull Presidential ticket—the Executive Committee being empowered to substitute another name in case of his refusal to accept.

The platform of the party, which demands a new National Constitution, and numerous other things in the revolutionary line, was subsequently adopted.

I forgot to say that throughout the entertainment, the audience were excessively merry and were as wildly enthusiastic. She left the place pretty well exhausted with cheering and cackling. The audience were highly respectable, as well as large and strikingly American in physiognomy and appearance. There were large numbers of fashionably dressed ladies, and most of the gentlemen evidently belonged to the business and professional classes. There were also plenty of "Reformers," and in fact it was they who contributed the real genius of the assemblage.

At the close of the session, Mrs. Woodhull, the nominee for the Presidency, passed into an ante-room, where her friends crowded to congratulate her. She was in ecstasy, and so was her sister, Miss Claflin. Her face beamed under her high-crowned Neapolitan black hat. She shook hands with the gentlemen enthusiastically. The ladies kissed her and embraced her, kissed each other, and kissed her again. I never before saw so much kissing and hugging in public, nor, for that matter, in private either. Men were not afraid to pass hands round women who were not their wives, and women indulged in political osculation till they were tired.

BROADWAY.

WOODHULL! WOODHULL! WOODHULL!

[From the Present Age.]

The annual meeting of the Cook County (Ill.) Woman Suffrage Association was held at the West Side Opera House, Chicago, April 25. Mrs. Fernando Jones in the chair. Mrs. E. O. G. Willard opened the meeting by prayer, and then offered the following, among other resolutions:

Resolved, That we repudiate Mrs. Woodhull's speech on Social Freedom, and the general tenor of her paper, because it encourages indulgence of the worst passions and impulses of human nature.

Resolved, That we repudiate the Constitution of the world as enunciated by Mrs. Woodhull at Washington, especially that part under article 15, because it encourages lawlessness, and would intensify and perpetuate the reign of shrewdness and cunning in which the honest, unsuspecting and ignorant would be the victims of confidence knaves.

These she urged and then read the text of Mrs. Woodhull's fifteenth article to the constitution, and called for moral power to produce a counter movement, as it had been proposed at the East to adopt her platform.

Mr. D. C. Brooks said: The resolutions contained nothing about suffrage, and gave to Mrs. Woodhull altogether too much importance. It was not becoming that so many of the best minds and hearts of Chicago should put forth a protest against Mrs. Woodhull. Whereupon the convention proceeded to give prominence to Mrs. Woodhull.

Mrs. Mills said that the resolutions stated a disagreement from the social views of Mrs. Woodhull.

Mrs. Willard said that Mrs. Woodhull occupied a prominent position, and was recognized by a large body of people.

Mrs. Woodhull had more moral courage than any man in the country.

Mrs. Seward read the call for the People's convention at Steinway Hall, New York, on May 9 and 10, under the auspices of the National Suffrage Association. She stated that the movement had long been needed, and they ought to join it. Like Mrs. Woodhull, they might become somewhat notorious, but would be gainers in the end. She desired a delegate nominated at the present meeting—not a woman, as that would be too much as men did business. They might nominate Mrs. Woodhull. She could run as well as Grant.

Mrs. Jones said Mrs. Woodhull had nothing to do with the Steinway Hall meeting.

Mr. Ira Porter said he had discovered that the moving spirit in the Steinway Hall meeting was Mrs. Woodhull.

Mrs. Barnes, while asserting that she was no admirer of Mrs. Woodhull, thought it poor business for the association to abuse her in this manner. In this very city, that poor woman had suffered as only woman could suffer in her maternity.

Mrs. Willard said only Mrs. Woodhull's social theories were under discussion. Her character had not been attacked.

Mrs. Jones said that if Mrs. Woodhull were the wickedest woman in America she was certainly the most prominent one, as it seemed impossible to confine debate to the object of the meeting.

Mr. Brooks offered a resolution that delegates be appointed to the New York Convention, and instructed to take only such action as should respect the independence of this association on all social questions.

Which was pretty well for a convention that began with prayer, and a resolve to ignore Woodhull. The prominence and success of Victoria C. Woodhull are testimonies to the power of her utter earnestness and sincerity.

HEAR THE ENEMY.

[From the Sunday Morning World.]

At a meeting of the Woman Suffrage organization, held on the 16th inst., Mrs. Duniway, of Oregon, described an interview she had held with Horace Greeley the previous week. She said: "After she entered his sanctum, almost her first question was put in order to find what his views on Woman Suffrage were. He replied that he did not want women to be men, did not believe in Woman Suffrage at all, and further, believed that, if it were possible, Victoria C. Woodhull was the only one that could succeed, from the fact that she could raise money." This is a magnanimous admission, worthy of the earlier days of Horace Greeley, when he learned truth from the lips of Margaret Fuller. But Victoria Woodhull proposes to do more than to teach the people how to raise money; she

proposes to raise her sisters to their rightful liberties, and to purify and regenerate the world by introducing the law of love to supercede the law of force, which at present tyrannizes over mankind. In the meantime the Woman Suffrage organization cannot do better than give good heed to the words of Horace Greeley, in this particular, who, as a rival candidate "knows how it is himself."

TWO WONDERFUL WOMEN.

[From the Sunday Times.]

To those who would be willing to take a peep through a hole in the curtain of futurity, in order to ascertain what position the women of the United States will hold in reference to politics one hundred years from now, the career of two such persons as Miss Claflin and Mrs. Woodhull cannot but be entertaining. By hook or by crook these sisters contrive to fasten upon themselves a degree of public attention, second only to that secured by the late Mr. Fisk himself. We are not going to rehearse their careers now. Mr. Tilton has done that service—at least in respect to one of them—so thoroughly and so inimitably as to leave nothing more to be said. That two women should have succeeded in so long feeding public curiosity, is a phenomenon in any point of view. One of them, Mrs. Woodhull, has been nominated to the Presidency, and the other one is an aspirant for the saddle left vacant by "Prince Erie." It would be thought that one such woman in a family was sufficient. That there should be two such, jointly working at the same time, would surpass belief, did not the fact stare one in the face.

We do not know which is the more wonderful. In some points their talents seem to be pretty nearly equal. Both are excellent in a peculiar species of lecture, which defy description. Both are remarkable for an impulsive energy. Both are gifted financiers, their career at 44 Broad street having caused perturbations among bankers and brokers there, quite as appreciable as the orbits described by wandering comets disturb the planetary motions. At this point, however, these wonderful sisters begin to differ. Mrs. Woodhull, with an ambition worthy of a female Napoleon, "goes for" the presidency, and strikes immediately at the White House. The more erratic and dashing Tennie is content to be colonel of the Ninth regiment, and cites Joan d'Arc as a reason why she should be elected. We admire Miss Claflin's logic quite as much as we admire her modesty. Mr. Fellows and Mr. Gregg, says Miss Claflin, are men of respectability and wealth, but something more than they are wanted for the colonelcy of the Ninth regiment. Mr. Fisk, she is also good enough to concede, had youth, health, and brains, and these were found adequate to the proper management of that celebrated corps. Now he has gone, and who shall take his place? "Who but I," exclaims Miss Claflin. "I have the youth and brain of Fisk, and the wealth and respectability of Fellows and Gregg. I am capable of exercising the magnetic influence which Fisk exercised over the soldiers, of securing their love and admiration, and communicating their enthusiasm to the general public. I may not indeed be quite so sublime in genius as Joan de Arc (*sic*), but I am well versed in military rules and tactics, and will make the Ninth regiment the talk of the world."

This is in effect what Miss Claflin says. One of the causes which led to Joan d'Arc's martyrdom was the fact that she was unable to resist donning male apparel which had designedly been left in her cell. Herein we confess to one great point of likeness between Miss Claflin and her self-elected prototype. She cannot forbear clothing herself in the mental and moral garb of the sterner sex.

If Mrs. Woodhull's nomination for the presidency be the means, as it promises to be, of furnishing that excellent woman with a comfortable house, at a rent not less than twelve thousand dollars, we have no personal reason to complain. Since the country has a Father, it is only proper that a Mother should be furnished, and so the metaphor of paternity be complete. Of course, in that case there would be additional reasons for the early visit to this country of Queen Victoria and Eugenie. And should the Duke Alexis return hither, Miss Colonel Claflin can extend to him those national hospitalities that were so generously offered by the late Mr. Fisk!

It is true that Colonel Claflin would probably spend less money for regimental uniforms and holiday excursions than was lavished by the holder of the Erie shareowner's money, and it is certain that she could not give her men free admission to any theatre. Still, there are benefits which she could confer which might meet the views of the regiment. For example, there are the instructive and highly-improving lectures delivered from time to time by Mrs. Woodhull and Col. Claflin. Free admission to them might atone in some degree for the deprivation of opera bouffe; and were the regiment to be supplied with the journal which these two ladies conduct, its members might feel that the loss of free lunches and pic-nic excursions was to some extent compensated. Moreover, the Colonel's sister is a candidate for the Presidency, and in less than twelve months the regiment may find itself transformed into a Presidential body-guard, and be entitled to four years of feasting at the capital of the nation.

