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#### SPEECH

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK

BEFORE THE

National Woman's Suffrage Convention,

Apollo Hall, May 12, 1871.

I propose to look at the Woman's Suffrage question in a legal point of view, and to examine those arguments that are based upon constitutional authority. It is well for us to be told again and again, what rights are possessed by women under the laws made by men.

It seems to me that a crisis is approaching, that the time has nearly arrived for some decisive measures in this matter, and that with earnest jurpose, and a full understanding of all its clims, we should go to the root of the subject, and each one of us do our work with a faithful zeal worthy of our cause. I present no new views, I offer no theories that have not been before discussed, but to such as I have I ask your undivided attention. When a body of men, chosen as representatives of the needs of a great people, meet together calmly to deliberate, discuss, and legislate for this people, thus bringing into a common interest the happiness, and protection; the rights and privileges; the duties, and responsibilities of all classes who make up the inhabitants of a country; I am certainly right in assuming that their conclusions ought to be accepted as of the utmost importance and authority. Then, when these conclusions, or the laws thus passed by the assembled wisdom of these statesmen, are sent out to the legislatures of the several states, there again to be discussed, criticised and finally accepted (if a three-fourths majority so decide) it must be generally accepted that by this time the result ought to bring a state of greater prosperity, justice, equality and peace, to all parties concerned therein. greater prosperity, justice, equality and peace, to all parties concerned therein.

concerned therein.

For, it must be evident to all, that these deliberations would not have been called for, but as the effect of some grievance, some great wrong that had remained unseen by preceding legislators, a wrong that had become too great for endurance, and therefore called for redress. And there may have been also, in the making of some of these laws, a prophecy of the future—a certain grand and glorious spirit of liberty inherent within—bursting forth in divine utterance, so that our rulers became at such times "wiser than they knew;" for many of our laws thus made are far-reaching, and their deepest meaning only becomes manifest after

knew;" for many of our laws thus made are far-reaching, and their deepest meaning only becomes manifest after years of suffering and tyranny.

Thus I believe it was with our famous Declaration of Independence, where it declares "these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," etc.,—"that to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," etc. This was not so much the utterance of the masses in those days, as of those who were enlightened, so as to feel the inspirations of freedom, and to breathe the inspiring breath of future generations, for even now, these "rights" are not secured" to all, probably because our government does not derive its just powers from the consent of the governed; for, with these grand utterances a century old, half of the most cultured and refined people of our country are in a state of most deplorable political subjection; and from this rostru to-day, we, in the name of the women of this land, insist upon those "unalienable rights" with which our "Creator endowed us," and which our revolutionary fathers "Creator endowed us," and which our revolutionary fathers held to be "self-evident." The meaning of this truth has increased in power and intensity, until its wail of pain from an unjustly oppressed class has reached the brains of our nation. This, I believe to have been also the case with the Fourteenth Amendment to our National Constitution, as passed at the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, June 16, 1866. It is upon this and the following amendment that I shall base the greater portion of my argument to-day.

le is well known to all politicians at least, that when this

amendment (the Fourteenth) had passed both houses of Cougress, and had afterward been subjected to the deliberations of each separate State Legi-lature, and ratified by more than three-fourths of those States; and when the official announcement had been made public by William H. Seward, Secretary of State, July 28, 1868, it then (to use Mr.

# EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS

UNDER OUR PRESENT COVERNMENT; OR, A

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WHICH SHALL SECURE THEM.

Seward's own language) became "valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States." So that now this amendment is as much a law of the land as the original Constitution; and the enforcement of this law is as binding upon our legislators and the officers of our government as any other.

government as any other.

Article 6th of the Constitution says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the con rary notwithstanding." When the Fourteenth Amendment became the law of the land, it found itself foretold, and the States prepared for it by Section 4 of the 4th Article, namely: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government;" and, thus heralded, the Fourteenth Amendment is ushered into existence as the legitimate offspring of the necessities of a great people. Who can tell, but, that prophesied of, proclaimed, foretold, it is destined to become the political saviour of our nation. Yet the young child has been kept in solitude for three long years, and even some of our State officers do not knew its import, or hardly its existence. hardly its existence.

We are indebted, in a great measure, to Victoria C. Woodhull, for the graceful, yet persistent manner in which it was rescued from oblivion and introduced to public notice in Washington, on the 21st day of Deember, 1870. All thanks and honor are due to her clear-sightedness in arousing anew the agitation of the subject of woman's suffrage. A great and efficient work had been done by other noble women previously, but when she was most needed she

I will proceed now to analyze this one supreme law of our and. 1st. it tells us who are citizens. When slavery existed at the South, and the negroes had no vote, and no voice in making the laws that should govern them, they might well conclude that it was because they were not citizens, especially after knowing of the existence of such a law as we find in Article IV., Sec. 2. "The citizen of each State shall be entitled to all avirages and impunition of the existence of such a law as we find titled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." If that law gave them no vote, then there could be no other reason than because they were not citcould be no other reason than because they were not entrieves. But the Fourteenth Amendment rectifies this mistake, and leaves no further room for doubt. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisduction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." Could the English language be plainer than it is here? It would hardly be necessary to explain to a child that "all persons" does not mean the late of white men and black men but that sary to explain to a child that "all persons" does not mean men alone, or white men. or white and black men, but that a person (according to Webster) is an individual human being, consisting of body and soul, and is applied alike to man, woman and child." Very well. No further question here. Women are citizens. Congress says so. Our State legislators said so when they ratified this amendment.

Further than this Webster's unabridged says: "In the

United States a citizen is a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise, or the qualifications which may enable him to vote for rulers and to purchase and hold real estate."

Putting this and that together, or taking them separately, we cannot avoid the same conclusions, namely, that women are citizens; that as citizens they have the right to vote and to a free use of all privileges and immunities that are granted to the most honorable and the most dishonorable

granted to the most honorable and the most discovered among men.

Webster uses the terms "right" and "privilege" as synonomous, or nearly so. "Right is just claim, immunity privilege. All men," he says, "have a right to the secure enjoyment of life, personal safety, liberty and property."

Further than this Mr. Butler says, in reference to the citizenship of women: "None but citizens of the United States could register a ship at our ports, none others could pre-en pt lands or receive passports; but from time immemorial in this country women have registered ships, pre-empted lands and secured passports without question."

moral in this country women have registered ships, preempted lands and secured passports witbout question."

This opinion, coming from a geutleman so well versed
in constitutional law, is not by any means to be despised.
But, on the contrary, it is worth a great deal as authority,
because it is based upon legal points and is the result of
careful thought, which cannot always be said of opposing
arguments. And Mr. Butler further said: "The right of a
citizen to vote for his rulers was a right outside of all Constitution and laws; it was an inherent right," as he understood the principles of the government. Whatever may be
said about this inherent right of citizens to vote for their
rulers, or whatever argument may be brought against it, we
certainly have the matter clearly explained in the Fourteenth Amendment. That is, understanding, as I do, that national governments are instituted by men (and I use the term
in its largest sense), out of the great wisdom and power that
belong to them naturally, or that is inherent within them,
for the purpose of giving protection, safety, happiness, life,
liberty, etc., to all persons that dwell, under the dominion
thereof; therefore this amendment, aming at the best and
broadest republicanism, says: "No State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities
of citizens of the United States."

Whatever power the States might have possessed

Whatever power the States might have possessed previous to the passage of this act, could be possessed no longer after its passage. If one of the greatest privileges of citizenship was the ballot, and this privilege (under the excuse of "State rights") had been denied to the negro, simply because he was black, though he possessed all other cuelifier time and to recommend to the negro, simply because he was black, though he possessed all other qualifications, and to women simply because of sex, though she possessed all other qualifications, yet henceforth this right of the State was prohibited, and the full license of sheer prejudice was no longer allowed. Af er the ratification of this act and its proclamation to the neople as one of the supreme laws of our land, "No State shall make," if it has not already made, or if any State within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have passed any law previous to this amendment calculated to abridge the privileges or immunities of any of its strigens it shall not "In the privileges or immunities of any of its vitizens, it shall not

"enforce" such law. Oh! I hear some political fogy exclaiming, "What have you done with our State rights"—our right to say who shall vote? I answer, given them over to the United States, their lawful master—made the State laws subservient to the supreme laws of the land, as they certainly are, and no one can deny it. Hear what the Tenth Amendment says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor probibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." As the Constitution has prohibited the States from abridging the privileges of its citizens, therefore the State where I reside has no right to deny me the right to consent to those who are to govern me. And the same rule will apply to all the women of our country. Besides this, what are the States whose rights we talk so much about? Do we mean simply a tract of land containing so many square miles? Or do we mean the whole body of people in a certain locality united under one government? Certainly, in this sense we mean the latter, and no one, however prejudiced, would think of denying me the right of belonging to the State of Connecticut simply because I am a woman.

If, then, women are part of a State-natural-born citizens thereof—subject to its jurisdiction, under the United States, how can there be such a thing as "State rights" when all women (though counted in the representation) are denied women (though counted in the representation) are denied the privilege of a voice in choosing those representatives or in the making of State laws? I assert that our State representatives have held office and drawn money from the public treasury unlawfully, because they have never occupied their positions by a vote of a majority of all the people; and, in the same sense, the qualifications of electors pretended to be made by the States, are not made by the States at all but by an aristogracy composed of part of the pretended to be made by the States, are not made by the States at all, but by an aristocracy composed of part of the people, who take it upon themselves to make laws for and rule over the other part. Therefore, the qualifications made for electors by this aristocracy, not being in accordance with the representation of the whole State, but only a part, are no qualifications at all. Of course, I base my premises upon the republican professions of our government. How can a government be republican unless all are represented and have a voice in the affairs of State? Let us reverse things and talk about "State rights" and "State sove reignty" and "State laws" with the white male left out in the cold. How our masculine rulers would laugh; but the only difference between then and now is that the laugh is in the other corner of the mouth. The States are in the only difference between then and now is that the laugh is in the other corner of the mouth. The States are in the same predicament that they would be in such a case with a large portion of its loyal citizens proscribed, limited, muzzled, by the other portion, without any just, constitutional or natural claim to precedence—a living illustration of the old adage that "might makes right." It seems to me that whatever may have been right or just in this matter previous to the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment (and there can be no doubt that the right has always been the same as now), that since that law was enacted clearly setting forth that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens; and prohibiting the States from abridging our privileges as citizens; that no State of ficer has any right to deny us the full and free expression of opinion by the ballot, and the judges in every State ought to sustain us in this, because it is in obedience to the express wording of the above article of the Constitution. And as the President of the United States, the Senators and as the President of the United States, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, as well as both houses of our State Legislatures, have sworn to uphold and support the Constitution of the United States, I do not see how any o these great men can fall in sustaining our measures without great remissuess in duty, which should incur the just reproach of every loyal person. Or, taking another view of this question of the State power to quality, if we could have full representation—that is, admitting women as voters qualification cannot mean prohibition or disfranchisement. Women as a class are prohibited or denied a right that is as sacred, and would prove as beneficial to them as to men. sacred, and would prove as beneficial to them as to men. And this prohibition in the face of our grand national principles becomes wholesale swindle, which is quite as degrading to our rulers as it is humiliating to us. Another clause in the Fourteenth Amendment requires a little passing observation. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Now is it not plain that where one class is prohibited a voice in making the laws, and is compelled to be governed entirely by another class, and the laws thus made for them being, in regard to property and in the marriage relation, so shamefully unequal, is it not plain, I ask, that the ruled class are deprived in a great measure of their liberty of person and property, and denied that equality of protection that is guaranteed them. A glauce at the property laws of some of our States would bring confounding testimony in proof of the disloyalty of our State laws to our National Constitution. And, in the name of justice, what is our Constitution worth if it avows these sublime principles and no action is taken upon them any more than if they did not exist, and our officers are not compelled to enforce them. Are women to be insulted by a sham law, that pretends to extend equal protection to every person and equal privileges, and yet allows every rum-drinking, tobacco-chewing frequenter of gambling houses and brothels to control and frequenter of gambling houses and brothels to control and govern by their infamous laws such women as are repre ented upon this rostrum to-day? For shame! For shame sented upon this rostrum to-day? For shame! For shame! It is not our husbands, or our fathers, or brothers or other good men alone who represent us at the ballot-box (if it were possible for one person to represent another) which I deny, but we become politically the common slaves of this common herd. Protected by men too vile for us to associate with a moment? No! Represented by men too ignorant to choose their own candidates without the assistance of some tricky politician? No! Add yet our dear ance of some tricky politician yet our dear ance of some tricky politician? Not And yet our dear lords—many of them remain in this enlighted age perfectly satisfied to allow things to remain as they are. Were it not so, this would not be. Justice and right are on one side, but so, this would not be. Statice and right are on one side, but the power is in the hands of men. The Constitution is with us, as I have shown, and as I propose further to show. Hear what the Fifteenth Amendment says: The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This follows the previous article of amendments so directly that it is clear that the article of amendments so directly that it is clear that the right to vote is understood as one of the privileges meant in the wording of that law. These two articles evidently belong together—the one clearly defines the rights and privileges of citizens, and states who are the citizens that possess these privileges, while the last lays special emphasis upon this one right of voting, and declares that it shall not be depind on a bridged by either the States on the United denied or abridged by either the States or the United

It recognizes the right as something that already existed: and our National as well as our State Constitutions acknowledge that all political power is inherent in the people.

The Fourteenth Amendment is a sort of declaratory act; it The Fourteenth Amendment is a sort of declaratory act; it defines the word citizens, and declares their power to make use of what is already theirs. "All persons native or naturalized are citizens," and then, in the Fifteenth Amendment, "their right to vote shall not be denied or abridged." But, we are limited to race, color, or previous conditions of sirvitude, says our opponent. Well, are not women included here? In fact, if it does not say men, or women, why does it mean men more than women? What proof is there that it means one more than the other? It says citizens, and there is proof positive that this word applies equally to both.

There are women of race and color, as much as there are men of race and color, and if the word sex is not used, why should we manufacture an excuse for using it, simply for the purpose of misrepresenting the plain rendering of this

And as for the "previous condition of servitude," in their senses can pretend that women do not belong to this class. And if this article meant negroes, as is claimed. this class. And if this article meant negroes, as is claimed, it must have meant negro women as well as men. For the service rendered by the black woman was oftentimes a thousand times more degrading, and called louder for redress than that rendered by the black man. But in applying this to our own race of women, I can do nothing better than to give you Mr. A. G. Riddle's argument upon the subject, in his speech made at Washington. He says:

"The condition of the married woman is that of servitude." The law gives her to the man not the man to her or

"The condition of the married woman is that of servitude. The law gives her to the man, not the man to her, or the two mutually to each other. They become one, and that one is the husband, such as he is. Her name is blotted out from the living, or at best is appended to that of the husband. She belongs to her master; all that she has belongs to him. All that she earns is his, because she is his. If she does anything that binds him, it is simply as his servant. If she makes a contract that is binding even upon herself, it is because he consents to it. She does not own anything; she does not own the children that are born to her. The it is because he consents to it. She does not own anything; she does not own the children that are born to her. The husband exclusively controls them while living, and by his will he may, and often does, bequeath to somebody else the custody and care of them after his death." "And," he says further, "the law which we men make enforces all this today. If the wife of a man should suffer from an accident on a railroad, and suit should be brought to recover against the company for injury to her person, the suit brought by the husband would be upon the ground that his wife was his servant, and he had lost her service." "The wife," he says, "is always the servant of the husband, she never gradhis servant, and he had lost her service." "The wife," he says, "is always the servant of the husband, she never graduates away from him; she never becomes of age, or arrives at years of discretion." If there is any further doubt upon this subject, reference to the statute books of the various States will settle the matter at once. It is not the question whether he beats his wife (though I think that is done oftener than he beats his hired servant), but what is the legal relation between them? And it is answered above, and upon our statute books, that the law demands her entire subjection to him, and that he often demands of her the duties of wife, and mother to his children, and the drudge tire subjection to him, and that he often demands of her the duties of wife, and mother to his children, and the drudge of his household, and that, too, with only the compensation that he chooses to offer, which is too frequently very meagre indeed. It would not be borne in any other relations. Talk about cruelty to animals! And yet, as Mr. Riddle says, "the laws which men make enforces" this cruelty to women. Our opponents tell us that the word "sex" is absolutely necessary in the Fifteenth Amendment to make it applicable to women, and without that word it cannot be made to apply. Has not the word "race" a larger meaning—a broader and mightier signification? Can you think of a race of men alone, and is any one so narrow and so unjust as to admit all other races to the exclusion of the daughters of this republic? If a speone so narrow and so unjust as to admit all other races to the exclusion of the daughters of this republic? If a special word must be used to define the particular sex meant, by what means of turning and twisting could all our governmental matters be given over to the masculine gender during the century past, when the word "male" does not occur once in the Constitution until we find it in the Fourteenth Amendment. It is true the words "he," "his" and "him" occur often, but may be taken in a general sense, as they are in law and within our statute books. In many of our laws the matter referred to embraces all persons as absolutely as if the specific word "she" had been used. Where the word "male" is incorporated into the the Fourteenth Amendment there is such a palpable display of the prejuthe word mate is such a palpable display of the prejudice and timidity of those who drew up this important document, that by the side of the noble words that were prewere that by the side of the hole words that were previously written as a herald of promise, it sinks into miserable insignificance. There is evidently a prejudice against the woman question, and a fear that this construction may be put upon this article, which might divert public attention from negro suffrage. We well know how jealous our Republican friends were of our cause at that time, and that many of them now are among our most able advocates. All while

from negro sunrage. We wen there have how jestious our kepunlican friends were of our cause at that time, and that many of them now are among our most able advocates. Ah! while "waiting" for victory, as they told us we must—"obedient" as it is a woman's duty (?) to be, we live to see the conversion of those great statesmen that were thought nearly perfect before. And now even they admit that the two first paragraphs in the Fourteenth Amendment are broad enough and emphatic enough to embrace even our cause.