But, setting aside all these minor arguments in favor of Miss Claflin's election, there remains one which will doubtless seem conclusive to the regimental mind. The regiment is now asking, "who is worthy to succeed Col. Fisk?" Now, were the city to be carefully searched, there could not be found a fitter successor to the dead Fisk than the living Claflin. The sudden offer of Miss Claflin to become his successor is a peculiarly fortunate thing for the regiment. It cannot do better than accept the offer, and in all probability it will not be many weeks before we shall see Col. Claflin mounted on a gorgeous side-saddle, and leading her regiment down Broadway.

STRAY SHOTS.

WESLEY'S SONS (NOT MORGAN'S SONS) SAPHO.—At the late Methodist General Conference, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Hubbard, the following resolution were tabled:

Resolved, By the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in General Conference assembled, that we insist upon and demand a full, thorough and searching investigation, without fear, favor or affection for any and all parties, of all transactions of said Book Concern which may directly or indirectly lead to a disclosure of all the facts connected with this case.

Resolved, That as members of this General Conference, to whom is entrusted for the time being the varied interests of the church, we pledge ourselves to leave nothing undone to correct whatever wrongs may exist, and to punish to the extent of our ability any and all who may be found guilty.

Resolved, That while we deeply regret the existence of this contention, and are exceedingly anxious that the strife should cease and that harmony and concord should once more prevail, yet we are determined that the motto by which we will be governed in this matter shall be "first pure then peaceable."

This action reminds us of the "nolimus" or "non-possumus"

of the ancient Roman Catholic Church. Is it really Christianity, or only a gag?—indignant virtue, or a small article in soap?

FORWARD AND ONWARD.—In spite of the immutable laws of supply and demand, the sons of toil in our cities are re-adjusting (by successful strikes), the time and pay for their labor. This is as it should be, none have any real right to have any say in the matter, save those who do the work.

A MIGHTY BIG WAX CANDLE.—From the N. Y. Herald of the 14th inst., we clip the following "special telegram" from Switzerland:

BERNE, May, 13, 1872.

"The election was held yesterday to ratify the revised constitution, which abolishes capital punishment and imprisonment for debt and excludes the Jesuits from Swiss territory.

CLAUSES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

The new constitution which was voted on by the Swiss people yesterday, with the result which is reported by cable, was proposed as a substitute for that of the year 1848. The new charter provides that any Swiss may have a vote in another canton after a residence of three months; obstacles to the freedom of marriage are removed; bills for large expenditures, 1,000,000f. and upward, to be submitted to the people; if fifty thousand citizens demand the abolition of a law, the question is to go to the voters and the cantons, and a majority of both will repeal the law; absolute freedom in religious faith to be introduced, and no one taxed to support a State or cantonal Church; a clause providing against Jesuit monastic institutions; the federal government to take charge of the schools; henceforth the central government to assume the entire control of military affairs, and to have charge of the revenues and expenses necessary, the State to control the railways; a unification of the legal codes of the canton is proposed; capital punishment and imprisonment for debt to be abolished and gaming houses licensed by the State to be closed within a period of five years.

The popular vote was 239,140 yeas and 223,023 nays; but as thirteen out of twenty-two cantons vote against the new constitution, it fails of ratification, a majority of the cantons being required.

The Catholic cantons all voted against it."

The affection for Republican Liberty, manifested by the catholic cantons in this instance, is really refreshing.

An International Congress is to be held at Paris on the 3d of June. Benevolent, industrial and scientific societies are invited to attend. Among the subjects given for discussion is the following:

"Arbitration, a substitute for war in International disputes."

It is believed that the Parisians will take a lively interest in the debate upon it, but scoffers say it will only make the Germans grin.

HORRIBLE.—Under the heading of "Personal," the New York World, of the 17th, informs us that

"Quincy, Ill., in self-defence, has passed an ordinance against base ball, which had begun to batten on its very vitals. As to the pretence of healthful exercise Quincy saw through it."

We commend the action of Quincy, Ill., in this instance; anything that "battens on its very vitals" ought to be most rigidly dealt with.

GENUINE WIT.—In the New York World's report of the sayings of the late Methodist Conference, appears the following:

"TOUCH OF HUMOR.

Dr. Slicer—There is scarcely a respectable lawyer in the land, sir. (Loud and prolonged laughter).

Bishop Ames—The brother will fix his punctuation right if you give him time.

Dr. Slicer—I was about to say, if the conference hadn't gone off half-cocked, that there is scarcely a respectable lawyer in the land who would charge for giving a legal opinion in a question affecting a benevolent operation. I have never known a respectable lawyer to make a charge in such a case."

Dr. Slicer may be a very learned man, but in our opinion, he is no match for the Bishop in his knowledge of the art of punctuation.

ROUGH ON THE ROMANS.—The week of prayer called for by Dr. Merle D'Aubigne and other European theologians of the Protestant persuasion, is to begin on the 19th instant. The conversion of the Roman Catholics is given out to be the chief object of it. Outsiders will be apt to say: "Christians, you shouldn't quarrel when you are praying."

ANATHEMAS FOR SALE OR RETURN.—The following item of news is given in the Union of the 16th inst.:

"The Archbishop of Cologne has pronounced the greater excommunication against Professors Hilgers, Knood, Langen and Keusch, of Bonn, because they have declined to accept the doctrine of Papal infallibility."

To use the language of elder Weller, "The consequence of that manoeuvre" will in all probability be that very speedily the Archbishop of Cologne will have to take the greater excommunication back."

HURRAH FOR VICTORIA.—It is reported by the same paper that "Monday and Tuesday next will be observed as holidays by the London Stock Exchange. They are Victoria holidays of course."

If the workers will help the "Equal Rights Party" in the next Presidential election, our American Victoria will give the brokers and speculators a longer holiday than that next year. The money changers were once driven out of the temple, and some folks think honest workers will seek justice vainly until the operation is repeated.

NO COMPROMISE.—The temporizing measure called "The Woman's Disabilities Removal Bill," which proposed to give vote to the single women of Great Britain, who owned sufficient property to warrant it, has very properly been rejected by the House of Commons. Women who dare not demand their full personal, political, legal and social liberties, are not justified

in annoying their masters by beseeching them for the electoral suffrage. Women who do not know the difference between a "gift" and a "right" are not fit to vote.

JUSTICE AND CHARITY.—Who fixes the wages of smart, active and intelligent boys? It rules from two to three dollars a week now, or about enough to buy boots for them. Let us not grumble, however, for those who pay it could make it less, and in a few years realize enough cash from the operation to erect a huge Protestant monastery in the Fifth avenue to match the great iron nunnery in the Fourth.

PROPHETIC.—Some years ago, the R. C. Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Manning, said: "Show me an Irishman who has lost the faith, and I will show you a Fenian." England, for the past three centuries, has ruled Ireland by operating through the Vatican, and the Irish are beginning to know it, so it failed to produce any effect. As the Internationals have now established themselves at Cork, it will be necessary for His Grace to lay it on thicker; so, probably, his next utterance will be: "Show me an Irish heretic, and I will show you an International." Well, so mote it be; the more the merrier.

BON VOYAGE.—The outside world is instructed by the N. Y. *Witness*, that, "preparatory to embarking for Europe. Bishop McIlvaine partook of the Communion." In view of this important fact, well may we say with Lady Macbeth, "Now good digestion wait on appetite, And health on both!"

For, if the bishop be liable to sea-sickness, from a religious point of view, the consequence might be fearful to contemplate.

ZEAL WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE.—It is reported that "a Montrealese has made his will bequeathing \$400,000 toward a female college." This act of charity we deprecate. A female college, or an institution exclusively for females will soon become as vicious and corrupt as our male colleges are now. We shall never in our high schools and colleges parse the noun "Education" correctly until we define it to be of the common gender.

ONE STEP HIGHER.—There is, probably not one mechanic, miner, or agricultural laborer, who is not fully aware of the fact that the manual laborers hold the government of this country in their hands, whenever they are sagacious enough to combine to assert their power at the ballot-box. But, at the same time, it is certain that they never can unite until they place the claims of all human toilers on the just basis we present to their notice of "Equal Rights, equal opportunities, and equal compensations." Trades, in order to form a Union of a small section of workers, are compelled to yield to this doctrine of equality in their demand for time payments now; but they must extend the principle of equality to cover all faithful toilers, without distinction of sex or race, calling or occupation, before they can obtain their numerical rights as conjoint rulers in this republic.

TIRALLEUR.

CRIES FOR QUARTER.

Last week, two of the one cent dailies opened their editorial batteries against the cruelty of woman, as exhibited on some late occasions, against the animal, man. Under the head of "Man-beating," the daily *Union* of the 17th deplores the fact that a little woman of only ninety pounds weight horsewhipped a man of more than double her avoirdupois, who, she asserts, had slandered her. Of course, this woman, on being tried for her gallantry, was at once acquitted. Commenting on this, the editor of the *Union* opines that "if man is to be deprived of all protection from the law, and ridiculed besides, he will in future protect himself."