Our legislators, in laying down principles which they intended to apply to some particular case, should not regret that these principles take broader and deeper root than they intended. How often it is that under the control of some unseen and mighty power, words are brought forth from lips glowing with living fire, that are pregnant with high hopes and golden promises of future greatness, while those who are the instruments thereof remain unconscious of their deepest meaning. And how different are our dreams while sleeping from the reality when awake. For centuries the world has dreamed that woman's fate was to be an inferior being—the toy and plaything of man—to sit centuries the world has dreamed that woman's fate was to be an inferior being—the toy and plaything of man—to sit at his feet and mumble, parrot-like, the words that fall from his lips—the tool and machine for his lust and avarice. Waking, it finds her his equal—an immortal soul endowed with mighty responsibilities and lofty aspirations! Sleeping in the intoxicated stupidity of custom, it has limited her sphere to the narrowest and meanest latitudes. Waking, hor range is the wide universe, and within her grasp are all human possibilities! Shall we not accept as the lesson of the hour the reality rather than the dreams? Again; we know how in law, there is oftentimes great

Again: we know how in law, there is oftentimes great stress laid upon parallel cases; and we know how words are made to apply in cases that they were not intended for, so that the intention is sometimes lost sight of entirely. Were I to say that the condition of the women of our country was parallel, or nearly so, to the condition of the negro, before he was admitted to the full rights of citizenship, it would I am aware, bring down upon me a laugh of derision from our opponents. I have tried it too often not to know this. But I maintain it, notwithstanding the derision, for I know it cau

or, from those who are too far removed, and therefore, too ignorant of the suffering caused by this condition, to comprehend it. It is difficult for a person to feel the pain caused by the boot that pinches some one else's foot. Or, for a man with anti-republican principles and finely-spun theories of "Dear woman's trusting dependence and sweet reliance on the protecting arm of man," to feel for one moment the pain suffered by a highly-cultured, intelligent woman, who itlly realizes the deep humiliation of our present state of political subjection. It is because of this pain and humiliation that we welcome the noble and authoritative words of Chas. Sumner and others: which, though intended to help the cause of negro suffrage, are just as well fitted for our work, as to carry out the original intention. Hear the great words of Mr. Sumner," Beyond all question the true rule under the National Constitution, especially since its additional amendments, is that any thing for human rights is constitutional." No learning in books, no skill acquired in courts, no sharpness of forensic dialectics, no cunning in splitting hairs, can impair the vigor of the constitutional principle which I announce. Whatever you enact for human rights is constitutional. There can be no State rights against human rights; and this is the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution, or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Then he quotes from Franklin's works the following: "That liberty or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man. That they who have no voice, nor vote in the electing of representatives, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes, and to their representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf." Another argument proving women's condition of servitude.

Is not this confounding testimony in our favor? And yet the substant was of its fact, the substant and the transfer. ignorant of the suffering caused by this condition, to comprehend it. It is difficult for a person to feel the pain caused

Another argument proving women's condition of servitude. Is not this confounding testimony in our favor? And yet there is plenty more of it—in fact it has been piled mountains high within a few years. Here is more, which Mr. Sumner takes from Elliot's Debates: "The right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of republican government, and ought not to be left to be regulated by the Legislature. A gradual abridgement of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built on the ruins of popular forms." It will doubtless be urged against these quotations that they refer to another subject. In reply I say, what of that? They are the fruits of our governmental tree—a tree whose branches are so far-reaching that it is expected to overshadow the whole nation, and its truits, I believe, are for the healing of the nation. At any rate they suit our complaints exactly just now, and we propose to see if, by partaking of them, they will not prove a panacea for our unhappy political ailments. They are found good for native white men and for native black men, for naturalized Irish, Dutch, French; in short, all men who, tired of their own country, may chance to land on our shores. We cannot be treated longer as too many parents shores. We cannot be treated longer as too many partireat their children, who, while partaking of luxuries themselves, tell the little ones that such luxuries are not good serves, ten the little ones that such luxuries are not good for them. We are not children, but part and parcel of this great republic. We work for our government; we pay taxes on our property for its support; we raise mechanics, farmers, lawyers, doctors, ministers—yes, statesmen, soldiers and presidents. In fact our government only exists by our sufference, and we do not intend it to exist without our sufference.

our suffrage.

It seems to me that the great and important time has come for action, when we should concentrate all our efforts upon this one matter. We should let all religious prejudices, all social distinctions, all questions of expediency and policy be laid aside, and stand truly united in this work. No one can deny that our interests are in common with those of men; that our necessities are the same; that our loyalty cannot be questioned more than theirs; that every argument that favors their right to vote favors ours. Then can it, with any degree of consistency, be said, that the same means by which they seek a redress for their grievances will not also bring the same result to us.

The great principles of republicanism that were sent down the long years from our immortal Declaration of Independence, for a century, live as an eternal monument of glory, when fulfilled; but as a blasting shame Lefore all

glory, when fulfilled; but as a blasting shame before all nations, while half of its children sit and wail for their enfranchisement. The noble love of freedom that burned within the blood of our ancestors who framed that document has gathered tribute with every advance, until, an impetuous torrent, it threatens to overthrow and inundate your present miserable system of sham republicanism. The your present miserable system of sham republicanism. The spirit of our Constitution is all right, its letter is all right; enforce both—make them practical instead of theoretical, and we shall have a grand fulfillment of a glorious promise. We want the aid of both political parties, if we can have it; but, if the power in the hands of men will not bring us justice, we must create a new party and work against both, or carry our cause to the courts. We have sought to conciliate these parties long enough; we have gone down on to our knees before them, praying to be heard; we have spent our time, our strength and our money in speeches, in to our knees before them, praying to be heard; we have spent our time, our strength and our money in speeches, in tracts and in conventions to educate the public up to this work, at the same time that our sons have gone out from our homes to join the common enemy against us; we have sent petitions to our State Legislatures, which have remained unnoticed, so far as any practical result is attained; we have besought Congress in petitions miles in length, and all to no purpose as yet; and it is time we took other measures and sought other means for the accomplishment of the great end to be gained. Our cause has very materially changed within a few years; it has grown from babyhood into giant proportions since the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. We have seen other parties similarly situated walking into the full eujoyments of the similarly situated walking into the full enjoyments of the most sacred rights, with all benefits to be derived therefrom, while we and the cause in which our lives are most earnestly absorbed are treated with cold contempt and our estly absorbed at the death with control of the special specia

politicians why we do not take our rights; and probably there never was so great an attempt to do this as there has

there never was so great an attempt to do this as there has been this present year.

The Enforcement act passed by Congress in May, 1870, together with the Ku-Klux bill, and the proclamation just issued by the President to enforce this bill and the Fourteenth Amendment, are teaching the public that our republican principles are as broad as the country and must protect all citizens, and teach all States that their laws must be subject to the United States.
Under the provisions of these acts Mrs. Nannette B. Gard-

ner, of Detroit, Mich., on the 4th of April, cast her first vote. I think at that moment, could our eyes have been open to I maintain it, notwithstanding the derision, for I know it cau see and our ears to hear, sweetly solemn sights and sounds only come from those who are too much prejudiced to see it; would have greeted our longing senses from those halls where justice holds her courts. But a question arises. How are the men of Michigan different from the men in other States? For other women attempted to vote in different States, but were denied the privilege. In Hammonton, N. J., fifteen women offered their votes at a late town election, but were refused. In other States—in Ohio and Washington—this attempt was made with the same result. In Connecticut, several women—myself included—made application to be registered at the time and place required by law, and our names were taken; but when we presented ourselves before the Board of Registration "to be made" voters, we were denied the right. One woman besides myself then made affidavit before a "justice of the peace" that we had been wrongfully prevented from performing the necessary pre-requisite or qualification of a voter, and with this affidavit we presented ourselves at the Town Hall on election day and asked permission to deposit our votes. After a delay and argument of half an hour we were denied the right.

tion day and asked permission to deposit our votes. After a delay and argument of half an hour we were denied the right.

We took this course under the Fourteeoth and Fifteenth Amendments, and the provisions of the "Enforcement Act" of May, 1870. I stated to the Board of Registration and to the Moderator that we did not apply under our State laws, but under the United State laws; that as the word "white" in our State Constitution became null and void under the Fifteenth Amendment; so the word "male" became null and void under the Fourteenth. These officers coolly told me that they were "acting under State laws, and not under the authority of the United States; and that the United States had no right to take away their liberties as State officers." They did not care that my liberty as a citizen was entirely gone, under their assumed State rights. What we want now is the power to teach the States, and their officers, submission to the United State's Constitution as the supreme law of the land. If this is done every right will be given us, and I think it can be done by following the example of the ladies of Washington, and the ladies of Hemmonton; that is, prosecuting the officers of elections and carrying the case even to the supreme court or the land, if necessary. It seems to me disgraceful that we are obliged to do this, but we have the advice and counsel of able lawyers and statesmen. For the benefit of those women who are earnest, and ready to work in this cause, but who may not know what authority we may have besides the last two amendments (and those ought to be sufficient), I would advise them to procure copies of the Enforcement Act of 1870, and the Ku-Klux bill, which is entitled "An act to enforce the provision of the Enforcement Act of 1870, and the Ku-Klux bill, which is entitled "An act to enforce the provision of the Enforcement Act of 1870, and the Ku-Klux bill, which is entitled "An act to enforce the provision of the Enforcement Act of 1870, and the Ku-Klux bill, which is entitled "An act to enf

favor all over our land. Let us remember, too, that in taking this course—in making this demand we are encroaching npon the rights of no othere lass, nor rebelling against any acknowledged power.

The glorious Summer—though like the Constitut on he leaves out the special word women—has said it all for us when he declares the following: "What I especially ask is impartial suffrage, which is, of course, embraced in universal suffrage. For the present, I simply insist that all shall be equal before the law, so that in the enjoyment of this right there shall be no restriction which is not equally applied to all. I have no hesitation in saying that universal suffrage is a universal right, subject only to such regulations as the safety of society may require. These may concern age, residence, character, registration. These emprary restrictions do not in any way interfere with the right of suffrage, for they leave it absolutely accessible to all. No matter under what depression of poverty, in what deprhof obscurify or with what diversity of complexion you have been born, you are nevertheless a citizen—the peer of every other citizen, and the ballot is your inalienable right." In a late excellent editorial article in the Golden Age, we are told that "many of the representative men and women who have charge of the woman's movement, speak and write and print as if the elective franchise were the sum-total of woman's demand." "Important," he says, "as we believe the political aspect of the woman's movement, instead of being all summed up in the claim for the "elective franchise is the whole broad question of woman's rights." As thankful as we should all be for every word spoken or written in aid of our cause, yet I hardly think we can forget that it is not the square inch of white paper that we call the ballot that we are, after all, caring so much for; but it is the equality, the justice, the educational advantages, the reformation in social matters, and all that may result from the ballot, Aud without the ballot as a me tors to the mountain eyrie of true national greatness—how can we be longer held as manacled slaves when the laws of our country, written in human blood and suffering, call to our country, written in human blood and suffering, call to us and point the way; while the spirit of justice from on high, with the balance in one hand and hope's shining anchor in the other, beckon us on to victory! Oh, Columbia! thy daughters, as well as thy sons, would be thy loyal subjects. Strike thou through the wisdom of our rulers every chain from thy disfranchised children!

The completest pun in the records of literature is produced in the following words, which were inscribed on a tea chest: "Tu doces," which is the second person singular, present tense, of the Latin verb doceo, I teach, and when literally translated, becomes "thou teachest."

#### POOR HUMANITY.

More than half a century ago, the following lines were found in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, beside a skeleton, remarkable for its symmetry of form. They were subsequently published in the London Morning Chronicle, and a vain effort made to ascertain the author, even offering a reward of fifty guineas:

> Behold this ruin! 'Twas a skull Once of ethereal spirit full.
> This narrow cell was life's retreat; This space was thought's mysterious seat. What beauteous visions filled this spot With dreams of pleasure long forgot! Nor hope, nor joy, nor love nor fear, Have left one trace of record here.

Beneath this mouldering canopy, Once shone the bright and busy eye; But start not at the dismal void! If social love that eye employed; If with no lawless fire it gleamed;
But through the dews of kindness beamed; That eye shall be forever bright, When sun and stars are sunk in night.

Within this hollow cavern hung The ready, swift, and tuneful tongue; If falsehood's honey it disdained, And when it could not praise, was chained; If bold in virtue's cause it spoke, Yet gentle concord never broke; The silent tongue shall plead for thee, When time unveils eternity.

Say, did these fingers delve the mine, Or with the envied rubies shine? To hew the rock, or wear the gem, Can little now avail to them. But if the page of truth they sought, Or comfort, to the mourner brought, These hands a richer meed shall claim Than all that wait on wealth or fame.

Avails it whether bare or shod, These feet the path of duty trod? If from the bowers of ease they fled, To seek afflictions humble shed: If grandeur's guilty bribe they spurned, And home to virtue's cot returned These feet with angel's wings shall rise, And tread the palace of the skies.

#### The People's Reform Party in Convention.

On Saturday last, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the members of the People's Reform Party met in Convention at Philadelphia, and organized by electing Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., President, and L C. Wanamaker, Esq., Secretary.

SPEECH OF MR. KILGORE.

On taking the chair, Mr. Kilgore addressed the convention as follows:

On taking the chair, Mr. Kilgore addressed the convention as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: In a government of the people, no man should be an office-seeker, nor should he shun any responsibilities his fellow-citizens thrust upon him. Thanking you for this expression of your confidence, let us proceed at once to the work before us. While we realize the fact that the two great political parties of the country have done much good, we know they have become selfish and ven.1, and to a great extent are controlled by dishonest and corrupt men. The Democratic party sustained an oligarchy of slave-holders, until it almost destroyed the government. The Republican party now upholds, by its legislation, a moneyed aristocracy, as dangerous to the liberty of white men as the slave oligarchy was dangerous to the liberty of the blacks. Instead of making laws for the protection of the poor and weak, they legislate in the interest of huge moneyed corporations, soulless and heartless, which strike down the liberty and rights of the citizens, turn justice aside, and oppress the people. History warns us in vain if we do not unite to put an end to the power of these corporations unjustly obtained in fraud of the rights of the American people. Organize, and wun. Combine the working classes, and sll oostacles to the emancipation of labor will disappear. Continue inactive or divided, and multitudes will soon throng your streets, clamoring for bread. In a republic, no man should be destitute of work, or deprived of a just compensation for its performance.

The government should not only cease to place temptation to crime before its citizens, but the great avenues of evil should be closed. Not only should every child be protected against the evils of intemperance, but should be furnished with a good English education. The institutions of freedom must rest upon the intelligence and virtue of the people. No man should to be who cannot read and write his ballot. Dishonesty in office should be proportionate to the services rendered,

THE PLATFORM.

After the various committees were appointed, the Committee on Platform reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the government has no right to deprive any human being of physical life, but should sacredly protect every human person in its enjoyment. To this end, all personal and international disputes shouid be settled without resort to physical violence.

Resolved, That the manufacture of alcohol, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes, should be prohibited.

Resolved, That the present policy of donating the public lands to moneyed corporations is hostile to the rights and interests of the people at large. The national territory should be held in trust to be disposed of in small tracts to actual settlers. Land should be owned by those who till it, and all speculation therein, as well as in those products of the soil used for human food, should be prohibited.

Resolved, That the present system of taxation is unjust; it checks industry and robs the poor. It is most burdensome to those least able to bear it, and should be so changed that the productive wealth of the nation should pay the expenses of government.

Reselved, That all public officers should be chosen directly by the electors they represent. The compensation should be fixed by law at a salary proportionate to the services rendered, and all fees, profits or income of the offices should be paid into the public treasury.

Resolved, That all public officers guilty of defrauding the government should be disfranchised, and be disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the government thereafter.

Resolved, That the national currency should be based manual labor, and upon that alone. It should at all times by

Resolved, That the national currency should be based upon labor, and upon that alone. It should, at all times, be at par with gold, and receivable in payment of all debts. All legislation in favor of banks and other moneyed corporations oppressive to the laboring classes should be abolished.

Besolved That it is the duty of the convergence to

Resolved, That it is the duty of the government to secure to every minor a good English education, and to every adult suitable employment, and a just compensation for the

Resolved, That every person twenty-one years of age capable of reading and writing the English language irrespective of sex, birthplace or nationality, should be allowed to vote in all elections of public officers, State or National.

After the appointment of several committees, the convention adjourned to meet at the call of the President.

#### HOW A WILL WAS FOUND.

An instance of the renewal in sleep of an impression of memory called up an apparition to enforce it (it is the impression which causes the apparition, not the apparition which conveys the impression) occurred near Bath, half a century ago, and is related by Miss Cobbe in an article on "Unconscious Celebration."

Sir John Miller, a very wealthy gentleman, died, leaving no children. His widow had always understood that she was to have the use of his house for her life, with a very large jointure; but no will making such provision could be found after his death.

large jointure; but no will making such provision could be found after his death.

The heir-at-law, a distant connection, naturally claimed his rights, but kindly allowed lady Miller to remain for six months in the house to complete her search for the missing papers. The six mouths drew at last to a close, and the poor widow had spent fruitless days and weeks in examining every possible place of deposit for the lost document, till at last she came to the conclusion that her memory must have deceived her, and that her husband could have made no such promise as she supposed or to have neglected to

till at last she came to the conclusion that her memory must have deceived her, and that her husband could have made no such promise as she supposed, or to have neglected to fulfill it had he made one.

The very last day of her tenure of the house had just dawned, when, in the gray of the morning, Lady Miller drove up to the door of her man of business in Bath, and rushed excitedly to his bedroom door, calling out "Come to me! I have seen Sir John! There is a will!" The lawyer hastened to accompany her back to her house. All she could tell him was that her deceased husband had appeared to her in the night, standing by her bedside, and had said solemnly, "There is a will!" Where it was remained as uncertain as before.

Once more the house was searched in vain from cellar to loft, till finally, wearied and in despair, the lady and her friend found themselves in a garret at the top of the house. "It is all over," Lady Miller said; "I give it up. My husband deceived me, and I am ruined." At that time she looked at the table over which she was leaning weeping. "This table was in his study once; let us examine it." They looked, and the missing will, duly signed and sealed, was within it, and the widow was rich to the end of her days. It needs no conjuror to explain how her anxiety called up the myth of Sir John Miller's apparition, and made him say precisely what he had once before really said to her, but of which her memory had waxed taint.

It is said that women, being more sensual than men, in stigate these foul blots upon humanity to satisfy their lust Never was a baser or meaner lie invented by even the devil himself than this. It is one of the most rascally imputations ever hurled at the superior chastity and virtue of woman-kind. Women who have been driven out of society for imagined wrongs or indiscretions; women who have been rnined by designing fiends in the shape of men, these are they who make up the bulk of the abandoned. These unfortunates who deserve our pity and help, rather than our supreme scorn and contempt, are they whom men prey upon like wild beasts and transform to hideous monstrosities of vice.

Think of the rascality of registering prostitutes and com-

of vice.

Think of the rascality of registering prostitutes and compelling examinations at stated intervals, as is done in one of our cities, while the scourge of God—the accursed veneral virus—is stalking everywhere throughout the same city, shrouded in foreign broad-cloth and immaculate linen. What sort of justice is this? In God's name, why should not abandoned men—broad-cloth prostitutes—be registered as well as women? A man who will degrade himself to the degree of promiscuous "crib" patronage, is none too good to be registered or hung.

We protest against loading this terrible evil upon woman, for we are well assured that man and the unchristian course of society toward women are the main causes of this hu-

of society toward women are the main causes of this humiliating curse. We appeal to Christian men and Christian of society toward women are the main causes of this humiliating curse. We appeal to Christian men and Christian women to exercise more of the broad charity of Jesus Christ toward women, and more justice toward men. Remember what Jesus said to the woman, and know that to learn you to save souls by following His sublime examples was the great object and aim of all His teaching.—Pennsylvania and Real Estate Journal. vania and Real Estate Journals

#### MORE EDITORIAL HONESTY.

HENRY C. BOWEN, EDITOR OF THE "INDEPEN DENT," AFFIRMS WHEREOF HE KNOWS NOTHING.

IGNORANCE, DUPLICITY AND WILLFUL MISREP. RESENTATION.

Last week we gave the editor of the Cleveland Leader the advantage of our columns to spread before the country the evidence of his editorial honesty. This week we extend the same courtesy to the editor of the Independent for the same

Mr. Bowen says:

WOMEN AND SUFFRAGE.

No subject discussed during Anniversary Week excited so much attention as the question of the suffrage for women. There were, everywhere, comments friendly and unfriendly, arguments scriptural and unscriptural, applause and jeers. The excitement was not a little fanned by the sudden revelation of facts in the private life of the somewhat notorious Mrs. Woodhull. The facts were no secret before, but legal proceedings brought them into the press. The Tribune which knows how to be as thoroughly partizan and unfai in some questions as it is great in others, made the most of this case. Prejudice manufactured of such material is more effective with a certain class than argument. And insinuation is so much cheaper than logic.

tion is so much cheaper than logic.

Let us, for the good of the cause, speak the truth frankly. The "New York Association," as it is popularly called—the section of advocates of the suffrage who are now known as the "Union Woman's Suffrage Association," and now as the convention under the auspices of the "National Committee"—have written their history in a series of unwise acts. They have mixed the suffrage question with almost every other sort of question. They made hargains with the acts. They have mixed the suffrage question with almost every other sort of question. They made bargains with the Democrats, as though the Philistines could ever be the friends of progress. They took on board George Francis Train, who is enough to sink any boat that carries him. They have given a prominent place to Mrs. Woodhull, about whose private affairs all gossip is needless. Woodhull & Clarin's Weekly, with its coarse treatment of all the sacred things of social life, is enough to condemn any one whose name is associated with it. The condemn any one whose name is associated with it. The very fact that modest Mrs. Woodhull apes Mr. Train in the poor trick of pushing herself for President should have warned those who sought to be leaders of the suffrage movement to give her a wide berth.

movement to give her a wide berth.

We know the argument on the other side. We could not help knowing it; for, did not the Apollo Hall Convention, of which Mrs. Woodhull was a member, frame it into a resolution? Substantially it is this: "In politics you take anybody's help. You do not ask what a man's private life is in time of war; but you ask whether he is willing to fight the common enemy." The argument is well put, but bad. The objection to Mrs. Woodhull's being a recognized leader is precisely that she does more harm, than good. For there The objection to Mrs. Woodhull's being a recognized leader is precisely that she does more harm than good. For there are thousands of people who will never be able to distinguish between Mrs. Stanton, who advocates suffrage from principle, and Mrs. Splurge, who advocates suffrage from a sheer love of sensation and notoriety. If Mrs. Stanton praises Mrs. Splurge, if Miss Anthony endorses Mrs. Splurge, and if Mrs. Hooker co-operates with Mrs. Splurge, how shall plain people know the difference between Mrs. Splurge, who makes herself prominent as a suffrage leader, and owns a paper that makes her ridiculous by nominating her for President, and that publishes free-love articles from the pen of Stephen Pearl Andrews—how shall the public make the distinction between this Splurge & Co., whose private affairs scandalize the public in police reports, and Mrs. Hooker, who is a noble woman and a devoted wife? How shall the unreasoning public, which thinks all reformers free-lovers, distinguish between matronly Mrs. Stanton and miscellaneous Mrs. Sp'urge? There must be offenses in every movement. There will be fanatical women in pantaloons, who will push themselves on platforms where they are not wanted. People who are fools, and people who are fanatics, and people who are worse than fools or fanatics, will be found around every really live movement. But we need not nurse an impudent

We have said this in no spirit of unfriendliness to the women who managed the convention of Apollo Hall. After women who managed the convention of Apolio Hall. After each period of unwise management they change their name, but they do not cease to compromise their cause. No one shall yield to us in admiration for the right royal ability of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. With whatever there may be that we hesitate to receive in some of her doctrines, with all the mistakes that she persists in making in her management of the receivement. We Stanton making in her dedit to having a ledit to having a ledit to the haring the ledit to the mistakes that she persists in making in her management of the movement, Mrs. Stanton must have credit for having done more for the cause of oppressed women than any other person in America. From the time that her girlish heart was touched by the story of the wrongs of women who were her father's clients, she has concentrated her great gifts to secure the modification or abolition of the cruel laws that bore so hard on some classes of married women; and it is to her, more than any other, that we owe the great improvements in the laws of New York bearing upon this subject. Her whitening hairs always seem to us a wreath of honor. That she is not a wise political manager only proves that God That she is not a wise political manager only proves that God has not given all kinds of ability to one woman. And we know how noble is the courage, the zeal and the disinterested-ness of Susan Anthony. The world laughs now and will ness of Susan Anthony. The world laughs now, and will build a monument to ner hereafter. Of Mrs. Hooker we have often spoken in the highest praise. But neither of this trio of great women has been able to avoid acts which enable crafty and self-seeking persons to compromise their

Have we proved, then, that some of the greatest women are unfit for political life? So are some of the greatest men. Great soldiers are not generally great presidents, and the Great soldiers are not generally great presidents, and the greatest orators have sometimes proven the worst party leaders. While the American Suffrage Association, the head-quarters of which are at Boston, and which met this year in Steinway Hall, in this city, sails on to success, it cannot be said that women have no talent for political management. Mrs. Livermore is capable of statesmanship of a very high order. Both in the Sanitary Commission and in the conduct of the woman's movement she has shown herself capable of making a capital president of the United States. Magnetic and commission in her presence, persuasive in her

oratory, suave in her manners, never losing sight of her central purpose, making everything and everybody serve it, she is a standing proof that a womn can be a great politician. Mrs. Lucy Stone, with her sweetly plain and homelike face, her everything that is high and heavenly, having a poet's insight in the highest degree, listened to by sages and by the simple-minded alike—is she not a higher and more ideal character, than we have ever seen in public sages and by the simple-minded alike—is she not a higher and more ideal character than we have ever seen in public life? And all the chance her country has ever given her to serve it officially is in her recent appointment as a justice of the peace! Massachusetts never had such an one before!

Because it will elevate politics, because it will elevate women, because women need it, because the country needs it, and because it is in accordance with the American idea, we are in favor of the franchise for women. The movement

it, and because it is in accordance when we are in favor of the franchise for women. The movement to secure it has more to fear from the mistakes of its advection of its enemies. We were vocates than from the opposition of its enemies. We were sorry to hear broached upon the platform of the American Association a proposition to co-operate with the Democracy in a remote contingency. Better sense will repudiate such tention

The Independent's article contains many contradictory statements, at which we are not surprised after having listened to one of its editors before the Women's Convention in Steinway Hall.

Passing over these, we immediately denounce the whole article as lying and slanderous in spirit, neutralizing even its modicum of fact by its false inferences. If a slanderer why not a murderer? A man who will assassinate a reputation is only protected by his cowardice from murder. He is

What are the "facts in the private life of the notorious" Mrs. Woodhull to which this virtuous editor refers, and which he makes the basis of his "gentlemanly" remarks. Mrs. Woodhull was married and divorced. Has Mr. Bowen any "facts" regarding this divorce damaging to Mrs. Woodhull The law of the land gives the right of divorce. Mrs. Woodhull being free to marry, did marry. It is notorious that there are many persons known and endorsed by the Independent who have been married and divorced one or more times some, indeed, have not always taken the trouble to obtain legal divorces previous to entering upon new relations.

Oh, but she calls herself Mrs. Woodhull while the wife of Colonel Blood. Does Mrs. Woodhull conceal this fact, or has she attempted to do so. If Mrs. Woodhull and Colonel Blood are agreed as to that, does the Independent object? Is there any law which they transgress, or is society scan-

Perhaps Mr. Bowen is horrified because Mrs. Woodhull permits her former husband to reside under the same roof with herself, which she has permitted for nearly six years. regardless of what meddling people have said, but in the performance of a sacred duty she owed, both to him and to their unfortunate child, from which duty no law could absolve her. And people had better withhold the shafts, which they would hurl at her on this account, lest they be found fighting against a courageous devotion to principle which it is impossible for common minds to comprehend.

However much Mr. Bowen, or others, may denounce and vilify Mrs. Woodhull for this, she is perfectly indifferent thereto, and will continue to do what she knows to be right if the whole world denounce her therefor.

Or is it that Mrs. Woodhull is so unfortunate as to have unprincipled relatives, from whom she has suffered everything but death, that Mr. Bowen takes exceptions to her as a leader in the cause of women? In this matter also, Mrs. Woodhull has duties to perform. It does not matter how far others may forget their duties, it can be no excuse for her, and she will not attempt to make it such, under any circumstances. On the contrary, she will always appear where justice calls, even if that be in the police court, and will speak the truth when so-called, if to do so should cause every suffragist to denounce her. Mrs. Woodhull does not believe that she should be condemned for the acts of others any more than many public men should be condemed, on account of their friends-some of whom, at least, are equally unfortunate with Mrs. Woodhull.

She has opinions and convictions, and also the courage to live up to them. She is a life-long Spiritualist, and owes all she is to the education and constant guidance of spirit influences. To deny this would be like Peter denying Christ. Through all the obloquy and condemnation which have been showered upon her for this faith, she has come unscathed. She also believes in and advocates free-love in the high, the best sense (as distinguished from lust) as the only cure for the immorality, lewdness and licentiousness which now corrupt the holy institution of the Sexual Relation. Many of those who sit in judgment over her preach against tree-love openly, but practice free-lust secretly. To all outward seeming, they are fair and pure; while inwardly they are full of "dead men's bones and all manner of uncleanness." "Hypocrisy is the tribute paid by vice to virtue." If this must be so, Mrs. Woodhull declines to stand up as "the trightful example," or to be made the scape-goat to be offered in sacrifice by those who seek to cover the foulness of their lives and the feculence of their thoughts and words with a hypocritical mantle, the object of which she long since dis-

Those who slanderously assail Mrs. Woodhull must make good their allegations, or stand condemned before the world, and Mrs. Woodhull now denounces them and all others of like pretensions, as black-hearted, cravenly cowards, who, being unable to refute the doctrines she advocates or the methods she proposes, seek, by vilifying her private life, to divert and comminding in her presence, persuasive in her attention from that part of her career which belongs to ciation of the mental condition of that part of the people

the public to that which belongs to herself; in order that by so doing her doctrines and methods may be rendered less effective

The main object of the Independent article would seem to be to uphold the Steinway Hall Convention, and to nominate Mrs. Livermore for a woman President. To this end it is essential to break down Victoria C. Woodhull. This is done by slander and aspersion.

To all Mr. Bowen's badinage about women in pantaloons, fools, fanatics, and worse than fools and fanatics, we are perfectly indifferent. As between Mr. Bowen and Mrs. Woodhul, we are perfectly willing the public shall decide which is nearer fool or fanatic.

It seems to us that Mr. Bowen adopts his own suggestion regarding the Tribune, that "prejudice manufactured is more effective with a certain class than argument, and that insinuation is so much cheaper than logic.

In all the good things said of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Isabella Beecher Hooker, we most cordially join, regretting only that our acquaintance and cooperation with them should have began so late. But we have a superior opinion of these persons to what Mr. Bowen has, knowing them to be competent to conduct any movement, political or otherwise, without danger of suffering from the "craft of self-seeking persons."

Mrs. Woodhull feels amply repaid for the ridicule she has received from her self-nomination, in the fact that it has developed in such a brain as Mr. Bowen's the idea that a woman could be president. We have no doubt of Mrs. Livermore's capacity to make a competent administratrix of national affairs, and should she be the nominee of the National Convention, none will be found more cordial in their support than this journal. If her conduct of the Sanitary Commission is to be taken as a criterion, it is certain she would be a complete success in one way at least. This, however, would rather indicate her special capacity as head of the Treasury Department than for general administrative

It was said at Steinway Hall that if this movement did not mean perfect liberty and equality for women, it meant nothing. If, then, it do not comprehend the right to her person and its proceeds, whether of labor or progeny, according to the law of natural justice, we cannot tell what it

We have no disposition to enter into a rigid analysis of the capacities of the leaders of the Suffrage movement as represented in their speeches at the recent conventions; but we have copious notes, and are ready for that ordeal. We would much prefer to move on harmoniously; to see less selfishness, more humility, more humanity, more justice, less cant and pretension. Division and dissension only distract and weaken, and make us despicable in the eyes of our common enemies, Whatever else we do, one woman should not pull down and labor to destroy another woman while our common wrongs are pressing all of us into the earth.

As to Mrs. Woodhull herself, and her standing and importance in the woman's rights movement:

Mrs. Woodbull claims the right, and will exercise it, to advocate and practice whatever principles she feels to be just and right. If they conflict with commonly accepted rules, customs and forms, she cannot help it; she will not desist. Neither will she require the assistance of Mr. Bowen to determine what her relations of private life shall be. These, she claims, belong alone to herself, and she will act accordingly.

She inaugurated no suffrage organization, and lays no claim to the merit. She did not force herself on the National Suffrage Association. She did not go to it. She did not ask leave of any of them to start her paper, to petition Congress, to make an argument, and she has paid her own personal expenses in whatever she has done. She never asked and never expects to ask their endorsement of either her paper or sentiments or life any further than they are compelled to yield it by the force of her logic.