This is a sad threat, but many believe that, as far as the law could do it, he has pretty thoroughly protected himself against women already. However, there is another view of this question of cruelty between the sexes, and we proceed to show it, by referring to the following items of news which are published in the same paper of the same date:

A WOMAN THROWN DOWN STAIRS AND INJURED.—James Cannon, finding his wife very much intoxicated on Wednesday night in their apartments, No. 80 Front street, became angry, and caused probably fatal injuries to her by throwing her down a stairway. She is at the City Hospital, and he was held yesterday to await the result of his wife's injuries.

COURT-MARTIALED FOR ABORTION AND CONSPIRACY.—A general court-martial, of which General D. D. Stanley is President, has been in session at Fort Sully, Dakota Territory, and adjourned on Friday to reassemble at Fort Rice on the 10th of June. The only case that reached a trial was that of Captain L. H. Sanger, of the Seventeenth Infantry, who was tried for seduction and abortion, which resulted in the death of the victim, and for conspiracy against Captain Donovan of the same regiment. Captain Donovan and one or two others were the only persons who knew of Captain Sanger's guilt. Sanger entered into a conspiracy with Surgeon Goddard, of the same Regiment, with a view of shutting Donovan up on a charge of insanity. The case came before Surgeon Goddard, who pronounced Donovan to be insane, and he was at once ordered to be confined in the St. Elizabeth Hospital, near Washington, D. C. He was taken to Washington in December last, but through the influence of friends he obtained a rehearing in his case, and the surgeon there pronounced him perfectly sane. He was ordered back to his regiment, and has now been instrumental in bringing Sanger to trial. The findings of the court-martial have not yet been made public, but it is not doubted that Sanger will be disgraced and suffer a long imprisonment. It is understood that when the court reassembles Surgeon Goddard will be tried on charges of abortion and conspiracy in the same case.

THREE SIDES TO A STORY.—UXORICIDE, INFANTICIDE AND SUICIDE.—We learn from Mr. James M. Lane, who has just come from the scene, that one of the most horrible murders, followed by the suicide of the murderer, that has ever been known in this State, occurred last night near Corinth, in the township of Gaines, in this county. One Patrick Reynolds, a far-

mer, who married a widow named Mrs. Honora Dwyer, killed her and attempted to kill his stepson, Michael Dwyer, and then cut his own throat. The bloody deed, as the evidence before the Coroner's jury indicated, was done about midnight. Michael Dwyer is not yet dead, although he was knocked on the head with an ax and his throat was cut. Mrs. Reynolds and the murderer are both dead. Dr. Wright of Corinth thinks that young Dwyer will live. It is thought that a difference of opinion between Reynolds and his wife, caused by the settlement of the Dwyer estate, which is in Probate Court in this county, led to the sanguinary deed. Reynolds was not drunk or insane, unless anger be considered lunacy. It was apparently the result of a deliberate, cool intention.—*Grand Rapids Eagle*, May 7.

A WIFE DESERTED FOR BEING MARKED BY SMALL-POX.—Two or three nights ago the attention of Officer Williams was attracted to the Union Market sheds, whence issued the calls of a woman apparently in distress. Following the course indicated by the sounds, the officer found a young woman and a little boy in great trouble. He took them to the Seventh street Station, where Sergeant Baker carefully drew from the woman the following state of man's perfidy. She stated that she was the wife of George Deane. Two months ago, while they were living pleasantly in this city, she was stricken down with the small-pox. The disease left her badly disfigured, and the husband seemed all at once to have acquired an aversion for her. Two or three weeks ago he proposed that they should leave the city and go to Mississippi. The home was broken up, and the family took their seats upon the train in East St. Louis.

Just as the cars left the depot, the husband made some excuses to go upon the platform, and when it was useless to attempt to follow him, leaped off. Mrs. Deane continued her journey as far as her ticket carried her, and then returned to the city. Her husband had been notified of the return and met her. They had a long and stormy interview, in which he insisted that she should leave him and go to her friends, taking the child with her. Finally, when they came to the market, he seized her valise and ran away with it. She at once called for help, and it was this which attracted the attention of the officer.

Mrs. Deane bears every appearance of having been a lady of unusual attractions before her features were so badly marred. She is now left wholly destitute. Dean is said to be connected with a saloon on Morgan street.—*St. Louis Times*.

The day following the *Daily Witness* takes up the cause of "oppressed man" in a leader, commenting on the case of Josephine A. McCarthy, who was tried for murder at Utica, and acquitted. Of course it deplores this; retries the woman, condemns her, and not only her, but the jury and the public, who were apparently well satisfied with the previous verdict. There may be some reason for its bloodthirstiness, inasmuch as its paper of that date is somewhat bare of wife beatings or murders, there is however, the following, which we respectfully present to its notice, to satiate its desire for a victim, in lieu of Josephine McCarthy, it is as follows:

"At Chicago yesterday morning a carpenter name Simmons shot his wife through the head, inflicting a fatal wound, then put a bullet through his own head and fell dead by her side. The couple had been married about eight years, but lived unhappily together."

In conclusion, it is submitted that, notwithstanding the few items lately placed on the credit side woman's account, it will take a long time before she can fairly off balance the cruelties and wrongs she has from time immemorial suffered at the hands of her social, legal, political and industrial oppressor—man. H.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TAX FOR REVENUE.

From what source should it be raised? From accumulated capital, undoubtedly. Why? It is the surplus product of the labor of the past. It is simply absurd to talk of taxing a starving man or woman—"blood cannot be got out of a turnip." The right to live, and that in comfort, from the products of one's labor, is self-evident and that which is necessary to health and comfort should be untaxed for any one. What an outrage to make the poor washerwoman pay her cent on every box of matches towards the support of the government! All taxation should be abolished except a tax on incomes. Many years ago the writer took the position, that income should be free from tax up to a certain amount, proportioned to the number of persons; (minors, wife, or incompetent adults) dependent on the individual for support. All income over that to be taxed on a sliding scale 100 per cent. to 150 per cent. if necessary, the greater the income, the greater the per centage. Income need not always be absolute, it may be made to depend on the value of property in the market, although that property being held for speculation, may be unproductive. On such property 300 per cent. might be safely charged—or perhaps more. This certainly would discourage land monopoly by large capitalists. All tax on so much of the products of labor as may be necessary for the comfortable support of life is an outrage on the rights of labor. For what is government instituted? For what interest is the largest amount of money expended? Is it for the protection of the person of the individual or his property? Let us see. For what was the \$3,000,000,000 of our money expended during the war? We say for freedom. Let us see again. That was an incident, a necessity of the case and expressly denied by government at its commencement of its ultimate object. On the part of the south, this means for the security of their "peculiar institution," in which was involved millions of their wealth. On the part of the government of the United States, it was spent for the defence of its property—the forts, custom-houses, etc. If they had not attempted to take Sumpter, and had left the custom-houses and other forts alone, war would not have taken place, perhaps, at all, as the withdrawal from congress, and many other positions the south might have taken without resort to force, to deprive government of its rights, might have been long continued (as in the case, to some extent, of the Mormon government in Utah) a system of passive resist-

ance, without this last resort of barbarous ages, following as a consequence of these acts. Patriotism was appealed to on both sides, whilst the moneyed men, the capitalists, said if our government go down, our property is worth nothing, so they lavished their means to keep it up. Now, did government care for the individual or for property in this case? Let the sacrifice of human life answer. Property bought substitutes; property paid bounties; property gave its millions in loans to government, in sanitary commissions, in food and clothing for soldiers, to save itself. The government was struggling to uphold property at the sacrifice of a million of human beings because necessary. If, then, government is instituted to protect property—and our recent civil war is a strong case in point—does it not follow that property should support it? So far, then, from a tax on income being abolished by Congress, it is the only tax applied to surplus labor that should be instituted, whilst all other revenue taxes, on the products of labor, should be done away with—at least, so thinks

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

VICTORIA.

The shades of night were falling fast,
When into Gotham's village passed
A band of men and women true,
Who swore they'd try what they could do.
Victoria!

Their brows were sad; they did not know
How soon they might be killed. For lo!
The streets of Gotham, foul with crime,
Were never safe at any time.
Victoria!

Soon in Apollo Hall they stood,
The light streamed from it like a flood,
When, from the banner of that band,
There flashed, in letters bold and grand.
Victoria!

"They're lunatics," the press, it said;
"I'll strike the rash intruders dead;
They have no money, sense or wit,"
But loud their voices answered it.
Victoria!

Propriety, with eyes aghast
Saw them, as on their way they passed;
She held her ears with wild affright,
As up they pressed to gain the height.
Victoria!

"Alas!" she said, "Have you the face,
To name a woman for the place?
Look where the Democrat caved in!"
They only answered with a grin,
Victoria!

At early morn, all on their way
Stretched out and lifeless, cold and gray;
A used up farming man they found,
And his old white hat was lying round;
Victoria!