But we beg to differ with Mr. Bowen in regard to "the series of unwise acts," believing that the facility with which these people accommodate themselves to new circumstances, stamps them as wise, consistent, and progressive. In this we hope the association, with which Mrs. Woodhull has had the privilege of acting, will ever differ from that made up of persons so pure and holy as to be in danger of becoming defiled by contact with such as Mrs. Woodhull, and who thank God that they are not as other people are. It is at least to be seriously questioned, whether the I-amholier-than-thou kind of persons are any better christians in these days than they were in the time of Jesus. Neither do we think it definitely settled whether this kind of piety is not nearer the chin than the heart. Our convictions are that it is, but we are only "publicans" and should not presume to express an opinion of the self-elected of Christ, lest we be doomed to that hell out of which it is said, the Great Leader of the self-styled true suffragists (so declared to be by the Steinway Hall Convention) knocked the bottom not long

To convince Mr. Bowen how little he comprehends the present condition of humanity, and how stupid a public teacher he is, we quote the following extract from an editorial in the Tribune of May 12, which evinces a true appreinstitution or to any authority other than that of their own It is the person, not the principle, which they see. The consciences, representative of God in humanity:

"The failure yesterday of the Woodhull-Anthony-Stanton Suffrage party to defend or even to advert to the advanced views of their leader on matrimo y and kindred questions is truly mournful. Are we to understand that the subject was considered too dangerous to be mentioned? Was the excellent Mrs. Hooker, for example, unwilling to let the waiting public know her estimate of the liberal opinions so boildly defended by her co-laborer in Washington—the lady whose intellectual ability and high moral worth she lately indorsed? For ourselves, we toss our hats in air for Woodhull. She has the courage of her opinions! She means business. She intends to head a new rebellion, form a new constitution, and begin a revolution beside which the late "The failure yesterday of the Woodhull-Anthony-Stanton business. She intends to head a new rebellion, form a new constitution, and begin a revolution beside which the late war will seem but a bagatelle, if within exactly one year from this day and hour of grace her demands be not granted out of hand. This is a spirit to respect, perhaps to fear, certainly not to be laughed at. Would that the rest of those who burden themselves with the enfranchisement of one-half our whole population, now lying in chains and slavery, but had her sagacious courage."

Now we desire to put a home question to Mr. Bowen. Should there come a person who would convince him that by pursuing a certain course different from that adopted, he could run the Independent at one-half the expense, and with greater results, what would he do? Would he make the adoption of the recommendation dependant upon anything in his past life? As a business man, would Mr. Bowen discard his advice and himself because of such antecedents? Further, should that person desire admission to the church, would Mr. Bowen object? And should he prove himself a talented, effective, and useful co-worker would he discard him? And should he suggest a better method of converting the world than had been practiced, would he refuse to listen to him and accept him as an assistant therein? But we are inclined to the belief that Mr. Bowen will not find a great many who will agree with him that Mrs. Woodhull has done suffrage more harm than good. We know the movement has become wondrously active since she become prominent in it. But this we leave for others to settle as they think proper. We know that Mrs. Woodhull has done what she conceived it her duty to do, and nothing more. And we therefore are in a position to say to Mr. Bowen, when he asserts inferentially that Mrs. Woodhull, whom he personates as Mrs. Splurge, advocates into the daylight. suffrage trom a sheer love of sensation and notoriety, that he either deliberately states what he knows to be false, or that he states something of which it is impossible for him to know the truth, which is equally culpable.

life is something entirely distinct from her public position. Daniel Webster and William Pitt were bon vivants; they were also great statesmen. The two phases of life are perfectly distinct. Their fitness or unfitness for public office did not hinge on their wine-bibbing. The editor of the Independent may or may not be a worthy member of society in of having to make a "change of venue" from the forum private, and lead a virtuous life; that has nothing to do with of principle to that of Fact and Personality. the Independent.

The Independent maintains that it is expedient to identify private life and virtue with public employment and character, which indeed is a very proper and highly moral propotion. We are content. It is part of the governmental theory steadily advocated in the columns of this paper. Only let us all live up to our professions.

But coming down from an independent, self-reliant position far above the reach of envy, malice, hatred and revenge, Mrs. Woodhull will meet editors upon their own ground and defy them, as she defies all their dirty sarcasm and insinuation, for which they know they have no justification. She will denounce them to all the world for the despicable things they are-brave to stand within their defenses, and, in their pharisaical godliness, thinking themselves secure to hurl upon her their shafts; but too ignoble and cowardly and dastardly to come out upon the open ground where equality is possible,

She does not desire to resort to any unmasking of the hypocrisy which we know to exist in certain quarters, but she will not permit people who live in glass houses, in which are concealed the very "crimes" they profess to decry, to throw stones without returning something more than turf. There is altogether too much appearance and profession of and scandals embodied in that little group of women and virtue without the reality in the community to permit men, might unfold more than went to the making up of editors, ministers, bank presidents and others high in social the "Mysteries of Paris," and we speak by the book, and all the fathers of the faithful named in the genealogies by position and confidence, their license unrebuked, when, with- have the inventory of discarded husbands and wives, and taking seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, out cause or provocation, they seek to heap infamy upon the lovers, with date, circumstance and embellishment! head of an earnest worker in the cause of humanity.

If Mrs. Woodhull has valuable ideas of the principles of government, a clear perception of their legitimate application to the present condition of things, or a better proposition than is yet advanced to obtain what women are seeking, what has her past history to do with them? Whatever that may have been, whether good, bad or indifferent, does it detract from the good or the ill of the present? It seems to us that a good thing, coming from a source previously very bad, should be a cause of general rejoicing, and a bad thing coming from a previously good source should occasion mourning. The fatted calf was killed on the return of the prodigal and not for him who had remained in the fold. And so, too, should these righteous ones kill the fatted calf for Mrs. Woodhull, if, as they profess, she has been prodigal, bly one case, in which a little community of social affinities, and is now returned from "the bad" to the good. For, be

truth however, is, that the same old story is repeated—the professed Christians are practical hypocrites. Professing the doctrine and acts of Christ, they keep them on the tongue, but deny them in practice. Instead of saying to the woman, "Go and sin no more," every one who has sinned gathers stones and casts them. But such canting hypocrisy only exposes the true animus of those who use it. They know that the subject they would defame is beyond their reproach, and, maddened that she is, in their rage unwittingly expose their true character. The old adage, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" is again strikingly exemplified. In their eagerness to render Mrs. Woodhull powerless for good they expose themselves to the fire of all who may have a home-thrust to give.

But, halt a moment! We have a word to say, a warning to give, not to Henry C. Bowen alone, nor mainly, though we have a shot in the locker for him also, but to whomsoever it may concern. Three weeks ago we stated in good faith that we did not propose to deal in personalities and private histories. We meant what we said then, and we mean what we say now; and we now say just the contrary. We are converts, through the merciless treatment we are receiving, to the necessity of carrying the war into Africa," and we issue this preliminary protocol in view of an early formal declaration of war, and war to the knife, on this hypocritical and slanderous community. And when we move in this direction, let those who dwell in brittle tenements stand from under. In the phrase of Bismarck: "You can't make an omelette without breaking some eggs." E. H. Haywood was probably prophetical when he said at Apollo Hall, that we are on the verge of the great Universal Washing Day, when everybody's dirty linen will be paraded, and when the leaders of sham morality in high places will find that it will cost more than seventy-five cents a dozen."

The respectability of the magnates of this hypocritical Sodom stands on a volcano. Civilization, rotten to the core and festering to the bursting point in our great cities, and notably in New York and Brooklyn, needs only to urge us by a little added outrage to enact the part of a volunteer surgeon, to puncture the sore spots, and spirt the vile stuff

Forbearance may cease to be a virtue. Men and women of the noblest spiritual and moral endowments, who have devoted their lives to easing the transition from the Old False Civilization to a higher purity of Victoria C. Woodhull's personal and individual private Life and Freedom, as the first condition of purity, by stating Principles, have been habitually blackened and slandered by exactly those editors, preachers and reformers, whose own lives needed to be guarded by raising a hue and cry in some other direction. But these victims of abuse have not been idle. They have provided for the possibility

The whole social state is honeycombed with social irregularities and outrages; everybody knows the fact, and yet everybody pretends to conceal it; everybody knows that everybody else knows it, and yet everybody pretends to conceal the fact that anybody knows it. Hypocrisy is settling like a mildew on every individual character. When the vail is pulled off, when the nightmare is dispelled, when men and women are justified to themselves and dare state their convictions, and live their own lives in freedom; men and women who are now crouching in abject fear before a false public opinion, which they are themselves helping to create and intensify, will join in one universal Hallelujah to their deliverers. There is a skeleton in every house! an incubus on every free breath! a reign of terror in every household!

At this very moment awful and herculean efforts are being made to suppress the most terrific scandal in a neighboring city, which has ever astounded and convulsed any community. Clergy, congregation and community will be alike hurled into more than all the consternation which the great effort at suppression fail.

In the assemblage of the over-righteous pharisees on the Steinway Hall platform, one familiar with private histories

Bankers in Wall street, and Great Railroad men, come early on the schedule. Confidences which are no confidences abound; publicity ranges in the little clique, but is tremulously guarded from the great public. One offers, confidentially, Fifty or even a Hundred Thousand Dollars to any decent comer who will take a daughter of "damaged reputation" off his hands—a minister of the Gospel the seducer he, himself, leading the loosest life of prostitution, a girl of depriving him of the right to raise them for himself. fourteen one of his mistresses. Another boasting that he visits, surreptitiously, the wife of his own minister.

But the instances of social infidelities and of new and strange alliances—some of them highly honorable to the man could put her away by simply writing "bill of divorce," parties, if society did not force them to hypocritical pre- and the woman had no remedy. tences-are too numerous to be more than hinted at. Notaa common stock of marital affections exists in high life many women would submit to the yoke of the lords of cre-

who will not much longer be held in servile bondage to any of merit, but because it is Mrs. Woodhull who performs it. fixed to release the parties from durance vile and enable them to stand erect as pioneers of a higher civilization.

In conclusion, Mrs. Woodbull does not desire to shelter herself under the miserable rejoinder of "Tu quoque." What she does in the corner she is willing to proclaim on the housetop. But as the Independent affects to condemn her without even putting her on trial, she would remind Mr. Bowen that who breaks the law in one particular breaks the whole law. She would then ask does Mr. Bowen keep the whole law. Does he cheat, lie, slander? Does he live up to his own profession? Is his life temperate and chaste? Is he honest and just to his inferiors? Does he fawn and crivge to his superiors? Does the Independent for its own interests countenance and indorse any persons male or female whom its editors know to be chargeable with the very offenses that 'the religious paper" denounces. Mrs. Woodhull does not acknowledge the self-constituted jurisdiction of this religious commercial paper; this free-love miscegenate of Catnach cartoons, dry goods and orthodoxy. But she recognizes that the Independent's rule, if good, must work both ways, and as private life is to be impeached for opinion's sake she would like Mr. Bowen or his associate editors to step up and tell their "experiences"—their lives will be a more effectual teaching, than their strictures.

#### THE BIBLE AND MARRIAGE.

FOR THOSE WHO ARE DRAGGING THE BIBLE INTO THE SUFFRAGE CONTROVERSY.

Marriage, or the union of the sexes for reproduction, and for that alone, was made a perpetual statute in and by Nature (God, if you like) prior to any civil government, statute law or special infallible revelations.

2. Any attempt to compel or continue that relation for any other purpose, or contrary to the mutual and cordial consent of each party to the contract, is clearly an infraction of an original, inherent, and therefore inalienable, right.

3. That which is right in nature cannot be made wrong by statute law. The only legitimate right of civil law is to prevent the abuse of one party by the other.

4. Moses, the divine and infallible law-giver, provides no special ceremony or legal form. God made Eve out of a rib taken from the side of Adam (poor material) and brought her unto the man; no ceremony about it; not a word from poor Eve-Adam did all the talking.

5. Cain had no formula; he only "knew his wife" in the land of Nod. Geographically where, the book does not say, nor yet whose daughter she was, nor whether she was any body's daughter. The inference is palpable that she was his own sister, or near relative, the descendant of the union of brother and sister. For it is evident that the first multiplication of the race must have been by the marriage of brother and sister, then cousins, then second cousins, and thus, by a process known by stock-raisers as breeding "in-and-in," did the peopling of our planet commence, and without legal

6. The Sons of God took them wives of all which they chose. The women had no voice in the matter.

7. Abraham, the father of the faithful, had Sarah and Hagar; the latter at first by the consent of the former, and no legal ceremony.

8. Jacob had four women—two wives, for which he paid a consideration (fourteen years of service), and two concubines, by consent of the two purchased wives. Laban, the father-in-law, cheated Jacob in the women, forcing on him the one he did not love nor contract for, and then gave him her sister, thus sanctioning the marrying two living sisters, obtained by purchase, and without any ceremony except the act of the father, who not only sold his daughters, but forces one of them into adultery by an unwilling match, on the part of Jacob at least.

9. David, the man after God's own heart, had a plurality explosion in Paris carried to that unfortunate city, if this of wives, committed murder to secure the wife of Uriah after he had seduced her, sat in judgment on and condemned himself, and repented only after he was exposed, as do many in modern times.

10. But Solomon, who chose wisdom above all things, and was rewarded therefor with great honor and riches, eclipsed and not a ceremony over one of them.

11. Abraham's chief servant selected the wife of Isaac; contract made without consulting the woman-not a day allowed for considering whether she would become the wife of a man she had never seen, perhaps never heard of.

12. If a man died without children the surviving brother must take the relict, love or no love, and raise up children to his dead brother or be disgraced before all Israel, and thus

13. The act of adultery by married persons was punishable with death.

14. If a woman found no favor in the sight of her lord, the

We are curious to know if this Bible law were applied now how many men would escape the death penalty, how it known, they do not condemn what she does for its lack which only needs some train of slight circumstances to be ation, and whether society would be improved thereby.

#### THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

### PANTARCHY.

#### INDIVIDUALITY AND PANTARCHISM.

I was present recently at a social evening party of social reformers, at the house of a banker in this city, distinguished for his interest in such subjects. After partaking of the collation, and when we were assembled in the spacious parlor, the host informed us that he had recently received from a friend in Boston a small pamphlet, written and published nearly twenty years ago, which contained ideas to which, it seemed to him, that the most advanced thinkers of to-day are only now slowly arriving. He proposed to read the document before announcing the name of the writer, submitting it, also, before announcing the name, to an individual expression of opinion as to its merits. When through with the reading, he began, seemingly by chance, with the party sitting at my left hand, obtaining his verdict, then going to the next, and so on till he arrived at my right, having gone round the circle. Every person present was laudatory of the paper, and no one so much so as another distinguished banker and political economist who was present, and who had supposed that he stood at my antipodes in opinion, knowing me only as the advocate of Organization and Pantarchism, while he stands on the extreme ground of Individuality, so emphatically defined in the document. This gentleman abounded in praises of the paper just read, and in expressions of surprise that so clear a statement of the doctrine of Individuality could have emanated from any one so far back, saying that the writer was remarkably in advance of his age.

Our host then, instead of asking my opinion, announced my name as the writer of the paper, much to the surprise of those present, who regarded me as the representative of the opposite views. Indeed, until the reading was considerably advanced, I had not myself recognized its authorship. I had completely forgotten that I had ever written that particular paper, although the views were mine. Our host of the evening informed me that he had received it, along with other old documents, from Mr. Josiah War-REN, the veteran Social Reformer, of Massachusetts.

Meeting Mr. WARREN the other day, at the Anniversary of the Labor League, I requested him to forward me a copy of this document. He has just done so, and I hasten to transfer it to the columns of the Bulletin of the Pantarchy, for the study and use of its readers.

It is a misapprehension that I often meet, because I now advocate Organization, and the Centralizing of the Reform Movement at large, that I have therefore abandoned the doctrine of Individuality and the Sovereignty of the Individual, to the maintenance of which I devoted so many years of my life. On the contrary, I wish to reaffirm and emphasise every word I have ever said or published on that side of the question. If I could "I would double on every

The trouble is that most people's minds are simplistic that they can see and apprehend only one side of a subject. The culmination and natural sequence of Individuality is in Individuality of Lead. These are the two Poles of the same Principle. People are not fit to be organized in the higher, the true socialistic sense of Organization, till they are first completely individualized; the act of coming into organization, under discipline, into subordination, under a proper leadership, should be the free act of a developed individuality; and the freedom should always be reserved, at every hour, to withdraw from the allegiance, for any cause deemed sufficient by the individual.

In this simple complexity is the solution of the whole question of true government; the reconciliation of freedom with order or organization.

When people are sufficiently individualized, if they still wish to secure ends which depend on their co-operative or combined adition, they must organize to that end. They must have their generalissimo, and their proper ranks and functions. The more perfect the individuality of each, and the more perfect the unity of all, the more perfect the society so constituted. This is the fundamental thought of Pantarchism, and if people are not prepared for a Pantarchy it is mainly because they are not yet sufficiently individualized to be proper members of it.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

CLIFTONDALE, Mass.

DEAR ANDREWS-I forward to you one copy of that article. I have more if they are wanted.