Still farther up the hill's steep side
A soldier's body they espied;
He had upon his head a wreath,
And a burnt cigar stump in his teeth:
Victoria!

Now on the mountain's peak they stand,
And wave their banner o'er the land;
While from the millions bold and free,
There rings the shout of liberty!
Victoria!

H.

EMMANUELO;

OR,

NEWS FROM THE NORTH POLE.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

"Look, love, what envious streaks
Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east;
Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tip-toe on the misty mountain tops."—ROMEO.

THE GREAT REFORMATION, AND A VIEW OF THE CHURCH AT THE TIME OF ITS COMMENCEMENT—ITS SUCCESS IN THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD—THE ACTION OF THE PEOPLE WITH REGARD TO IT—DISUNION IN THE RANKS OF ITS ENEMIES—ITS PROGRESS AND ITS TRIUMPH.

The Great Reformation, which occurred in the seventeenth century, is probably the most important event in the history of Emmanuelo. It is difficult to state how this was brought about. All writers agree in saying that it seemed to spring spontaneously from the people. As the churches had long been divided into sects who were engaged in fighting each other for the spoils, the right of the poor had in them long been neglected. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the workers in the cities, judging Christianity by the actions of those who professed it only, became infidels and atheists. In the country parts, the peasants, slow to comprehend and slower to change their opinions, in the place of their ancient religious freedom, accepted, in its stead, superstition. But notwithstanding this was generally the condition of the churches, in all places and among all sects were to be found, here and there, worthy men who never had and never would bow the knee to Mammon, and who had preserved for humanity the sacred fire in all its purity and holiness.

To these, as co-workers with them to bring about the change above mentioned, may be added many men of high scientific attainments, who defended the cause of the workers by exhibiting the impolicy of the systems which oppressed them, and who brought to bear against the ruling powers the resistless logic of facts. The laborers themselves in this crisis were not idle. In the cities they first united in small sections, bounded by a special trade; but, finding these defeated by combinations of their opponents, they gradually extended their ranks to cover the townships: these being also overthrown by coalitions of the despotic powers, they eventually resolved to unite en masse the labor force of the whole island of Emmanuelo. At this time it is stated by many historians, that a few men of

wealth, who were masters not servants of their money, the Josephs of Arimathea and Nicodemi of the age, stepped forward boldly, transferred their means to the treasury of heaven, and took leading parts in forwarding the cause of the people.

But all these efforts would have been unavailing, had not divisions broken out in the ranks of their enemies. Writers, discussing this era, class the oppressors of the people under three heads, viz: The Road-eaters, The Money-bugs, and the Babe-bolters. These were the true rulers of the community, the lawmakers being merely the agents through whom they dictated their orders to the masses. The greed for gain of all these associations was equally intense, and equally insatiable. The members of them kept their eyes steadily fixed upon the golden goal, and, without the least remorse, jostled one another to death in their frantic efforts to attain it. When these vast interests clashed, which they did just previous to the culmination of the Reformation, although the island trembled, the people living upon it had good cause to rejoice. There were among the oppressors, occasionally, men of thought, who, perceiving the necessity of union for the retention of their powers, endeavored to effect it. But all their efforts were in vain; for, although they knew that their security depended upon it, no logical argument, no persuasion of self-interest, no dread of future destruction, could induce them to establish it. In the marts of trade, on the exchanges, and in the halls of legislation, they fought out their battles to the bitter end. They neither gave nor took quarter. The lust of gain and the desire for sway had taken full possession of their hearts; and, blind in their madness, they rushed forward to their mutual destruction. Whilst this was occurring, the down-trodden masses looked on with awe and trembling, witnessing the discomfiture of their opponents, as the ancient Israelites had formerly watched the overthrow of the tyrants of Egypt, their liberties also obtained by a similar miracle, and rejoicing in a similar deliverance.

Thus, in the end, after a long and weary struggle, not without great sorrow and misery, especially in those parts of the island where the workers had suffered the greatest oppression, the cause of the Reformation triumphed. The descendants from the Israelites being far more numerous than the rest of the people of Emmanuelo, had, in one of the departments, reduced the Romans, and in another the Barbarians, to slavery. In the first clash of arms in this great Reformation the freedom of these people was established. It had long been the custom in the more busy parts of the island to sacrifice yearly multitudes of children to Moloch. This also was sternly forbidden. The next effort was made in behalf of the weaker sex, who were compelled by want to leave their homes, and struggle in the shops for bread. Edicts were also framed specially directed against them, in which lust was sanctified by law; and against which injustice and impiety they had no defense. These were accorded equal rights, and it was ordained that from the cradle to the grave, in the nursery, the school, the church, and the home, on the bench of justice and in the halls of legislature, the place for the female was by the male. That the grace and honor of the man was the woman, and the pride and glory of the woman was the man.

Before cleansing this Augean stable of the filth of past ages it was found necessary to institute many other changes than those above specified. But the scribes assert that with each new victory the work seemed to be easier to be accomplished. It was, however, many years before the people of Emmanuelo were even educated to know what was needed to be done in order to gain their liberties, and longer still before they knew how to use rightly those liberties they had thus secured. Some years elapsed before they ruled the trafficker and the exchanger to be the agents instead of the masters of producers; before they curbed the power of gold by withdrawing the law from all simple money transactions, and restricting it to be merely a medium of exchange for labor; before they stripped war of its scarfs, trumpets and banners, and turned it out in its naked horrors to receive the execrations of mankind; before the lines of national demarcation were eradicated, and nationally as well as individually, men proved that Christian self-interest was the safest and best paying investment, which taught them to glory, not in the destruction, but in the well-doing of their neighbors. These things were all, however, gradually but eventually accomplished, and how such alterations worked, will be shown in the conversations which are reported hereafter concerning the present condition of the people of the Island of Emmanuelo.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MADOX OF MAINE.

NEW YORK, May 15, 1872.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—Knowing your uniform fairness in publishing both sides of the question, I beg, at this late date, to announce to you that I am cooling off, and consequently can filch a few minutes from the arduous duties evolved by the Equal Rights Convention at Apollo Hall, in which to congratulate your reporter on having survived my pugnacious demonstrations and "crushing barrel-organ" style of address.

Notwithstanding I always regret to be held up to ridicule, however much I may deserve it, I can assure your reporter that I should not desire to shrink from it, if, by suffering, I could lift up our people into a higher plane of thought and action. My argument, it is true, may be something like Gratiano's in the Merchant of Venice, which contained one grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff. I am quite willing to accept the "chaffing," if by your agency the public can obtain the grain of wheat.

Permit me then to add that we have inaugurated the grandest movement ever sprung upon the people of this planet, viz., Equal Rights, Equal Opportunities, and Equal Compensation. This already finds a happy response in the heads and hearts of the masses. Even now, word comes to us from different parts of our Union to this effect: "Send us your bonds of freedom, we want to invest our all in the cause of the down-trodden millions." Personal, social, legal and political liberty for all human beings, is our watchword. It is taken up on all sides, and is sweeping across the continent, from Canada to Mexico.

I have not time now, to tell you more respecting the extent of our movement, which I believe to be aided by the good of all lands, and by the invisible forces which penetrate the air around us. Our bonds are a success. Our principles are accepted by the masses. We shall canvas the whole country. Our plan of organization is simple, but will be found effectual. It will put the plough of the big "G," and the sword of the

little "G" where they belong—among the dead issues of the past.

Respectfully inviting your Reporter to attend our next meeting, when I may once more find occasion to swing my arms and speak from a barrel organ; I remain, yours for the campaign,

MADOX OF MAINE.

A VISIT TO NO-MAN'S LAND.—WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS GREAT MACHINE.

BY JUAN LEWIS.

(From the London Abridged, for May.)

How I came to visit it, it does not matter here. If I were induced thereto by a vision of its marvelous blessings as reported in ornate and polished periods of self delegated advocates; or by choice editorials not published as official; or if the immediate cause of my visit was a latent mistrust that possibly all this brilliant show of intellectual and oratorical glory might not be a reflection from pure gold, or even unalloyed silver, nor yet good, honest brains—though savoring somewhat strongly of the latter, politically, is of no consequence to the reader.

Sufficient herein to say I did so visit; and under exceedingly favorable auspices.

It so happens that Don Henriques Segundo is a distant relative of mine; and more fortunately still, it happens that he is a Banker, of much renown in No-Man's Land; and consequently a useful acquaintance for one about visiting that country.

Hearing from the Don that INFLUENCE—official, financial and personal—was the great desideratum to insure success in any undertaking, I supplied myself with numerous sacks of golden ducats, and something like a dray-load of recommendatory letters to various magnates of his wonderful land, and taking passage by the most approved route, arrived without accident. There I was met by a great surprise. The news of my expected arrival had preceded me.

Don Henriques, with praiseworthy adherence to a custom that obtains elsewhere, of making every possible occasion reduced to one's individual importance, had made known the anticipated fact, adding sundry picturesque embellishments regarding my political life and services, of a highly imaginative character.

The result was to secure for me a publicity neither welcome nor desired—in which I may remark Don Henriques shone with great splendor; and the freedom of their city was tendered me, in the formal address of an official committee of welcome.