Much to my regret, I was obliged to leave the meeting without hearing Mrs. Woodhull or speaking to you, but I hope the future will make amends for this, and for being obliged to hurry this off to the mail without another word. Affectionately yours,

JoSIAH WARREN.

DICKENS says: "I have known vast quantities of nonsense talked about bad men not looking you in the face. Don't trust to that conventional idea. Dishonesty will stare you out of countenance any day in the week, if there is anything

#### THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

BY S. P. A.

The logical and legitimate termination of the democratic idea is in the sovereignty of every individual, within the limit that it is not to be exercised at the cost of others, or, in such a manner as to throw burdensome consequences on them. "The sovereignty of the individual to be exercised at one's own cost" is, therefore, a two-edged sword," cutting both ways, and defining what one may not, as well as what one may do. It is the soverignty of every individual limited by the equal sovereignty of every other, and consequently without encroachment. It is self-government, by the aid of a principle, and in the only sense in which self-government has significance or value. Self-government, in the vulgar democratic sense of submission to the will of a majority, being a mockery and a cheat.

The limitation above stated is sufficiently implied by the simple formula, "the sovereignty of every individual," since the admission of the sovereignty of others, within the domain of their own personal affairs, necessitates a corresponding restriction upon our own.

The sovereignty of the individual is the foundation principle of social order and harmony. It is the simplest, and vet the most radical and revolutionary of principles. It is no true objection to the doctrine to affirm that nothing can be done at one's own cost, since the solidarity of mankind is such that every act of the individual affects more or less remotely the interests of the race. This unity of "the grand man" is doubtless a profound truth, of the same kind as the unity of all the planets, and of all the particles of matter in all the planets in one grand material system, all the parts of which mutually relate to and affect each other. The truth upon which the objection rests belongs, therefore, to what may be denominated the science of social astronomy, and is wholly inapplicable in the sphere of social physics or mechanical science. If an objector were to urge the impossibility of building a steamboat because every bar of iron and every stick of timber is affected by gravitation, and because the whole gravitation of the universe is liable to be disturbed by the jumping of a fly upon the planet Jupiter, the absurdity of the objection would be obvious, although the statement might be theoretically true. It is an absurdity of the same glaring kind to deny that interests can be substantially individualized, or to urge against the assumption by each individual of his own responsibilities, that every act affects the race. Sociology is a science of actual appreciable relations, and not of remote and attenuated theories. I deny, for all practical purposes, that if I burn my finger the Emperor of China will suffer in consequence. I deny the unity of the race in any such sense as would interfere with the possibility of practically adjusting individual

In America and elsewhere, the sovereignty of the individual has already received both a theoretical and practical interpretation in some of its applications, as, for example, to worship, The right of a man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience is fully recognized, precisely limited, as it should be, by the inhibition of encroachment. Nobody finds any difficulty in the practical application of the principle. If any one should insist that the worshipers at a given church should kneel in prayer, or that those of another faith should not kneel, and propose forcibly to compel the acceptance of his own dogma on the subject, the moral sense of the community would be shocked. No such invasion of personal rights would be tolerated for a moment in this country, and in this age, because the whole world recognizes, among us, that the individual is himself, the sole umpire over his own conduct in this particular. In other words, the doctrine of the sovereignty of every individual is already accepted and applied in certain countries and upon a given point; and, whenever it is so, and because it is so, the bloody religious feuds of other times and other lands are extinguished; intolerance, bigotry and persecution are allayed, and mutual respect and harmony secured. It has thus proved itself, so far as adopted, what it will prove itself in the end, universally the foundation principle of order in the social world. It is nothing more and nothing less than that simple dictate of common sense and good breeding which requires that every one should abstain from intrusion into other peoples affairs.

Any argument, however specious, against this broad tolerance of all the forms of worship, based on the ground that of events, and possibly liable, therefore, to bring disaster upon the race, would be at once rejected by every liberal mind. Any interference upon such slender pretensions of right would be indignantly repelled. It is known and felt that in order to justify constraint from without, the conduct of the individual must be in some way a serious, palpable and direct infringement of the rights of others, and not merely remotely, contingently or possibly injurious to them.

The sovereignty of the individual, as a philosophical and political dogma, is simply the claim for the extension of the same degree of freedom to every department of social life. It is the assertion of the individual to be "a law unto himself" just so fast and so far as he demonstrates in his conduct the ability to use that freedom without encroachment upon the equal freedem of others. It is the principle of non-intervention in private affairs, precisely as that principle is now universally understood between national sovereignities. It is the principle of peerage, or equality of participation in the common rights of self-direction and control.

The admission of the right of individual self-government does not imply that every individual is qualified to exercise that right, or is likely to exercise it wisely for himself. Freedom is demanded as a basis. Wisdom and good taste in the use of freedom come afterwards, form the combination of all good influences. Freedom is demanded also as a right, or as a denial of the right of others to interfere, whether it be used well or ill, provided always that the bad use of it does not extend to encroachment.

From the nature of the position set forth in the preceding paragraph, the sovereignty of the individual is open to the objection that it is the assertion of a right to do wrong, which involves both a contradiction of terms and a seeming profligacy of moral sentiment. The liability to this imputation rests upon the poverty of language, and the fact that the word "right" is necessarily employed in various senses.

The civic right to do a given act is quite distinct from the moral right or wrong of the act in question. Thus, the civic right of locomotion belongs equally to the citizen who travels with a good or bad motive, and the right of free speech and freedom of the press, equally to the man who speaks or prints pernicious and destructive opinions, as to him who announces the sublimest and most beneficial truths. To assert this, however, is very different from affirming that it is morally right to travel for a bad purpose, or to speak or print pernicious and destructive opinions.

The sovereignty of the individual is, therefore, the assertion of a civic or political right, in the exercise of which the individual may, if he will, do many things which the judgment of others, or even his own conscience, may not approve.

Evil consequences are attached to every wrong act, as the natural correctives of the tendency to do wrong, and the individual may be entitled for the completion of his moral education, to a further experience of the evil which his conduct provokes.

Except in the case of actual encroachment, society has no more right to interfere with the morality of individual conduct than it has to interfere with the orthodoxy of individual belief. Neither comes within the jurisdiction of third persons except at the point where encroachment begins.

The question of civic right is, therefore, a question of jurisdiction, the limitation of which belongs to the political or sociological department of science. The right or wrong of a special action is, on the other hand, a question of morality, pertaining to the department of Ethics, and subject solely to the jurisdiction of the individual, within the limit of which sociology defines. It is, therefore, true that the individual has a civic right to do what is moraly wrong; or a right, in other words, to the application of the principle of non-intervention, even when doing that which a sound morality condemns.

In its application to nations, the doctrine of distinct sov ereignty and special jurisdiction, over questions of right within their respective dominions, is familiar and approved. In this sense a nation has the right, relatively to other nations, to maintain slavery, to oppress its own citizens, and to do other things which are morally wrong. The concession of this right is the only basis of plan and peace—is the necessary condition for the operation of other influences more elevating and more conducive to the ends of morality than physical force.

The principle is equally true and equally important in its application to individuals. The concession of the right to do wrong with one's own, without authorizing the interference of any external police, is a condition precedent to any and all harmonious intercourse. It is the simple courtesy of admitting that other men have consciences and standards of right as well as we, and which may equally chance to be right.

Thus defined, all freedom consists, in fact, in the right to do wrong, since where no choice is permitted between good and evil, there is no freedom.

It is not enough, therefore, to affirm that we claim the right to do right, since there is neither merit nor dignity in a correctness of deportment for which there is no alternative.

Let us begin, therefore, by trusting humanity to the extent to which, in all the theologies, God himself is represented as trusting it. Let us concede freely the choice between good and evil, and claim it for ourselves. Until a foundation is the slightest individual action is a link in the universal chain laid in freedom, no true virtue is possible; or, if it exist, it cannot be known, since the opposite conduct Remove, then, for once, the fetters from humanity, and consent that she shall exhibit herself precisely as she is. If a pandemonium results it will be something to know by experiment that the gloomy theologians are right. If, on the other hand, the experiment shall prove that the pandemonium we now have comes in part from constraint, and the strife engendered thereby, and that the fruits of freedom are contentment, and peace, and joy, with the ultimate elevation and refinement of the individual and the race, it will then be seen how badly the world could have afforded to be longer without the toleration of freedom.

The double aspect of the sovereignty of the individual was noticed above.

It is the claim on the one side of one's own right to personality and selfhood. It is the concession on the other of the same right to all others.

These two aspects of the doctrine are so distinct and so

opposite, that some technical terminology is needed to signalize their difference. Comte has furnished the words Egoist and Altroist to designate the love of self and the love of the neighbor, or the selfish and benevolent impulse. Adopting these terms, the egoist aspect of the sovereignty of the individual protects a right, and the altroist prescribes a duly. The first emancipates the individual from an overweaning subservience to authority and traditional assumptions, and teaches a prompt resistance of invasions of all sorts, whether instigated by hostility, or by an amiable and well-meant but intrusive and misdirected friendship. The second becomes for those who intelligently accept it, a veritable religion of deference for the slightest manifestation of desire, and of abstinence from every possible incumbrance of the absolute freedom of others.

It recognises that the individual has an absolute right to himself, a right to his own time, to a companionship of his own choice, to his own habits and characteristics, to the privilege even of whimsical inconsistency and unreasonable conduct of every shade and variety, provided it be not of a kind to invade the sovereignty of others.

In this latter aspect, the sovereignty of the individual is the practical love of the neighbor equally as of one's self, rectified by a scientific knowledge of the limits of encroach ment. It is a new chivalry, teaching to all men and all women the most delicate respect for the personality of all

This largeness of toleration, it must be repeated again, does not rest in any degree upon the assumption that the conduct so tolerated will be in all respects, or any respect, abstractly or morally right. It rests on this other proposition, that the jurisdiction of the moral question belongs of right to the individual himself, in the same sense as Protestant Christen dom entrusts to the rights of private judgment, in matters of faith, questions, involving as it believes, the eternal salvation of millions of souls. It rests, likewise, upon the necessity as a policy for the individual to concede to others what he claims or desires for himself, and the intellectual perception that our own freedom is enlarged precisely in proportion as we tolerate the freedom of others; and, finally, it rests as already observed, upon another intellectual perception, namely, that in order to give place to other and higher influences, tending to elevate and refine the individual and the race, we must discard the pretention of forcing men to adopt that line of conduct which we individually deem to be

It results from all that has been said, that the sovereignty of the individual is the basis of harmonious intercourse among equals, precisely as the equal sovereignty of States is the basis of harmonious intercourse between nations mutually recognizing their independence of each other. If there are circumstances and relations which authorize the assumption of despotic power, as one State may claim the dependence and allegiance of another; if children, who cannot yet assume the burden of their own support, are rightfully denied the exercise of a sovereignty which they cannot maintain; if it be contended even that inferior races of men require to be placed under pupilage to superior races, or ignorant and undeveloped persons of the same race under a similar pupilage, as we all constitute ourselves guardians of idiots and the insane, the fact, if admitted, does not in any manner affect the doctrine in question in its just application as between those who begin by admitting an equal right to self-government. If self-government is affirmed, then the sovereignty of the individual is the fundamental law of that species of government. If the right of self-government is denied, then another and a different question is raised, which it may be only possible to settle by an appeal to physical force.

If man, for example, openly claims the ownership of woman, and a paramount authority over her by virtue of a superior wisdom which rightfully vests in him the title to reign, this is a question of fact, to be settled upon its own appropriate grounds. If, on the other hand, man comes first up to a knowledge of the equal dignity of the sex, let him perceive intellectually what it is he admits, and be fully prepared to accept every consequence which logically flows from the previous admission. The assumption of equality, and of the right of self-government as a basis of intercourse is the assumption of the sovereignty of the individual. The doctrine in all its plentitude and all its development, is nothing in addition, but simply a greater exactitude of definition and a greater variety and minuteness of application.

MISS EVANS (George Eliot), who is engaged on a new writer, bestowing as much pains upon a single book as ordinary authors do upon six. Her handwriting illustrates this. It is bold, round, as easy to read as print, and scarcely an erasure is to be met with in the manuscript of a whole volume. This is owing to the fact that she carefully sketches beforehand what she intends to write, and then copies it elaborately. The printers keep her manuscript clean, and after the proofs have been corrected it is returned to her. She has the MSS. of all her books bound in red morocco, and they form one of the most interesting features of her library. She sold "Adam Bede" to Blackwood for \$1,500, but its success prompted her publishers to present her \$7,500 besides. For "Felix Holt" she received the large sum of \$30,000. She is described by a European correspondent as one of the most interesting and captivating of English

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

COLLECTION

OF

#### "CRAZY" CONTRIBUTIONS

TO A COUNTRY JOURNAL, &c.,

INDICATING THE

COMING MAN-FORM NATION,

OR

"KINGDOM OF HEAVEN" ON EARTH-

#### NATURAL SUCCESSOR TO THE REPUBLIC

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA. (WHICH IS THE HIGHEST BEAST-FORM PRECEDING MAN.) A POINT OF DIFFERENCE;

CONSISTING IN

A REPRESENTATION OF CLASSES INSTEAD OF LOCALITIES BY ROBERT SINNICKSON.

"The good time is coming—it's almost here.
'Twas long, long, long on the way."

The present political, religious, and social structures of the world are losing their vitality, and becoming mere shams -soulless shells-enveloping rottenness within, which would make the people stand aghast, if they could get a whiff of their contents. In vulgar parlance, they might be called 'bad eggs."

When the political leaders of a country or the world buy their positions in the head or government, and sell their services after they get there; when the religious leaders spend months of time and millions of money in trying to prove the "infallibility" of imbecility! and when the social leaders find it necessary to justify the most dastardly murders in order to uphold the dignity of their basal institution it is time for the People to open their eyes, and look about them for a more substantial foundation upon which to build a "future State."

If those "pious fools" who so dolefully bewail the "Social Evil," would scan their own firesides and bedrooms, they might discover the cause of it. If the "respectable," "lawabiding," "moral" and "religious" men of this country could see their social acts in the light of Nature, and as their wives do see them, they would be ashamed to look an honest woman in the face

Those delicate Christians who may feel shocked at the ideas here publicly advanced, I would refer to a passage in the New Testament of their own Bible:

"TO THE PURE, ALL THINGS ARE PURE."

And I would further remind them, that TRUTH can never be injured by discussion. Error only dreads investigation A man may repeat a lie, until himself believes it to be true—as a people may practice usury, until they believe it

to be just. The correspondence may be carried on in social life, and elsewhere.

I would advise the Women of America to husband their means (instead of themselves and their daughters), and establish independent, industrial communitary homes of their own; where they may entertain their friends in their own ways, and rear and support their own children-regardless of the effete laws and customs promulgated by the masculine prostitutes who now constitute the political "powers that be"-and where their present despotic overseers (husbands, fathers or brothers) will not have even the flimsy pretext of a legal right to enter without their permission They will be aided in such efforts by the best men in the

Do the blocks at the head of this nation or people know that the BALLOT is the foundation of a REPUBLIC? And do they further know that when the foundation of any structure becomes rotten, the structure must fall, as a logical sequence? And would they shut their eyes to the transparent fact that the system of balloting which placed them where they are, is rotten to the core? When a "Pilot" employed on the "ship (or broken raft) of State" publicly asserts that he "knows that from twenty to forty dollars a vote was given" in the late election of a present member of Congress, honest officers would have sufficient grounds for a legal investiganovel for Blackwood, is a most laborious and pains-taking tion of the case. [See "Notes from the National Capital," writer, bestowing as much pains upon a single book as ordiin National Standard, Salem, N. J., of June 15, 1870—on file in Salem County Clerk's Office, according to law.] But if all similar cases were brought to light, how many members would lawfully hold their seats in Congress? Would there be one left? If so, who is he? Barnum wants him.

#### A MILLENNIAL DISCOVERY.

The physiological principle of MALE CONTINENCE, as applied to the relation, of the sexes is destined, as it spreads to work a great revolution in society.

It solves, in the first place, the population question, and extinguishes Malthus and Restell, and all other professors of the "dismal science," by placing propagation under full and natural control.

It opens the way for improvement of the race by scientific procreation

With a due amount of religion, it makes association prac-

It reconciles the sexes, and promotes, in the highest degree, true fellowship and union between them.

It removes the curse from women, and beautifies instead of blasting them.

It is healthful for man.

It gives to woman her original position as a "helpmeet" to man, thereby diminishing his cares and burdens, and doubling his resources and happiness.

It was discovered in connection with Communism, and belongs appropriately to it: but, so far as adopted, it will also tend to relieve and elevate marriage.

Its recipe for the poor man is-"If you wish to thrive, stop having children, and take your wife into partnership.", Let society adopt this principle in connection with Com-

munism, and then:

No more broken-down women, worn out by over-breeding and excessive family care;

No more neglected and half-bred children growing up in vice and want from the inability of parents to look after

No more neglected and forlorn "old maids;"

No more overworked men toiling alone for the support of an undesired but ever-coming family increase;

No more reaction and disgust between the sexes growing out of uncontrolled passion.