The freedom of the city (whatever it meant) I declined; but as knowledge of such committee may be of service to the graceless youths of my own country, I am tempted, to give a brief description of it here.

It was made up of honorable members, holding official relations with nearly every Department, Bureau and Board of the general government; none of whom, as I afterwards heard, held less rank than that of General or Colonel. (There had been a private detailed to act as secretary, Don Henriques said; but all the colonels had taken turn in drilling him for carcass duty* at conventions, and he was in consequence too much discouraged to appear at the reception.)

The committee was understood to be composed of the leading citizens, and, as such, deeming my visit one of political significance; very properly comprised of custom officials, revenue officials, post office officials, treasury officials, and officials detective and judiciary, with a front and rear rank of home veterans and peace patriots.

There were also sub-committees acting as flankers to the main body—like the others, sacrificing themselves in the service of the government, of these I only remember a few by designation.

There was the Senatorial Committee, the Representation Committee, the Legislative, the Councilmanic, the Building, the Special, the Private, the Personal, the Appropriation, the Ex-Army, the Aldermanic, the Privileged, the General Committee (and, perhaps, the Corporal Committee), the Executive Committee and the Universal-Religio-Constitutional-tinkering Committees.

Most of these honorable gentlemen ("They were all honorable men") wore a gold-crested favor in his buttonhole, inscribed with a singular legend in the dialect of No-Man's Land.

"Policy is the best Honesty!"

I had noticed at the reception that hardly any of the committee wore coats precisely alike, although a strong effort seemed to be made individually to secure uniformity in cut and fit—blue and gray walked side by side with brown and black; and motley was especially prominent.

I asked Don Henriques, after the affair was over and we were alone, to explain this.

The peculiarity I had noticed in the coats, he said, was the result of frequent turning; for, being furnished by the government tailor, they had been often remodelled and re-cut to suit the exigencies of governmental fashions—yet were invariably, so far as he knew, the same old garments in which the wearers began public life.

This explanation seemed so strange to me—and yet, somehow, not entirely new—that I was about to ask the Don further questions regarding the government of his wonderful land, when he signed to me to be silent, and taking my arm, led the way up Rail street (named from the Rialto, perhaps), the great gold thoroughfare of No-Man's Land, to a tall tower at its head, whence a view could be had of the whole country.

Here he placed in my hands a singular optical instrument,

*This is probably the dialect of No-Man's Land for Caucus Duty.

known in their dialect as a fingiscope, which enables the observer to look beyond the veil of partizanship; to mark the line which separates usurping power and plundered people; to disguise the body politic; in short, to supply the invisible link connecting cause and result.

Through this marvelous instrument I saw brought out, in startling distinctness, all that was hitherto hidden and unseen in the peculiar government of No-Man's Land. The magic power of the fingiscope stripped off the flimsy coverings, and the glaze and glitter of social and political shams, because dull and dark in the light of truth.

Far beneath and around me, stretching as far as the eye could see, I saw by this light the workings of a gigantic machine. Its ramifications extended over the whole country. Belts, spindles, pulleys, shafting, cogs, levers, ratchets, drills, and all the paraphernalia which constitutes strong, if not delicate machinery, were in full operation, and to its continued working, all else appeared subservient. At first I was so much astonished that I failed to see the mighty power which moved this vast and wonderfully complicated machine.

By a silent gesture, Don Henriques signed my attention to the scene I had so recently left, and looking through the fingiscope I was enabled to see what had before escaped me.

The huge dome under which the officials and the committees gathered, had an attraction of gold, and resembled somewhat an inverted funnel, and from this flows a strong current of gas generated by individual magnetism, set in motion by the officials beneath; and this supplies the motion power of the great machine.

I now observed also, that the members of the several committees had each one eye covered by a golden scarf, with a greenback which was a necessity of government service, Don Henriques informed me to enable the individual to see with an eye single to succession.

Some of the other officials, I also noticed, carried one hand behind their back with the palm upward. This very extraordinary habit, the Don said was not the result of official education as I might suppose, but originated solely in the unwillingness of the honorable gentlemen to let the right hand know what, (I think he said what, though it may have been who,) was being done by the left.

No Man's Land justly boasts of some of the finest walks, drives and boulevards in the world; but as I now turned the fungiscope on these, I made a strange discovery.

It was, that many of them were built over the heads of the poorer, or laboring classes, the houses, cottages and shanties being distinctly visible, like incongruous arches, in the foundations of these grand roadways.

Before I could express the astonishment I felt, the Don remarked that this was only an extension of the centralization plan, illustrating the practical workings of the great machine, of which, indeed, it formed a part.

While looking at the nearest Boulevard and admiring the gay colors and costly dresses that swept carelessly along behind richly caparisoned horses, my attention was attracted by a policeman dragging away an individual clad in rags, who had dared to climb up the parapet from a hovel below, and had had the temerity to ask alms.

Further on I noticed an immense factory from which issued a long procession of young women and children hardly yet in their teens—all bearing heavy bundles, in some instances larger than themselves.

"There," answered Don Henriques, in answer to my look of inquiry, "Those are working-girls and seamstresses employed to make men's garments. Their compensation, reckoned in your money, would be four to six cents each for shirts and eighteen to thirty cents for trousers, and about double that amount for a coat! And yet," continued the Don, taking me confidentially by the button-hole, "it is one of the beauties of the centralization plan that all these excellent people have to bear their share of national burdens, while enjoying our national blessings, under the beneficent working of the great machine."

I made no comment on this at the moment, for I was engaged in looking at an object in another direction, towards which I had turned the glass. It was a small cottage, having a garden attached, with nothing remarkable around it, yet giving external evidence of the frugality, taste, and neatness of the owner.

To this small cottage and its comfortable surroundings I saw a group of officials—similar in appearance to those at the reception—going and coming. Ponderous tomes and innumerable printed blanks, together with writing materials, were borne by these persons.

Merely detachments of our Ex-traordinary army of Assessors and Collectors," said the Don, with unusual emphasis on the Ex., and a yawn.

He was evidently weary, and I closed the Fungiscope and returned it to him, for which he thanked me, and added:

"Only the common working of the most tangible portion of the great machine—a part which is far too easily seen—being apt to provoke inquiry from the ignorant and uncultivated many, who cannot understand why the cultured few should control and not pay when the other class do."

Don Henriques brushed a fly from his spotless coat-sleeve and lit a cigar, offering me one. I declined.

A shadow had fallen on my spirit.

The government of No-Man's Land, to the superficial observer, might be all that had been claimed for it, by its legion of interested speakers and newspapers, whose plaudits are not published as "official," but the workings of the Great Machine—as revealed through the Fungiscope—showed, I thought, a hollowness, a falsity, a tinsel glitter wholly at variance with truth.

I had seen enough.

Refusing all solicitations to prolong my stay, I hurried to my balloon (did I mention that the favorite route is traversed by balloon?), and left for home at once, arriving last Thursday.

In view of the short time I was absent, perhaps, it is not strange that a few of my intimate friends should declare that they were not aware I had been away! And that the Fungiscope, and all I saw through it, including the Great Machine were myths!

As well might they declare No-Man's Land a myth!—or doubt the existence of WILLIAM W. SHAKESPEARE!

A WOMAN'S VIEW.

NEW HAVEN, May 17, 1872.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:

DEAR FRIEND:—The enclosed letter is at your service for publication, if you choose. The spirit of the writer is not only womanly, but divine, and I am convinced there are many such in the Woman Suffrage ranks, wherefore I know that the hour of deliverance is near.

I have not heard whether Mr. Douglass accepts the nomination or not, but if he should, how emphatic the suggestion of the writer, that the woman and the negro are to rule the haughty white men of the heart till they humbly acknowledge the grand equalities before God who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth. For my own part I have long ago said that I would rather accept my freedom from the black man than the white; my sympathy with slaves has been profound—if they who have tasted the bitterness of human bondage will but stretch out their free hands for my relief and for that of my lowly sisters all over the land, black as well as white, God knows how soon we might become as one people seeking in national prosperity the sure reward and inheritance of righteous souls.

May God keep us all under the shadow of His wing and teach us according to his own wisdom—this is the daily prayer of one who is yours for the truth. I. B. H.

May 15, 1872.

DEAR MRS. HOOKER:—Since I felt your arm about me, and heard your words of blessing on the platform at Steinway Hall, my heart has been full of love and admiration. For one in your position seldom retains the natural impulses of a true woman, soul ever ready to pour forth its divinest blessings without consideration of policy in the movement, without questioning the position of the object, or if they will not lose caste. And when I meet such a person, man or woman, my soul bows in reverence before the Divinity within. I love you, dear Mrs. Hooker, not alone for your kindness to me, but because I perceived the true nobility of your character in all your utterances. It did so pain me to have a division of our weak forces, made weaker I fear because of the division, and could I have done ought to prevent it, I most certainly should have done so. But when I turn for consolation to my religious nature, I seem to hear the sweet voices of angels saying, "all is well," our God ruleth all to wise ends, and we do know that since He is maker and ruler, "whatsoever is best." My ears were so completely filled with horrible gossip concerning Mrs. Woodhull, that I was for a time bewildered and almost lost myself in the whirlpool of slander; but after going to Apollo Hall and conversing with her, finding she had no complaint to make, of the other party, only that they were not yet prepared to act, and that her determination was for immediate action, I could not condemn her. We remained at the Hall only an hour and a half before we had to leave for the boat. Saturday the papers brought us the news of her nomination as candidate for the President, with Fred. Douglass for Vice President. Well one thing is certain, and that is, however ridiculous it may seem at first, and however much we would have chosen some one whose reputation would better bear the test of public inspection, a work has been done that will tell on the ages. Representatives of two degraded races are before the people as candidate for the highest offices of our Government. A woman and a negro. "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonder to perform," and when we have done all in our power to bring things to the standard of our wisdom and judgment, what can we do, but quietly accept the conditions and say "Thy will be done."

Supposing Mrs. Woodhull to be what is termed a bad woman, and exceedingly ambitious, she certainly can be no worse than men who have aspired to, and filled the same office, and she is now where she can more fully represent the principle of our claims for woman. I am fully convinced that before a just equality can be established there must be a vibration to the opposite extreme. The hand of tyranny must yield the rod to the parties so long oppressed, and when women and colored people once get into power, the poor male demagogues of the race will have to stand back until the current of justice has produced an equalization.

Then, as in nature in all forms below the human race, the male and female will centralise organic movements, with equal action, and a glorious harmony will be the result. My dear Mrs. Hooker, I am no scholar, having been deprived of opportunities for education in my early life, and in my later obliged to use my little vitality to get my daily bread; but I am an earnest thinker and gather my deductions from what I learn in nature. True, I have been some years in public life, but my utterances have been the result of inspirations from other minds, and a means of soul culture, I have been married three times—one separation by death, and the others from more painful causes, all of which I would gladly confide to you could I have the opportunity. My experiences have made

me an earnest thinker upon the social relations, and I am firmly fixed in the conviction that divine marriage is perfect fidelity to the conjugal relations between one man and one woman only, as I ever was taught from my childhood by one of the best mothers in the world. And I think Victoria thinks the same, notwithstanding so many think otherwise. I feel to say that you will yet devote your womanly energies to this all important subject, for to my understanding it underlies all real progress. Since our bodies are but means for the soul to manifest itself through, how vastly important that they be so generated as not to need regeneration. I am in correspondence with one of the best thinkers of the country, Rev., Hon., and ex-consul—titles enough to ruin one man, but he remains a man still, and he makes this statement, which I fully and firmly believe: "Syphilis is God's judgment for perverting divine love to lust." And when I am told by numbers of physicians that scarcely a human being is free from this awful disease, I say in my soul, how fearful are Thy judgments, oh Lord; and how great the need for a better education in regard to this temple of the Holy Ghost.

I hope ere long to see dear Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, sweet Mary Davis, and your noble self, with all other true women and men engaged in discovering the social relations. Pardon me if I have been too free in writing as I have. I am yours for earnest work.

BIRD MUSIC.

Oh! mourn not the days that are gone,
The little birds whistled to me;
The present's the time for the wise,
The future no mortal can see.
The night is the herald of morn,
The winter will change into spring,
So, don't be cast down and forlorn
While the little birds merrily sing.

What though, in the pride of his power
Old Mammon unfurls his red flag;
'Tis coming, right quickly, the hour
When Labor shall capture his rag:
Shall break down the magic of gold,
Bring the brokers and bankers to bay;
Teach the "Bears" how to pull down the woods,
And the "Bulls" how to toss up the hay.

Though knavery now wins the game,
In the temple, the mart, and the street;
And "the love of one's neighbor" be changed
To "the love of one's neighbor to cheat;"
Though poisons be sold to us now
In measures oft lawless and base,
When "our agent" the trafficker's ruled.
Why, that will soon alter the case.

Though the land be divorced from the spade,
By the impious fiat of man;
They will soon be united again,
'Tis a part of the Laborer's plan.
When the soil is as free as the air,
Then blessings will hallow our store;
Then the sower shall garner the crop,
And landlords shall tax us no more.

"Might" soon shall be conquered by "right,"
The little birds whistled to me,
Unite then, and win the good fight,
We can, if we'll only agree.
So, we'll cheerfully bend to our work,
Let our voices in unison ring,
Keeping time to the words of my song,
While the little birds merrily sing.

H.

PAPER AS MONEY AND CURRENCY INHIBITED.

[Vide Art. I. Dem. Rev., Jan. 1858.]

BY HORACE DRESSER, LL. D.

NO. III.

These sentiments seen in the *Federalist*, and felt to be so forcible and true, find counterpart in the subsequent and more modern teachings of a distinguished jurist, a learned judge of the Supreme Federal Court, and clear-minded commentator upon the Constitution, Mr. Justice Story. He inquires what is the true meaning of the phrase bills of credit in the Constitution, and in answering the question says, "in its enlarged and perhaps literal sense it may comprehend any instrument by which a State engages to pay money at a future day (and of course for which it obtains a future credit); and thus it would include a certificate given for money borrowed. But the language of the Constitution itself and the mischief to be prevented, which we know from the history of our country, equally limit the interpretation of the terms. The word *emit* is never employed in describing those contracts by which a State binds itself to pay money at a future day for services actually received, or for money borrowed for present use. Nor are instruments executed for such purposes, in common language denominated bills of credit. To emit bills of credit conveys to the mind the idea of issuing paper, intended to circulate through the community for its ordinary purposes as money, which paper is redeemable at a future day. This is the sense in which the terms of the Constitution have been generally understood. The phrase (as we have seen) was well known, and generally understood to indicate the paper currency issued by the States during their colonial dependence. During the war of our revolution the paper currency issued by Congress was constantly denominated, in the acts of that body, bills of credit; and the like appellation was applied to similar currency issued by the States. The phrase had thus acquired a determinate and appropriate meaning. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, bills of credit were universally understood to signify a paper medium, intended to circulate between individuals and between government and individuals, for the ordinary purposes of society. Such a medium has always been liable to considerable fluctuation. Its value is continually changing, and these changes, often great and sudden, expose individuals to immense losses, are the sources of numerous speculations, and destroy all proper confidence between man and man. In no

country, more than in our own, had these truths been felt in all their force. In none had more intense suffering or more wide-spreading ruin accompanied the system. It was, therefore, the object of the prohibition to cut up the whole mischief by the roots, because it had been deeply felt throughout all the States, and has deeply affected the prosperity of all. The object of the prohibition was not to prohibit the thing when it bore a particular name, but to prohibit whatever form or name it might assume. If the words are not merely empty sounds, the prohibition must comprehend the emission of any paper medium by a State government for purposes of common circulation. It would be preposterous to suppose that the constitution meant solemnly to prohibit an issue under one denomination, leaving the power complete to issue the same thing under another. It can never be seriously contended that the constitution meant to prohibit names and not things; to deal with shadows and to leave substances. What would be the consequences of such a constitution? That a very important act, big with great and immense mischief, and on that account forbidden by words the most appropriate for its description, might yet be performed by the substitution of a name. That the constitution, even in one of its vital provisions, might be openly evaded by giving a new name to an old thing. Call the thing a bill of credit, and it is prohibited. Call the same thing a certificate, and it is constitutional."

These doctrines are referred to, simply to show that authorities are not wanting to substantiate the application which is there made of the term, *bills of credit*, to the paper money or currency authorized by the States—and for the purpose of this inquiry, which is intended mainly to be confined to the question of constitutional currency, it is unnecessary to go further than to show the inhibition not to emit bills of credit, reaches everything put forth by the States in the shape of notes or bills of their banks, to be used as money; but in fact and in terms, the constitutional restraint reaches far beyond such action, and embraces other of their doings than the issuing of bank bills, though this language runs counter to a portion of what has been urged in the citation. Difference of views, founded on clear and palpable evidence, may exist, while bestowing on him whose opinion in all things is not received, the greatest deference. No good reason is assigned by the writer for such limitation of the phrase, *emit bills of credit*, to paper money only; he is forced to admit that it does go beyond the limit by him prescribed, in its large and literal sense—why not adopt it then, as it is found, in its fullest sense, or give sound and satisfactory grounds for a limited sense? The terms were certainly well understood by those who introduced them among the prohibitions upon the State—and although in the old Congressional acts and debates under the confederation, and in the affairs of the State at that time, they had application to paper currency, it does not follow that they were meant to be received only in that restricted sense—forasmuch as they were at that very time used by the people of the parent country to designate the paper used by authority of Parliament and called exchequer bills. They varied in amount, and bore interest according to the regular rates. On these exchequer bills, or bills of credit, as they were also denominated, the government of Great Britain obtained loans which, generally, were made by the Bank of England. Such usage of the terms obtaining here and in Europe, why insist on their limitations to issues of paper money? Why not allow the obvious intention to prevail, and so grasp every species of bill of credit, comprehending certificates for borrowed money? Let such be the interpretation, and let the States be compelled to live in obedience to the rule, not to emit bills of credit, and the loss of character as a nation abroad in the eyes of foreign governments, may yet be retrieved—and the bad faith and the broken promises of a large number of States, not necessary to be named here, may not always remain a blot on American government, one consequence of their mistaken policy of repudiation. Has it not been their custom for a long period, in disregard, as it is conceived, of the limitations they are under, to put forth, issue, or emit bonds, stocks, or government certificates with coupons attached, and to relieve therefor monies to meet any deficit in their respective treasuries, not yet replenished by the influx of taxes levied or to be levied? Such conduct, it would seem, is unwarranted by the Constitution. Are these certificates or issues not bills of credit, or exchequer bills, and do they not come within the prohibitions? These, though not strictly entering into the currency as money, and answering therein the purposes of money, as do the bills of banks, are indeed, as much within the mischief sought by the Constitution to be avoided, as any other species of State issues. It was never contemplated by the Signers of the Constitution, nor by the people of the United States, who ratified it, that any State government should borrow money on its exchequer bills, or bills of credit.