On the other hand:

Children, born by choice, and under the best conditions attainable, with the care and interest of the whole Community exercised on their culture and welfare; and

Such a limitation of propagation as will not exhaust society, but will be consistent with its highest vigor and beauty;

Boundless, ever-improving respect and love between men and women as exponents to each other of the life and love of God.—Oneida Circular.

Ir there were one language for the whole world it would add, in effect, one third part to the life of the human race. Leibnitz, vol. i., Sixth Geneva edition, p. 297.

All other attempts at a universal language by Liebnitz, Bishop Wilkins, Vidal, Denis de L Ochander and others have been contrivances or inventions; Alwato is a discovery. The difference between these two things is immense. A language invented has a thousand chances to one against being adopted; a language discovered MUST be adopted, cannot fail to be adopted, is inevitable.

There was a time when the world had music as a fact, but no scientific music, no science of music. Hitherto we have had language as a fact, imperfect, blundering, chance-directed; but no scientifically constructed language, no language embodying the discovered science of language. Alwato is the scientific or true form of human speech-not a true form, but the true form-the lingually embodied discovery of the science of speech. Study Alwato.

. Alwato is a new and universal language; but is not that merely. It is infinitely more than a mere language, as the word is now understood. It is the Godinvented instrument for the intimate expression of thought; the instrument for the infinite development and training of the human mind - beyond anything heretofere conceived of. The Primary Synopsis of Universology, just published, contains the Elements of Alwato, and its inception. Every reader of the Bulletin should commence at once the study of The Primary Synopsis. See advertisement.

#### LABOR.

Hark how creation's deep musical chorus, Unintermitting goes up into heaven! Never the ocean wave falters in flowing Never the little seed stops in its growing: More and more richly the rose-heart keeps glowing Till from its nourishing stem it is riven!

Labor is life-'tis the still water faileth; Idleness ever despaireth, bewaileth; Keep the watch wound, for the dark rust assaileth; Flowers droop and die in the stillness of noon Labor is glory—the flying cloud brightens; Idle hearts only the dark future frightens,— Play the sweet keys wouldst thou keep them in tune

Labor is worhip! the robin is singing-Labor is worship! the wild bee is ringing; Listen! that eloquent whisper upspringing Speaks to thy soul from out nature's heart.

Work! and pure slumbers shall wait on thy pillowshalt ride over care Lie not down wearied 'neath woe's weeping willow,-Work with a stout heart and resolute will!

Work for some good, be it ever so slowly-Cherish some flower, be it ever so lowly-Labor! All Labor is noble and Holy!

Dr. NEWMAN, last Sunday evening at Washington, said from his pulpit, "I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, yet I venture this prediction: Within the next decade, aye, within the next five years, Christianity will be tried as it has never been tried before. There are men in England and America to-day, who will bring to the assault, a ripeness of scholarship, a power of intellect, and a breadth of view, unequalled by the past. These assaults will continue, and there are men and women before me to-night, their faith terribly shaken."

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### Woodhull & Clastin's Weekly.

44 Broad Street, New York City.

# Woodhull & Glaflin's WEEKLY.

#### JOURNALISTIC JUSTICE.

Now that Justice Ledwith has rendered his decision in the case wherein Col. Blood was charged by Annie Claffin with assault, will the press, which was so eager to put the charge before the public, be as eager to give his justification and acquittal?

Especially do we call attention of certain papers which published a libellous affidavit as that upon which the order of arrest was granted to the fact that said affidavit was never before the court. If they were deceived in supposing it was, would they not show wisdom by making the amende honorable without delay. Or will they assume the responsibility? If they published it, hoping that the trial would develop the supposed scandal and have been disappointed, let them say so; especially those which assumed their truth and enlarged upon them editorially.

#### A NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE COSMOPOLITI-CAL PARTY.

No. VI.

MONEY-FINANCE-EQUILIBRIUM.

#### [CONTINUED.]

Money and wealth, then, are not synonymous terms-do not mean the same thing. Wealth includes all things resulting from labor which are of use, comfort and convenience to the people. People make use of gold; it is, therefore, wealth; so also is cotton and corn, but no less so. But money is something entirely different from this, both as to character and intrinsic value, All wealth has value in itself. Money has no value in itself, else our analysis is false.

Money is used for the purpose of facilitating the exchange of wealth; therefore whatever portion of the common wealth is exchanged, the money used in effecting it must be its representative. That is to say, a person possessing wealth in the form of flour, transfers it to another person for a sum of money, which represents that wealth. Money, then, in its last analysis, is the representative of wealth, or it is the representative of true value, but not itself that value. For, as we stated before, money cannot, at one and the same time, be both value and its representative. Gold is value; it is the result of labor, and can be exchanged for other value, but not by other value. The means of making the exchange is not value. Those means, in whatever form they are used, are representatives of value. And all representations of value are money, whether in the form of currency, bank checks, notes, drafts, bills of exchange, or what not, because they stand for value.

Gold is wealth, but not all wealth; and it is no more entitled to the position to which it has been assigned in the financial world than any other product of labor. Cotton purchases and p vs for more European imports than gold-to say nothing of the large amounts of other wealth used in the same way. Our annual projuction of wealth in gold is about \$40,000,000. Our annual production of cotton is \$150,000,000. While other products swell the grand aggregate to an almost inconceivable sum.

There has been one fatal mistake made and persevered in which has been productive of more financial ills and conseque.it individual injustice to the producers of wealth than all other causes, and that is in making land, wealth. Land fined to individuals, in which there is no other assurance

be called money. Wealth is that which is produced. Land exists. All improvements made upon land are wealth; but the land proper, never. In this fatal mistake, which is fundamental in its character, is found the basis upon which the vast disparities, in distribution of wealth, rest, and which gives to certain favored individuals the means of realizing immense fortunes, without resorting to the usual methods of production. There are numerous examples of this kind of wealth. People hold lands which, by favorable location, have come into great demand, and have risen in value from one dollar per acre to hundreds of thousands of dollars per acre. By what right should a person holding such lands be entitled to this vast increase? To be so entitled is to possess an advantage over others to which no just communal government should consent. It is against all principles of equality and justice, and is the great error of the present regarding the rights of property.

This matter of land monopoly was referred to in this connection to establish a comparison. Land in its present uses bears the same arbitrary relation to real wealth that gold does to real money; with this distinction in favor of gold, that gold is wealth while land is not. But, says an objector and worshiper of the gold god, how can it be said that gold is only wealth along with other products of labor, such as are produced and consumed yearly—such as houses and all kinds of internal improvements, which are subjects of decay, while gold, so to speak, is not a subject of disintegration, but, so far as is yet known, is one of the elements?

This is one of the most commonly made and generally supposed sweeping arguments against the crusade against gold, but in reality it has no bearing, whatever, upon the question. We have not pretended that gold was not wealth, but on the contrary that it is wealth in the very best sense of that term; and the most desirable form of wealth to acquire, from the fact of its durability. We are not arguing against gold as wealth, but against it as money, and here is just where all the confusion in finance finds its entering place, from which we shall never be free until people learn the real distinction between wealth and money—the first being value, the last convenience.

There is one more unanswerable reason why gold cannot answer the requirements of money, found in the degrees of value which attach to different products of labor, and which are universally determined by the sacrifice required to produce them. That is to say, all other things being equal, the relative value of two different products is determined by the time and labor required to produce them. The increase in value of manufactured articles is in exact proportion to the time required and wealth consumed in their production. The value of gold is determined in precisely the same manner, and it is foolish to say that the value of gold never changes. Suppose there should be immense fields of gold suddenly developed all over the country, so that it would become as common and plentiful as iron or coal, would it not decrease in value? That is to say, would an ounce of gold then, possess as great a proportionate value to other products as it now does? None will pretend it. Then gold is just as much the subject of fluctuation as any other product of labor; and for just the same reasons-demand and supply-which are the great arbitrators of values in all parts

Everybody know that for a certain quantity of gold a certain quantity of cotton can be obtained; and for a certain quantity of corn, a horse. The horse being obtainable by the corn does not convert the corn into money; neither anymore does gold become money because the cotton can be obtained thereby. The gold for the time is equal in value to the cotton; so also is the corn to the horse. But neither the gold or corn represents the cotton or the horse. Now what is required of money is this: Suppose the gold, cotton, corn, and the horse to be of equal value, a person possessing an amount of money, representing either of the four, can at his discretion purchase which ever he choose. Hence the money would equally represent the gold, cotton, corn, and the horse, and anything that cannot do this is not money.

We are now prepared to inquire, what will best perform the functions for which money is required. The basis of values is the capacity for production; and productions are values. The people who produce and those who consume are not at all times contiguous to each other, and they require some other means of exchanging their respective products than by direct delivery and receipt, and this means is called money. Real money is something that can stand representative of these several products, so that there may be the utmost facility in their exchange.

A person may possess value to the amount of ten thousand dollars, upon which he may issue his certificates or representatives promising to pay ten thousand dollars These representatives would circulate among those who believed in the capacity and the willingness of the utterer to give up to the possessor that which they represent. This is the basis of the system of uttering bank notes. But there is an insuperable objection to this representation being called real money, because the vicissitudes of life and circumstances often produce such changes as make it impossible for those who have uttered such representatives of value to redeem them, consequently holders find themselves with bits of paper representing nothing, but for which they have parted with their value and lost it. So far as this is a transaction conis perfectly just and right; for one individual, upon his personal judgment, accepts the representations of another individual, which, if they prove bad, he has himself alone to blame for the loss as coming from an error of judgment.

But when banks are organized under certain forms of law framed by the people or their representatives, through government, the people accept their notes or representatives, not because they have a special confidence in the individuals who compose the management, but because they have conformed to certain requirements of law, which it is supposed render them safe. The government then indirectly gives credit to the banks, and currency to their issues, and the people accept them because the government has done so. But suppose these banks are mismanaged, or managed by designing men, who make use of the governmental sanction to swindle the people, and they do swindle the people, as many times they have, where can the people look for redress? They should look to the government, for they relied on its sanction and found it valueless.

Now this is precisely our objection to any and all forms of bank issues. There can be no arrangement made, perfect in security to the people that will permit the profits that the banks must have. In absolute security there can be no profit. Profit comes of speculating in some way, either upon the confidences, or the money, of the people, neither of which is legitimate. We hold, then, that all bank notes are frauds upon the people.

The substitute for these bank notes, as the money for the people, should be the PEOPLES' MONEY—a national currency, whose basis of value, would be the productive capacity of the whole country which the government represents. If there is any reliance to be placed in a currency issued by a portion of the people based upon their wealth, of which they are liable at all times to be deprived, how much better would be the reliance to be placed upon a currency issued by the government based upon the entire wealth of the whole country, which, no matter how much it might change among the individuals comprising the nation, could never depart from the country. Here, then, is the true basis for a currency for the people. It would be their own money which they would possess, and which could never be made valueless except the country should be destroyed. Such a currency would cost nothing. Whatever interest there would be paid for its use should be received by the government, and thus reduce the general taxation by just that amount. By proper arrangements for distribution and accommodation, the revenue to the government from this source could be made sufficient to maintain all the necessary expenses of government, and would transfer the immense profits now realized by a few bank owners to the vaults of the people's treasury.

VICIORIA C. WOODHULL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

OUR GOLD RESOURCES.

Whatever medium different nations, at various epochs in their history, may have seen proper to constitute a legal tender in payment of obligations between individuals, there has never been but one solvent of balances between na-

In view of this irrevocable law, the present heavy adverse commercial balance, coupled with the large amount of American securities held abroad, the interest of which is continually maturing, makes an examination of our gold resources an important as well as interesting study.

We give the official statement of imports and exports for thirteen years, sufficiently long to afford a correct data for the future:

	Total Imports	1.01.81	Total
	of coin.	Exports.	Re-exports.
1858	\$19,271,496	\$42.4 7.246	\$10,225.901
1859		57,502,307	6 385, 106
1860	8,550,135	56,946,851	9,599,388
1861		23,799,870	5,991,2 0
1862		31,044,651	5,842,305
1864		55,693,562	8,163,046
1864		100.321,371	4,922,979
1865		64.618,124	3,331,941
1866		82,643,374	3,40),697
1867		34,976,196	5,892,176
1868		84,197,920	10,038,127
1869		42,915,966	14,222,424
1870		43,883,802	14,271.864
Total	\$223,700,862	\$741,251,233	\$102,287,167

At the commencement of this period the country was on a specie basis—now currency—and the people have lost that large amount of coin which was in daily circulation. The cannot be accurately determined, but as the issue of fractional currency is in excess of \$40,000,000, it cannot be less than \$100,000,000; indeed, many statisticians place it at double this figure. Assuming it to be one hundred millions, it undoubtedly furnished that amount of the exports, leaving about \$520,000,000 as the production of the country in thirteen years, beyond its consumption in arts, or \$40,000,-000 per annum. There is nothing in the present that warrants the supposition of an increase in this production in the near future, while the only reserve fund is the gold in the Sub-Treasury, now under \$100,000,000, of which a large amount cannot be sold without exciting questions concerning the stability of the future interest. By no possibility can the Sub-Treasury sell over the actual amount belonging to is no more entitled to be classed with wealth than gold is to than the supposed capacity and intention of the individual, it it, which, after deducting coin certificates and accrued interest, is now about \$35,000,000. This would give \$75,000,000 as the limit which for the present year can be made contingent use of, leaving only the coin production for the following year.

The important question now arises, Can a drain to this amount be brought against the country? Let the history of the past few years answer. According to ex-Commissioner Wells, the amount of "governments" held out of the United States, in the autumn of 1869, was one thousand million. According to General Butler, in 1870 it was \$1,200,000; while, in 1871, the New York Economist places it at \$1,300,000. These bonds hal no existence nine years ago. Europe also holds a large amount of miscellaneous securities, variously estimated from \$300 to 7,200 million. Many popular railways were built during and since the rebellion, and many of the city and State debts are the result of the late rebellion, while a still larger amount of paper value is the offspring of that infatuation, "the watering process."

Certainly \$2,000,000,000 of these various obligations have gone abroad within eight years, or \$250,000,000 per annum, and that because Europe had a claim upon us to this amount, after taking everything the country could produce, including gold.

The interest account alone now amounts to \$120,000,000 in gold.

That the immediate future will witness a settlement in any other manner than in the past it is impossible to determine, though exchange is now at a very high point, and threatens a settlement. Still it may be deferred, and further new debt incurred.

If Europe should demand only interest in coin, instead of accepting railway or government obligations therefor, our coin production and Mr. Boutwell's surplus would be engulfed during the present year.

If Europe should require the settlement of trade balances, including interest as it accrues, the supply of coin would be exhausted during the coming summer.

Should Europe enforce a liquidation of her call loans and accrued claims, there is not sufficient coin in the Treasury to comply with her demand.

That the financial dangers which menace the country are known to Mr. Boutwell is apparent through his action in regard to the delivery of coin to bankers for shipment; for he well knows that when the export is on a scale commensurate with their claims he will lose control of the market. Europe will get all the gold, we will have all the paper, and then for the first time will the people realize the smothered volcano over which they have been resting, because they will then begin to see the eruption, which shall spread dismay and desolation where now there is a false security, which has been and is being engendered by the financial policy of a government in leading the nation blindly on to the coming destruction, of which it must either be aware or it is criminally ignorant.

# OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE TEST OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL.

#### THE APPLICATION TO SOCIAL ORDER.

No. IV.

Governments, then, are organized to perform duty. They have no rights except the right to perform just what the people require of them. They may require a certain sort of duty to be rendered this year, and a very different sort of duty hereafter. Constitutions are merely to confine the execution of the duties of government within certain changes.

But constitutions are always the subjects of the will of the people who frame them. It is the very cheapest argument to say, that because our fathers formed a wise foundation for government, that we, their descendants, must never change it. Undoubtedly it was the best that could be applied then. It certainly is a great deal better than is the application made of it now. It is therefore laid down as unanswerable that the people themselves are always superior to any constitution and to any laws. They have inherent rights, of which no constitution or law can dispossess them, and which if an attempt be so made, it is not only the right but the duty of the objects of the attempt to denounce and rebel against such assumption of power never conferred by the people. It does not matter if this attempt include a single person, or a large aggregate of persons, the principle sacrificed is the same, and any government practicing such authority is a bogus government.

Our government has been gradually passing from a representative form, with the power in the people, into that in which the representatives seek to become the power, or toward a centralized government. It is not without cause that Democrats cry out against Republican centralization, but they entirely mistake the reality, and are as far upon the opposite side of the true standard as the Republicans are removed from it.

The Republicans have endeavored to increase the central power, that they may better execute the central will. The and require constant and careful inculcation, and no school

true standard should be an increase of central power, that the will of the people may be better executed.

The Democrats affect to believe in the rights of individual members of the Union as superior to the rights of the Union. The true standard is that individual members can never freely exercise their rights as such, unless protected from encroachment by the power of the Union.

In other words the government is a vast machine, in the movements of which each separate part must act in harmony with every other part, which truth must upset both the Republican and Democratic theory, as expressed by present parties. Nor can the machine be cumbered with members and parts which have no connection with itself. If such exist in it, its motion will surely be, more or less, interfered with by such parts, and must finally be so clogged by them as to cease its movements, or be worn out by their weight.