There are other questions and answers equally pertinent and quite as difficult for the States to encounter as any already considered. Can it be supposed to be good faith in a State bound by constitutional ties as are all those which compose this confederacy, to resort to evasion and subterfuge to avoid its weighty obligations to the nation, and to escape the duties of good government by wicked shifts and chicanery fitting only for a cheat or professional juggler? If a State may not do certain things by itself, may it do or perform these things by another? Morality and common sense declare in the negative—and so do the maxims of the law *qui facit per alium, facit per se*. The State may not emit a bill of credit; make paper money; issue notes or bills; nor make money of anything—albeit of paper, of silver, of gold, nor any other metal precious or vicious; yet it would seem that in these days it is lawful, it is faithful, and not lacking even in good manners one towards another, to say nothing of its disintegrating and nullifying tendencies in respect to political relation and national being.

THE PITH OF THE MATTER.

But behind and beneath these special causes of special strikes is the larger universal impulse which throughout the civilized world is determining the advent, through peace or war, for good or ill, as may be, of a great radical change in the relations, not of labor with capital exactly—for to use that phrase is to convey an idea at once inaccurate and inadequate—but of the laboring classes with the employing, directing, and accumulating classes. It is the dim consciousness—one can hardly call it the perception—of this impulse, of its tremendous power, of its feverish and as yet unformulated activity, which in truth accounts for the little interest taken by thinking men, not in Europe only, but in America, in the political questions of our day. The space which these questions occupy in the public eye is felt by thinking men to be out of all proportion to their real importance in connection with the real movement and tendency of our times. It is as it was, in the France of the last century, when the court of Versailles and the intrigues and combinations of the king's ministers continued to fill the gazettes and to make the talk of the salons, while the future of France and of civilization was working itself out by the light of tallow candles in obscurity.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]
COMPENSATION.

BY HORACE M. RICHARDS.

If you lift from some heart its burden of care,
As you journey o'er life's dusty road,
You not only are garnering treasures "up there,"
But you lightened your own earthly load.

If you cheer some soul on its wearysome way,
Or drive from some brow its shadows and gloom,
Your burden will lighten each hour of the day,
And you are strewn with flowers, your road to the tomb.

If you come as a helper to a soul that's in need,
Or lend to the weary, your strengthening hand,
You are tilling God's garden, and sowing the seed,
For a harvest of love, in the soul's summer-land.

If you have but a word, a smile, or a tear,
Don't hoard it, give freely, 'twill solace some grief,
Take the pain from some heart, some weary one cheer,
And bring to the pain in thy own heart relief.

BUFFALO, May 1st, 1872.

THE CLOSE OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. Reymert, in closing the convention, said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—In response to your complimentary resolution of thanks, permit me, before closing this convention, to say that you owe me no thanks, and I venture to say that you owe no thanks to any lady or gentleman who has served you in any official capacity during our deliberations, whether in committees or otherwise. All came here to serve one another by serving the truth, and expressing our own convictions, in that we desire no thanks, for we have only done our duty.

You have been pleased to distinguish me especially, and if I have filled my place to your satisfaction, I am more than rewarded.

The labors of this convention are ended. No convention ever assembled on earth like this; none ever deliberated upon more important matters; none ever worked more harmoniously; none, perhaps, has ever produced more important results.

Your principles have been clearly set forth in your platform. They stand there like jewels in a diadem, each one enunciated clearly and prominently, shining in its own beauty. Our minds united are each and all. Your candidates are selected both by your judgment and by your affections.

Victoria C. Woodhull, your hearts' chosen one for President, is full of humanity and full of inspiration, spirit and love. The very mention of her name fills you with resistless emotion, hope, joy and resolution.

Frederick Douglas, whom you have selected to stand with her on the ticket, has all the elements of a noble manhood within him—a manhood which has grown and expanded in adversity until his mind and character thus polished, commands the admiration and respect of all the world.

Both are true representatives of womanhood and manhood; they are true types of America. Personally, they are true and honest and capable. Our country will be happy indeed, when she shall so far triumph in equal rights as to prove her justice to the woman and the man, without distinction and prejudice. Noble is a land when truth and justice can crush ignorance and prejudice.

So here we stand before the world with a platform and candidates. We have finished the most important work of a political convention. We have proposed candidates for the highest offices in our Government. And now it devolves upon us to render this work effective in the land. We are men and women who understand our duties, know our rights, and we call on earth and heaven to inspire us, as in the beauty and loveliness of a true womanhood and in the strength and glory of a true manhood, we shall fearlessly maintain them. And now, upon your vote, I shall declare the objects and purposes of this convention accomplished and its labor ended.

GOD, MALE AND FEMALE.

Gen., chap. 1st, 26 and 27 ver.: "And God said let us make man (plural for the male and female) in our own image and likeness, and let them have dominion," &c. "So God created man in his own image—male and female created He them." Again, Gen., 5th chap., 1st and 2nd verses: "In the day that God created man, male and female created He them, and called their name Adam in the day they were created. H.S.D.

Mrs. F. A. Logan gave a lecture on "Womans' Rights," to a large and appreciative audience in the Church of this place, last evening. The lecture was good. She is a lady of superior talents.—*Weyanuega Times*.

Mrs. WOODHULL:—Dear Madam: In your reference to the criticisms of A. E. Newton, you gave expression to ideas, if I understand you aright, in which I supposed I had been alone for years; I refer to your statement that right and wrong, love and lust, heat and cold, &c., are different conditions of the same thing, instead of different things. Now, if not presuming too much, allow me to ask if you consider this rule as universal in its application. Or, in other words, can there be any exceptions to correct rules? If not, we can only differ in the application of them. Yours truly,

J. TINNEY.

WESTFIELD, N. Y., May 7th, 1872.

[All rules similar to the one to which reference is made must be universal in their application.]

GROVE MEETING.—The Grove Meeting in McLean, addressed by Mrs. Anna M. Middlebrook, was deeply appreciated by the many, and apparently enjoyed by the entire audience, who in every instance gave respectful attention to the lecturer, which by the way, is the highest compliment any speaker can aspire to. Mrs. M. is one of those rare, yet natural speakers, doubtless belonging to that class, who have not mistaken their mission, but by God are properly "called to preach," thus it is no matter of wonder, that the instructive, ideal flower incensed words, should flow on and out like a river, baptizing all who come in its way. This is the kind of preaching the world demands.

BIBLE ON THE BRAIN.

BY DAVID H. SHAFFER.

This world is very beautiful, but that of human kind,
A strange phantasmagoria, of every phase of mind,
For man in all the ages past, by phantoms has been led,
Which like diseases chronic have settled in his head,
Has preyed upon his fellow-men till millions have been slain,
Resulting from this cause alone, false notions on the Brain.

Far in the past immeasurable, ere this our planet earth,
Material, form, and substance had: or e'en matured to birth;
We were told that in long ages, beyond all mortal ken,
A story of the marvelous, wrote by tradition's pen,
Of a being, strange and mighty, and that his name was God
Who "saw the earth," that we live on "was without form, and void,"
An impenetrable darkness hung o'er the deep abyss,
For not the faintest ray of light was there his eyes to bless.
Then, this self-created being spoke, He said, "Let there be light,"
Where all was silent chaos there, and nought to cheer his sight.

When light dispelled the blackness from off the vasty deep:
Dread silence reigned supremely, and time was fast asleep,
Then God in earnest went to work, and in "six days" 'tis said
He made this world from nothing, on which we live and tread,
This cannot be comprehended by unsophisticated brains,
"That if you nothing, take from nothing, nothing still remains."
This truth in mathematics proves its absurdity,
But I only tell the story, as it was told to me.
This tale we're told was written by learned, inspired men,
If so, it clearly proves to me, they had "Bible on the Brain."

When God had made this planet, and all that it contained
Within the circuit of six days, from labor he refrained;
And resting on the Seventh, declared all he made "was good"
After this was dissatisfied, and drowned it with a flood.

But, before this great event occurred, he made man like himself
As variable and selfish as any wandering elf,
He put man in his garden, where he also placed his wife,
"Told them to eat of every tree, but One, the tree of Life,"
Before these simple children, this tempting fruit displayed;
"They took and ate" and then in bear skin, saw themselves arrayed,
This kind and loving father, forth in great anger burst,
For this act of "disobedience" He these two children cursed,
He cursed earth for the man's sake, made thorns and briars grow,
He cursed pure, loving woman, with sorrows, pain add woe,
In the ancient Hebrew record, there it is written plain,
Who dares to contradict it has Bible on the Brain.

Go read the old tradition, about that Hebrew God
In that sacred Book, and Holy, scattered everywhere abroad,
By ignorant knaves and bigots, who would force you to believe
It true; this fabled story of Adam and of Eve.
To impress it on the youthful mind, they take the greatest pains,
But all true men and women, see "Big Bibles on their Brains."

If you seek among its pages, you certainly will find,
That this God so many worship, is not of the same mind.
They tell us he's a Being of mercy, truth and love,
But his character as recorded, this assertion does not prove,
To conciliate his wrath, you must not neglect to pray,
And they tell us, "He is angry with the wicked every day."
He is partial and vindictive, and cruel too as fate:
For the worship of this Bible God, is marked with strife and hate.
And to compel this worship, after certain forms of men
Only shows the truth more plainly—they had "Bible on the Brain."

Sectarians of the present time, insist that you shall hold
This sacred volume to your breast, with a persistence bold,
While they tell us that the Bible contains God's holy truth,
A lamp to guide the wandering and wayward steps of youth,
But, we find with such examples as the King of Israel set,
That the world with all its Bibles is not any better yet,
Man will defraud his neighbor—and oppress his fellow man,
In the garb of pious virtue, he'll deceive him if he can;
He labors perseveringly, his selfish ends to gain
Till money and the Bible now, have settled on his Brain,

From this Bible he reveres, he's expunged the "Golden Rule,"
And not content with teaching it in Church and Sunday School,
He is striving hard to force it into our common schools,
And those who dare oppose it are the baser sort of fools.
First, here in Cincinnati, began this Bible war,
Its premonitory symptoms are spreading wide, and far,
The Churches are in trouble—Theology's in pain,
The epidemic's raging of "Bible on the Brain."

Their anguish is as great as King David's was of yore,
But the cause of their affliction is quite a different sore
Revd. Doctors look aghast, but alas, 'tis all in vain,
They cannot find a remedy for "Bible on the Brain"
Now let the conflict come, for which ever way 't will tend,
The truth it will come uppermost, and triumph in the end.

POLITICS AND THE BIBLE.

Nothing has ever come within the scope of man's comprehension, has received more devoted attention, more analytical study, has been so universally read, and, yet, so little understood, as the "Holy Bible."

This Book, of which the largest part of its subject matter, is proved to be the work of men's imaginative minds, has passed many revisions, arrangements, editions, corrections, and constructions, in accordance with the views and opinions of its manipulators, and forced upon the world only within a few centuries of the past, upon the young and unsophisticated mind, the unlettered, uneducated, unreasoning, ignorant man and woman, "whether on Christian or on heathen ground," until in this enlightened and progressive era, it has produced "confusion worse confounded."

The constructions, as to its intents and meanings, together with its misconstructions, have been the primary cause of "wars and rumors of wars" for centuries, while the efforts of ignorant, dogmatic expounders, to compel its acceptance as an inspired book, and force it upon the attention of the world; has proved to be ostensibly, one of the most stupendous causes of strife, bloodsheds, burnings, persecutions, religious tyranny, and fanaticism, that any of the ages past has ever known. And of "man's inhumanity to man," "For thus saith the Lord."

Religious fanaticism, for opinion's sake, the result of false theories and "false ideas on the brain," have made "countless thousands mourn" while the coming illuminated future, by the rapid progress of reason and science can never reflect its strongest light far enough into the dark and gloomy past, to discover and reveal the horrid sacrifices made on the reeking altars.

But without entering into an elaborate review of the history of the Bible and Bible History, and many of its gross absurdities, and inconsistencies, in the face of glaring scientific facts; though I could readily and cheerfully do so. I will confine myself, for the present, only to the subject of

"BIBLE ON THE BRAIN."

Your respected readers, and the intelligent community at large have not forgotten what an excitement originated in this city a couple of years ago, and which stirred, from centre to circumference, the secular and sectarian feeling, when the war of strife and words (not swords,) waged hotly in reference to the rejection or retention of the Bible in the Common Schools; and which finally resulted in its continuance in the schools of our city, notwithstanding its violent opposition.

This decision by sectarian judges in our Courts, only calmed for season the turbulent waters, and caused the eruption of this mighty volcano

of reform to quiet down, to concentrate greater force and power, to burst forth again, with renewed vigor to its final overwhelming overthrow.

A similar eruption occurred only a few months ago, not far from New York. And I learn from the reading of Mr. D. Conway's London Correspondence of the "Cincinnati Commercial" of January 29, that the non-conformists in England, having the advantage of the church in political matters, and leaning favorably to the liberal side, have awakened up this one absorbing subject, and discussing it with a determined purpose, to have and to keep the public schools free from any kind of religious instruction; and pressing their demand "that the schools be undenominational," and that "there shall be no Bible reading in the schools," "That there shall be neither reading of the Bible, nor any religious exercises or instruction of any kind whatever in the schools which receive aid from the taxes of the people." These are ominous signs of the times.

During the political excitement on this subject, in this city, and pending the election for the new board of school trustees, I wrote the above poem, and referred it to the Rev. Thomas Vickers, then of the old board, who was zealous on the liberal side. He asked its publication in the "Commercial," but the editor thought that some of its references to the Book was too radical to suit the opinions and wishes of its readers, respectfully declined.

WHO SHALL BE VICTOR? is the title of the Sequel to "The Cancelled Will," Miss E. A. Dupuy's new American novel, published a short time since by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, Pa.; and from its pages the mystery of Nina Gordon's origin is learned. These two books are not conventional novels, but a transcript of real life as we see it passing before us. The characters are natural, and—with the exception of the saintly Inez—possess faults enough to make them very human. The young girl left to fight her battle with life is not of the angelic species, as is usually the case in stories. The harder qualities of Nina Gordon's nature are developed by the probation which would have elevated and purified a more noble spirit.

It is issued in a large duodecimo volume, and sold by all Booksellers 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. All of Miss Dupuy's Six Books are put up in a neat box, bound in cloth, full gilt backs, &c., price \$10.50. Published in uniform, elegant and durable style by T. B. Peterson and brothers, No. 306 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The aspiration of Miss Tennie C. Claflin to the Colonelcy of the Ninth Regiment is not to be slighted. England had her Boadicea, France her Joan of Arc, and why not America her Claflin. The conundrum is not to be answered by a sneer. Tennie has manifested a Napoleonic foresight, a martial ardor in civic contests, which, united to her perfect knowledge of the manual of arms, eminently fits her for the warlike station that she covets. This is the Ninth's opportunity. Let us see if it has the genius to embrace it.—*N. Y. World*.

MEDIUMS AND MAGNETIC PHYSICIANS.

NEW YORK MEDIUMS.

Mrs. A. M. HULL, Clairvoyant, agnetic Physician and Test Medium, 199 Sixth Avenue.

Mrs. S. A. SWEET, Clairvoyant, foretells the changes in life examines the sick, operates magnetically, 431 Eighth avenue, between Thirty-first and Thirty-second streets New York city.

DR. SLADE, Clairvoyant, is now located at 210 West Forty-third street, New York.

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THE "Pioneer" of March 27, is by all odds the brightest issue its publisher has sent out in a long time. Its leader is capital and the editorial generally good. We suspect the new contributor, Mrs. Hanks, must have acted as editor. We are acquainted with the usages of her pen and are sure we recognize it in the article referred to. The selections are good also. Two fine articles from Mrs. Shepard's series on the relation of capital and labor, appearing on the first page; and our friend J. B. W. (Wolf), has a fearless and logical argument in favor of Mrs. Laura D. Fair. We congratulate Mrs. Pett Stevens on having so able an assistant as Mrs. Hanks.

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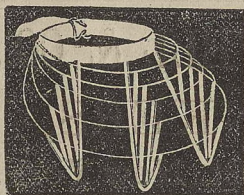
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NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

To those who have not heard this lady lecture, we would say, go by all means if you would desire to hear an earnest, well-spoken discourse, with an unbroken flow of well-pronounced, grammatical English. We have our own ideas about woman's mission and how far she unsexes herself when she ventures to lecture men, yet spite of our prejudice we were carried away by her words last evening at Maguire's Opera House.—*San Francisco News Letter*.

This lady pronounced a remarkable address last night at the Hall opposite the Academy of Music. Remarkable because of the extreme beauty of language and opulence of fancy, and interesting on account of its tender and grateful sentiment.—*The Daily American Flag, San Francisco*.

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