Everything within an organized body must be utilized and turned into channels which will contribute to the public good. No body can carry an inanimate load without becoming affected by the disintegration which attaches to all bodies, whether active or passive in their connections. The liver cannot indefinitely perform its own functions and be laden with those of the kidneys; but it can assist the kidneys if, for any reason, they become temporarily impaired and unfitted to perform their whole duty. So also it is with society and governments having individualized powers, of which they are made up, they must be recognized and assigned to their proper position in the general economy, so that all the comprehensive elements may be reduced to the service of the general whole, in the promotion of whose good the good of the individual parts is always best subserved.

It becomes apparent, then, that government must consist of just that variety of general methods which will guide the movements of the governed, so that no interests will clash. And equally apparent that any special methods which cannot apply to the whole body of the governed, must, from their nature, bear upon, and interfere with, the general methods established; for if put in operation they must, for the time being, supplant the operations of the general. Therefore all special legislation is subversive of the common rights of the people, and, in reality, is null and void, and if imposed upon the people, compel a departure from a republican form of government and an approach to assumed authority.

There are other than special laws which trespass upon the rights of the people, and display a want of faith in the common honesty of the individual. Any organization, under any general form prescribed by the will of the people, enables those taking advantage thereof to co-operate to better purposes than if they acted merely upon individual right. All incorporated bodies are illustrations; granting peculiar advantages to the organization, it is the duty of the government to protect the community of individuals from their impositions. They are in no danger from individuals, but they may become dangerous to individuals. This fact government has entirely ignored, and the country is now suffering from the despotism of corporations.

This illustration is introduced here, not for the purpose of following it to its legitimate deductions—that must be done elsewhere at other times—but to open the way to the comprehension of where legitimate control over individuals begins and ceases. In all contracts individuals enter into with corporations, government should protect them; but with the contract between individuals, who derive no power from the government to make them, government has nothing to do. In these the honor of the indidvidual must be the only determining power. Being entered upon by individuals, as individuals they must make their exit therefrom, and never call upon the community to protect them from the legitimate results of their own acts.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

DENOMINATIONAL ENDOWMENTS.—Perfect freedom of religious opinion is guaranteed by the governmental theory of this nation. It is even charged against the nation that the republic has no God. It is of the very essence of American freedom that no religious opinion should be enforced on any citizen. This necessarily involves that there should be no undue encouragement of religious opinion. The State is not indifferent, but it is perfectly impartial, and guarantees to every individual the absolute and untrammeled right of private judgment. The Protestant sects are content with this let-alone arrangement. The Catholics desire perfect freedom, but they also claim State support. There is unquestionably a great and growing comparative increase in the Catholic population of the United States. It is said that from one-sixteenth in 1820, they have advanced to one-sixth in 1870. The next census reports will give us correct

We sometimes have to go far afield to learn what is going on at home. A controversy now going on at Knoxville throws some light on the relations of the Catholic citizen to the State. The question is of school grants and educational system. The same battle is going on throughout the country. Father Finnegan, an able writer, comes squarely out and says: "It is argued we can teach our children their peculiar form of religion on Sunday. We are not satisfied with this arrangement. We believe that certain things are necessary for the soul's salvation. These things are very numerous and require constant and careful inculcation, and no school

can be satisfactory, except where the teaching of these things go hand in hand with secular education."

This is the whole issue—shall the common schools be Catholic? Shall education be bond or free? It is not only a question of education, although education is the main thing. The Catholics, as Catholics, receive aid and comfort by a thousand channels, direct and indirect. Their religious system is one of works, and their institutions are maintained at the cost of the whole State, ostensibly for the sake of public charity, but really for the sake of charity to the exercise of which Catholicism is the recipient is a condition precedent. In Europe Catholicism, though alive and active, has received a deadly wound. It is no longer sustained by State policy. With the profound craft that always has distinguished Romish rule, Rome seeks to turn our free system to her own profit. The good of the Church is the prime motive of every Catholic, and if there be a question between Catholicism and citizenship, we cannot doubt which will go to the wall. The Knoxville Chronicle, in its comments on the controversy, points the moral at the expense of New York: 'If we turn to New York city, now under the control of the most corrupt and intolerant ring ever known in this country, we find its government practically under the control of the Romish Church. The voters in that city upon which Hoffman, Tweed and Hall rely are Irish Catholics. They are under the control of the priests, and whatever is ordered to be done, they willingly and slavishly do. They are practically in control of the public schools of that city. They control indirectly the State Legislature and the immense revenues of the city. In appropriations made for asylums, churches and schools they get the lion's share. What they have secured in New York through the connivance and aid of the Democracy, the party with which they invariably act, they seek to secure elsewhere. The same contest we are now to meet they have pressed everywhere. They 'demand' their share of public moneys, to be used not through public agents for the public good, but through their own priests for their own purposes." their own purposes.

#### THE CLAFLIN CONSPIRACY.

[From the Citizen and Round Table.]

The Claffin conspiracy has the merit of being the sublimest piece of impudence ever yet hatched by the red-hot malevolence of a mother-in-law. For twenty-four or more "unattached" members of the corps to enter calmly with baggage-wagons and equipments, and sit down and appropriate the mess of the regular fighting army, in present active service, was cool to a freezing extent; but for the same undaunted braves to insist on a court-martial to try the besieged ones for mildly suggesting that the paymistress objected, was a coup de grace of surprising brilliancy. The conception was grand, and the capital stroke of carrying off the aged and garrulous vivandiere, to testify against those who paid her board, showed military finesse of no mean calibre.

We trust that we may record our sympathy with Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin without having an avalanche of anathemas hurled at our heads by an infuriated press, who, according to their views of the eternal fitness of things, argue that because the defendants are women, they must necessarily be all in the wrong in any case, and because they are women they must be tried, not according to the lights of justice and equity, but according to the standard of their personal virtue.

We have never seen either of the ladies. We know nothing, or scarcely anything, about them; but we are not going to apologize for tendering them the same amount of sympathy we would to two hard-working men in the same predicament. As to Col. Blood, we do think it hard that his mother-in-law should pound on his door the livelong night, and yell abuse at him in and out of season, and that he should purchase boots for an outrageous loafer to walk to court in to swear abominably against his wife and himself; that he should board the said mother-in-law in fine style and pay all her bills, while she was preparing a most diabolical torment for him.

#### THAT CONSPIRACY.

The first conspiracy was such a miserable failure that its promotors are stung to attempt a second. So be it. The tate of the next will be like that of the first—only more so. Country gentlemen and Wall-street men had better invest their spare cash in a more profitable enterprise. This "won't pay."

JOHN SWINTON wakes up to a sense of the outer world. He thinks it is time to begin to think of woman suffrage. He gives mankind an organon, a philosophical, analytic method on which to examine the expediency of woman suffrage. Too late! too late! The cause is safe; the day of the previous question is over. What to do! is settled; the only point is, How to do it!

The Root of the Matter, or the Bible in the Role of up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come the Old Mythologies.

BY C. B. P.

No. XV.

In Calmet's old Dictionary of the Bible there is a woman in the head of the Hebrew cherubim, as represented in the plate of the same. In the Hebrew cherubim, Egyptian or Grecian Sphinx, she was the same mystical woman who went "bobbing around" in the midst of the riddles and dark sayings of the old mythologies. She might be the mother of God or his bride. From the head of the cherubim she might speak with most miraculous organ, and open her mouth in parable to proclaim the voice from heaven. To unriddle her was to understand the mystery of the word in the wisdom of God. In ancient times, as per Cudworth, the "ungodding of the sun, and moon, and stars, was looked upon by the vulgar as nothing less than absolute atheism." It was the personification of these as the parts of the whole that constituted the fullness of the Godhead bodily, the Lord God of hosts who sat in the midst of heaven, having the earth his footstool—the invisible things being clearly seen and understood by the mode in which the sun and his ten thousand saints with fiery law in hand put in an appearance. The secret things which belong to God were vailed from the groundlings, lest the Lord break forth upon them, and many of them perish. As too much light is hurtful for weak eyes, not every one was permitted to enter into the Holy of Holies to disembowel sacred mysteries, and find Christ in the secret chambers by ungodding the sun. The multitude of the heavenly host lived, moved, and had their being with the sun, the visible angles, mediators and stars of the God of heaven, who "giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding, he revealeth the deep and secret things. He knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him," as in the solar and astro-mythical romance of Daniel, with enough of historic reference interwoven without ungodding the sun, moon and stars, where "the heavens do rule."

Among the demons slain by solar deities, Muller finds the "shaggy one," who would seem to answer to the biblical goat, which, like the Shekinah, sometimes abode in a cloud. As per Gliddon, in appendix to "Types of Mankind," the goat may be translated either God or the Devil. As the scapegoat to be sent off to the wilderness, he would seem to have been that same old Satan on the brink of everlasting woe-the far-downer Capricornus, whose seat in this aspect was in the blackness of darkness forever at the winter solstice. Then let poor sinners stop and think before they further go, lest they shoot over Capricorn to everlasting woe.

The "shaggy one" sometimes took Michael in flank, to fight it out on that line, if it took from morn till noon, from noon till dewy eve, a summer's day; or rather from eve till midnight, from midnight till break of day, when the Lord awaked, as one out of sleep, and smote his enemies in their hinder parts. Daniel's "shaggy one," whether goat or ram, performs in the mythic drama. Here the myth-devil, Ahriman, the Prince of the kingdom of Persia, put down the brakes one and twenty days, till Michael, one of the chief princes, came up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. In vain did the devil have understanding of dark sentences and see the light shine unto the darkness, while he himself hovered under the cope of hell. He could not shine where Michael is your prince.

In this spacious firmament on high, with all its blue ethereal sky, "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.'

Thus it would appear that, in having understanding of dark sentences, one may see how Lucifer, son of the morning, might have a root in the offspring of David, and be transformed into the bright and morning star, an angel of Jesus, to testify unto you these things in the churches.

Michael, as the chief Prince or Sun, was the Illuminator, the Animator, or the Mediator, and might equally take the name of the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost. Throughout all the old theologies, whatever the name, it was always as one with God, or performing the part assigned by the Deus ex Machina, whether in sextile, trine, and square and opposite. As the Illuminator, Shekinah, or the Sun, God was continually playing fast and loose among the clouds sometimes hiding his face in wrath for a little season, and then radiating with the light of his countenance, being very pitiful and tender of mercy. Manifestations being so perunder a cloud we must read the wrath of the Lamb.

God dwelling among the clouds was sometimes the black demon, who withheld the early and the later rains. It was in this guise that Milton saw him rattling on over the Caspian, with heaven's artillery fraught, and thundering marvellously with his voice. As per Muller, the cloud is sometimes the "black-skin," and this may have been the Ethiopian woman whom Moses married—the Lord himself coming down in the cloud to make Miriam leprous seven days for her dislike of the "black-skin." Night, too, could be personified as the "black-skin," and Miriam, or Mary, equiv alent to the Dawn, might claim that the Lord spake to her to open the gates to let the King of Glory come in. In accompaniment with her timbrel she might sing the mornin, the Lord strong and mighty in battle"—the same Sun and King of Glory who put the devil to the worse in a free and open encounter.

The horses of the Sun, with their necks clothed with thunder, smelt the battle afar off, and rushed at the black demon of the clouds and of night, who made darkness his secret place-his pavilion round about him dark waters and thick clouds of the sky; or there might be the lighter tissuework sufficing to vail his presence. But whether the God of the firmament above, or the waters under the earth, all were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized with Moses in the cloud and in the sea, there being the same spiritual meat and the same spiritual drink for those who knew how to partake of manna from heaven. From the spiritual Rock one might suck the sincere milk of the Word, with honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock. From the cleft in the Rock one might also see the shady side of God, while His brightness was too much to look upon.

The black demon of the clouds was often the Prince of this world; but let loose only for a little season so to vail the Sun as to make him refuse to give his light, or to cause the Moon to be turned into blood. He was the demon who walked in darkness and wasted at noonday, raining down great stones from heaven, the Destroyer, the Adversary, the Leviathan, that crooked serpent in that day of the Lord till Michael, "with his sore and great and strong sword," flanked him, and thus slew the Dragon that is in the sea and walloped him out of heaven.

There was manifest the rainbow of our Lord, mingled with gall, and running purple to the sea, from the deep wound made in his side by the black demon of the clouds. Nevertheless it was the bow of promise and of victory that the Lord would shine again. The blood of the wounded Sun was the blood shed for the redemption of man. As the Devil departed for a season, so would angels minister unto the Lord, and everywhere appear the quickening spirit in the newness of life. He would be the resurrection and the life for all who put their trust in him; but while the strong meat was of the personified and dramatic heavens, the babes in Christ stood not on the order of their receiving, but stood gazing up into heaven to see the hero-person come in clouds. To these babes in Christ, or fledglings of the Word, Mother Goose in Israel sang wondrous ditties all a summer's day.

How much blood-theology we have had from the blood of the wounded Sun, streaming across the ancient sky and sweating the same on earth. With so much vesture dipped in blood, need we wonder that much more than rams and goats, and calves, the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin. Need we wonder that, so much blood in the dying agony of the Sun, or "Tragedy of Nature," spouted from the wine press, or ran purple along the sky even up to the bridles of the Lord's chariot horses. Judas, the night devil, prepared the way for the Lord's descent into hell, nor could John forbear to wonder with great admiration when he saw the woman on the scarlet beast in the same great wine press of the wrath of God.

Sometimes the ram and the goat ran into each other in the same shaggy cloud; and it may be difficult to decide whether one or both came up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, or to do each other on the plains of heaven, while the Lord looked out from the pillar of a cloud. It would seem that Gabriel held the stakes, and instructed Daniel into the kingdom of heaven-"forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel." As per Muller, on the mythology of the further East—"While thus the cloud itself is spoken of as a black-skin, the demon of the cloud, or the cloud personified, appears in the Veda as a ram, i. e., as a

The Lamb of God cometh with clouds, and the Mosaic ram of consecration" would seem to have been fleeced in the same shaggy cloud. The demon of the thicket may have put in an appearance to save Isaac from the offering to the Sun. Thus the demon who dwelt in the thick darkness played fast and loose with the Shekinah who also abode in the cloud.

The demon clothed with the black cloud—we may suppose the Lamb of God to have been fleeced with the white, and the marriage to his Wife, like the marriage of Œdipus to Iocaste—was just as in the Sanskrit hymns India is called the husband of the Dawn, and sometimes her son. "In fact," says Mr. Cox, "the whole nature of the gods in these very ancient poems is still transparent. There are no genealogies marriages. The father is sometimes the son, the brother is the husband, and she who in one hymn is the mother is in another the wife."

Parallel to this runs much of the mythology of old Jewry. The Mother of God is clothed with the Sun. She is also his Wife in the sign of the Lamb. She may be the supposed wife of Joseph in the old sign of Taurus, but Gabriel in structs her into the kingdom of heaven, and she is the Spirit Bride in the New Jerusalem. Father, Son and Holy Ghost may have a large range of the ancient heaven as well as the demon of the black cloud among the sons of God. Adam and Eve play fast and loose in the wisdom of the Serpent. Adam knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and so she got a man from the Lord. Cain went out from the presence of the Lord and dwelt in the land of Nod. He, too, ing psalm, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted knew his wife, who grew, like Topsy, in the Nod-land, where fronts" to hide their deficiency of hair.

she put in an appearance quite as naturally as Eve from the rib. Adah and Zillah also were in the secret of the Lord by bearing Tubal-Cain as the doer in brass and iron, and is mystically one with Vulcan, who also worked in iron and brass, and may have had somewhat to do in making the Brazen Serpent. It was in these days that men began to call upon the name of the Lord, or, as per Calmet, "called themselves by the name of Jehovah.

Noah, at five hundred years old, has a wife on the other side of the flood, and the myth-gatherer sets him afloat with his sons, and wife, and his sons' wives, with beasts, fowls and every creeping thing, in twos and in sevens. This omnium gatherum into the Ark would seem to have been a sore trial for the harmonial philosophy, for, as per "Book of Jasher," the happy family were "tossed about like pottage in a caldron." However, the Ark sufficed as a pons asinorum, or asses' bridge, for Thomas Bolin, his wife and wife's mother, all to get over the flood together.

Abram and Sarai, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and his wives play the same role in different ways as the heroes and mystical women of Gentile mythology—the Hebrew mythology using the same machinery to work with, but having its own peculiar way for the Deus ex Machina. Leslie, in "Origin of Man," finds Abraham, Isaac and Jacob mythical, and when every scribe is instructed into the kingdom of heaven it may be discovered of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures that much of the Godhead is in mythical relations with the Sun and heavenly host-that Christ, the day-star of the soul, was also a name of the sun, and the wife of his mystical marriage the pure heaven in white, or her garment changeably tinted, or fringed with blue, golden and purple. Her crown of twelve stars were the twelve of the Zodiac, and as the poetic virgin of Israel, she was as lovely as any of the daugh-

Two thousand years before our erathe Sun was in the bull-sign to eat the Passover at the Easter equinox, and take away the sins of the world, instead of the Ram of God; but whether the "Golden Ox" or the "Golden Fleece" of the Lamb, either would be Son of God as clothed with the Sun, the same as St. John's woman who was so clothed. In Egypt Typhon is that same old serpent called the Devil and Satan, but Isis, the virgin of Egypt, is victorious over him, like St. John's woman over the dragon when the earth helped her. In Egypt, per St. John, our Lord was mystically crucified, and there too was the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers. Nor do we fail to make acquaintance with the 'Gilded Ox," the leader up of the seven fat and seven lean kine in the sign of Joseph, or Taurus—the same cross being the symbol of the Bull or "Gilded Ox," as the Lamb who afterwards took away the sins of the world. As per Wilkinson, the Bull Apis was "an excellent interpretation of futurity." No less did the Ram in the latter day, with his golden fleece of clouds, betoken the Coming Man or Messiah, to feed his people in the large place of Him who was and is, and is to come. Did he not feed thousands with loaves and fishes from the Zodiacal baskets, and so the Redeemer in his latter days upon the earth.

The spiritualists of ancient Egypt sought as much as possible to live upon the bread from heaven. The nature worshipers, or students of nature, were much averse to gluttony, that their bodies may sit as light about their souls as possible, in order that their mortal part may not oppress and weigh down the more divine and immortal," as per Wilkin-

#### A DOUBTING HEART.

BY ADELAIDE ANNE PROCTOR.

Where are the swallows fled? Frozen and dead, Perchance upon some bleak and stormy shore, O doubting heart! Far over the purple seas They wait in sunny ease, The balmy southern breeze To bring them to their northern homes once more.

Why must the flowers die? Prisoned they lie In the cold tomb, heedless of tears or rain. O, doubting heart! They only sleep below The soft white ermine snow, While winter winds shall blow. To breathe and smile upon you soon again.

The sun hath hid its rays These many days; Will dreary hours never leave the earth? Oh, doubting heart! The stormy clouds on high Vail the same summer sk That soon for spring is nigh, Shall wake the summer into mirth

Fair hope is dead and light Is quenched in night; What sound can break the silence of despair? Oh, doubting heart! The sky is overcast, Yet stars shall rise at last, Brighter for darkness past. And angels' silver voices stir the air.

PLAIN HAIR is rapidly becoming fashionable. Ladies who have ruined their hair by a long course of hot iron and crimping pins, will now be necessitated to wear "false

### GEMS FROM MILL ON "LIBERTY."

WITH REMARKS BY A. CRIDGE.

[This work is a clear, dispassionate exposition of the principles on which the right to "untrammeled" lives is founded

PREAMBLE TO A DECLARATION OF SOCIAL INDEPENDENCE

PREAMBLE TO A DECLARATION OF SOCIAL INDEPENDENCE.

"Like other tyrannies, the tyrauny of the majority was at first, and is still, vulgarly held in dread, chiefly as operating through the acts of the public authorities. But reflecting persons perceived that when society is itself the tyrant—society collectively—over the separate individuals who compose it, its means of tyrannizing are not restricted to the acts which it may do by the hands of its political functionaries. Society can and does execute its own mandates; and if it uses wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practises a social tyranny, more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself. Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough; there needs protection, also, against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to improve, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fet ter the development, and, if possible, prevent the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitumate interference of collective opinion with individual independence, and to find that limit and maintain it against encroachment is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism.

"Wherever the sentiment of the majority is still genuine and intense, it is found to have abated little of its claim to be obeyed." [Ex. Gr.:—Religion in England, Marriage in the United States.]

the United States.]

DECLARATION OF SOCIAL INDEPENDENCE.

"The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. \* \* \* \* \* Though our good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. \* \* \* \* The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. \* \* \* \* Over himselt, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

"The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pur suing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it."

to obtain it."
[Pseudo liberals in the United States, however, can find no words emphatic to use in denunciation of American reformers who venture to advocate in detail and sometimes to live out, these first and irrefutable principles of a calm English thinker with whom social science has been a life-long study. Is it true that the people of the United States only escaped from the sceptre of King George to fall under that of Mrs. Grundy?]

Grundy?]

"The disposition of mankind, whether as rulers or as fellowcitizens, to impose their own opinions and inclinations as a
rule of conduct on others, is so energetically supported by
some of the best and some of the worst feelings incident to
human nature, that it is hardly ever kept under restraint
by anything but want of power; and as the power is not
declining, but growing, unless a strong barrier of moral
conviction can be raised against the mischief, we must
expect, in the present circumstances of the world, to see it
increase."

#### No. II.

### CHRISTIAN MORALITY.

"Christian morality (so called) has all the characters of a reaction. It is, in great part, a protest against Paganism. Its ideal is negative rather than positive; passive rather than active; muocence rather than nobleness; abstinence from evil rather than energetic pursuit of good. In its precepts (it has been well said), 'thou shalt not' predominates unduly over 'thou shalt.' In its horror of sensuality it made an idol of asceticism, which has been gradually compromised away into one of legality."

And which, he might have added, has intensified, and does intensify, that very sensuality which he seeks to remove; for nature, even in the very 'dark ages,' was and must be true to herself. If defrauded of her rights in one direction, she not only regains them in another, but takes fearful vengeance for the attempt to suppress natural expressions of natural requirements. Asceticism is the inevitable parent of excess; celibacy inevitably results in prostitution and its accompanying evils. Freedom, accompanied by spiritual development and a knowledge of natural law, would as inevitably result in true purity. The growth of this infernal principle of asceticism is ably traced by Gibbon. Its culmination, twelve centuries afterward, is effectively delineated by Froude. Its remains (the cause being generally recognized) still curse the present generation in the form of legality, and will curse it until those who have outgrown it co-operate for self-protection against the enunciators of that false morality which designates as a virtue the suppression of a natural want, when its gratification could produce no real injury.

It is also time to unvail the flimsy, yet complicated delusions of what is termed "moral philosophy," and "the science of morals," etc., and substitute therefor an enlightened, comprehensive, philanthropic utilitarianism, making utility, the greatest good not only of the greatest number but of each individual, the test of virtue. But this may become a subject for future consideration somewhat in detail.

number but of each individual, the test of virtue. But this may become a subject for future consideration somewhat in detail. More practical truths on this subject could be condensed into half a dozen pages than are probably contained in all the volumes on "Moral Philosophy" hitherto written, One serious defect in most of them much resembles those indicated by Cuvier [or Buffon], in the definition of a crab proposed by certain Parisian savants, viz.: "a red fish that walks backwards." The celebrated naturalist remarked that the definition was correct, with three exceptions: it was not red, it was not a fish, and did not exceptions: it was not red, it was not a fish, and did not walk backwards. Nearly all books on "Moral Philosophy" are open to the objections of being im-moral and un-philo-

ANOTHER FRAGMENT OF THE WOMAN QUES-TION.

Some weeks ago we entered our protest against the gratuitous assumption of the inferiority of woman in our social system as compared to man. We again propose to protest against another most miserable abuse of woman.

In all the furor about the social evil curse in our midst, the principal partner, the monied partner in the infamous transaction, is entirely overlooked; yes, more, exonerated. Who ever heard of even a single instance of a man being thrown out of society because he contributed to keep alive houses of ill-fame? We have yet to learn of the first case. Society is so onesidedly virtuous as to thus wink at the infamy of men; but if a woman go even to an assignation house, the same unfair society put their feet upon her with all the energy of horrified indignation.

Why should a man be tolerated, fostered and recognized as undefiled, even when his whole body is corrupted by the damnable virus of the lowest and most hellish debauchery, when at the same time a woman is utterly proscribed on even the wretchedly flimsy evidence of hearsay?

Society, with holy hands, thrusts the woman down to perdition on the mere suspicion of her unchastity, while with the same hands it fraternizes with the blood-stained soul of the seducer and the profligate, who bears the unmistakable signs of the fires of hell.

dition on the mere suspicion of her unchastity, while with the same hands it fraternizes with the blood-stained soul of the seducer and the profligate, who bears the unmistakable signs of the fires of hell.

By this most unholy and unchristian discrimination in favor of men as against women, society in a great measure brings upon itself the contaminating pollution which to-day is so alarmingly prevalent. Men reeking with the foul abomination of "fancy houses" and "street walkers," just from the moral degradation of promiscuous and polluted beds, bought with money and the price of souls, are countenanced and fellowshiped by virtuous men and chaste women; by those who pray and those who pray not; by Christian men and women, and by a portion of God's clergymen.

Is this a strong statement? We can prove it by unpalatable facts. What would be done with a woman who prostituted herself in this beastly way? She would be driven from society as a contaminating curse. Is it worse for a woman to sell her soul to hell than it is for a man to sell his? No! not a whit. Has God made any distinction between the value of souls?

We hear of abandoned women, but not a word of abandoned women, but not a word of abandoned women, the content of the soul of

tween the value of souls?

We hear of abandoned women, but not a word of abandoned men; and yet there are ten times the number of abandoned men that there are of women. Eight millions of dollars paid by men in the City of New York every year to support this infamous business by which they gratify their damnable and damning lusts. What does this prove? That this monstrous abomination has a market price among men.

this monstrous abomination has a market price among men.

Abandoned women are driven out of society as cruelly and remorselessly as the Hebrews drove the idol-worshipers from the promised land, while the ten-fold number of abandoned men are permitted to remain and enjoy all its immunities and privileges. Is this justice? Is it Christian? Is it even human? Is it not infamous?

These cess-pools of destruction, reaching downward and ever downward, where virtue has no type and happiness, but a name; where God is but a dark cloud of muttering in the soul; where souls go down, down, transformed and beastified to the demoniacal regions of the lost; these pitholes which lead to the infernal regions of the damned are supported by the money of men. It is not the men whom society call degraded who do this, but those whom it calls respectable, those who have means to feed this voracious destruction.

### NOW AND THEN.

Monday, May 15, 1871.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

The two following little documents, marked respectively No. 1" and "No. 2," are submitted to you for publica-

"No. 1" (a little has been added to it since) was written out, addressed and handed to the Secretary of the Steinway Hall Suffrage Convention, with instructions to read it before the Convention on Wednesday last. (It had been previously stated by the Chairwoman that the platform was free.) It was not, however, read.

"No. 2" was then drawn up with the intention of its being sent in the next day to be read—under the impression that the Convention was to last for the second day.

The documents-by implication as well as by express statement—will further explain themselves.

[No. 1.]

Just a word or two of friendly criticism and suggestion.

There is one point of view from which we (this Convention) are seen to be behind the Pagans of 3,000 (or, to go to India, it may be 50,000) years ago in our claims for the "equal rights" for women, or the co-equality of the female principle with the male principle in pagure

equal rights for women, or the co-equality of the female principle with the male principle in nature.

For example: These Pagans recognized in their theology the goddess as well as the god.

We, on the contrary, entirely ignore the goddess and make the god "The all-in-all"—not only the ruler, but the everything

everything.

Hence, with us the man (the male) is not only the ruler of the family, but is the family.

(Ain't we—just a little—"Jewish" here, as well as behind

'Tis true, if we have any Roman Catholics with us, that they have made some efforts—though they some "a little mixed" on this point—to correct the mistake (if mistake it be), by essaying to elevate the "Virgin Mary" up "among the gods," but the rest of us hold them in disgrace for this. the gods,"

So, on the whole, does not our politics and our theoloy slightly clash the one with the other on female suffrage or

But does not our so frequent use of this great name—God rather indicate a want of faith in Him and reverence for Him than anything else?

In so doing do we not act somewhat like the boy who whistles, when in the dark, to show that ne is not afraid? A truly reverential and sublime faith, such as we should have, is not of this whistling sort.

It should be deeper down and at the bottom of the heart and of the understanding—permeating them all through—and not on the surface for display, not to be worn on the outside, like a fine garment over dirty underclothing.

But, to revert back to our first point: May we not make of truth a god, and of love a goddess?

We "go to seed" on peace, or love.

Love is proverbially blind. Wisdom sees. Love desires o be or to do! Wisdom knows how to be or to do! Are they not, therefore, dependent upon and necessary to each

Moreover, it takes the two to make a system, an organiza-tion, and without organization—the balancing power of or-ganization—we have chaos! Disorganization leads to decay and death!

[No. 2.]

Freedom of discussion has been promised in this Convention. Under this promise a few words of criticism and suggestion were placed on paper and handed to the secretary, with instructions to read them to the Convention (which was but parliamentary.) They were not so read during that session

If they be not read, together with this supplement, that

promise is broken.

If excuse be made that no name was signed, it is replied that no such condition was exacted, nor should there be, for, it is submitted, we come here not to exhibit our persons or assert our individualities, but to present and consider principles.

But, when we do become personal let us be consistent, and not unjust

not unjust.

An enumeration and history of the different methods for securing woman suffrage has been given.

The originators of some of these were referred to in person, while the name of the originator of the (so acknowledged) most prominent, latest and best of them, was, evidently, intentionally and unfairly suppressed, though better known than any of the others—namely, that of Victoria C. Woodbull.

hull.

Pardon me, I must, too, become personal just here. I want justice done Victoria C. Woodhull. I am in love with her! I love her because she is my sister! because she is a part of me! I love her, not so much as I do some of these sisters of mine here on this platform for some things, but for this thing, in which she has done more for the triumph of right and the good of humanity than any of you have done, I love her proportionately more than I do any of you.

Those who are not yet imbued with the spirit which declares for Truth, come from where it may, lead to where it may, are bigots and cowards, and have not only yet much to learn, but much to unlearn.

The Anti-Free-Love resolution which has been passed by this Convention was conceived in a spirit somewhat akin, at

this Convention was conceived in a spirit somewhat akin, at least, to a consciousness of self-quiet, and of moral cow-

It smacked strongly of hyprocrisy, cant and cowardice. It smacked strongly of the spirit which says, "Stand off, for I am holier than thou!" and repudiates the spirit of— "Come unto me ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest!" or of—"Go, sin no more!" It was, also, pure supererogation.

THE Herald, in a leader, shows how-all the world being almost at peace—it is time we should go to war with China. China has broken treaties, has massacred missionaries, and does not keep faith with the outer barbarians. True it is that the treaties were forced on her, and she wants to evade them or break them. Russia does the same successfully. France has tried it unsuccessfully. True, also, that several native heads were chopped off to pay for the slaughtered missionaries. True that she throws obstacles in the way of opium importing, and that she repeats over and over again that she wants no dealings with foreigners. Let us have the plain truth. The weak have no rights. We want the trade with the four hundred millions of Chinese. We are strong, and we mean to have it. What need to salve our consciences with lying pretext or excuse!

"REV. H. W. BEECHER:

"Dear Sir—Please to inform me, through the columns of the New York Ledger, who Cam's wife was, and oblige "A READER OF THE LEDGER."

the New York Ledger, who Cain's wife was, and oblige

"A Reader of the Ledger."

There is no record of Cain's courtship or wedding. However interesting to the parties themselves, it is of no interest to us, except upon supposition that the account in Genesis of the creation of Adam was designed to exclude the supposition that any people had been created, If Adam and Eve were the progenitors of the race, then Cain and Abel, it is inferred, must have married their own sisters—a connection which is shocking to the whole race, at a subsequent stage of development.

But many of the Fathers of the Church denied that Adam and Eve and their children were the only people on the globe. They affirmed that the text in Genesis very plainly implies that there were other inhabitants besides Adam's family. They alleged that v. 14, chap. iv., of Genesis, plainly implies that the earth was already widely populated. or when God declared that Cain should be driven out from his family, and made a vagabond on the earth, Cain deprecated the sentence and replied that "every one that findeth me shall slay me." It was plainly not his family connections he feared, for he desired not to be driven forth from them. It was the people that he should meet when a wanderer on the earth. Who, then, were the people whom Cain feared to meet when he should have gone forth into the earth?

It is also reasoned by scholars that the most natural method of soothing his fears would have been to tell him "There are no other people on earth except your father's children." Instead of that, the Lord is represented as falling in with Cain's impression respecting the population of the world, and that He set a mark "pon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him, (Gen. iv.. 15.) Still further, it is said Cain, separating himself from his kindred, went to the land of Nod, east of Edom, "and he builded a city and called the name of the city after the name of his son: Enoch." The Fathers very pertinently asked, "Where did the people come from that lived in the city Adam. If Adam was the only progenior, Cain must have married his sister. If there were other lines of people, other Adams as it were, then Cain might have married into another stock .- Exchange.

"Resolved, That the basis of order is freedom from bondage; not, indeed, of such 'order' as reigned in Warsaw, which grew out of the bondage; but of such order as reigns in Heaven, which grows out of that developed manhood and womanhood in which each becomes 'a law unto himself.'
"Resolved, That freedom is a principle, and that as such it may be trusted to ultimate in harmonious social results, as in America, in harmonicus and beneficent political results; that it has not hitherto been adequately trusted in the social domain, and that the woman's movement means no less than the complete social as well as the political enfranchisement of mankind.

"Resolved, That the evils, sufferings and disabilities of

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

is insufficient to meet the demand, and is ceasing to enlist the enthusiasm and even the common interest of the most intelligent portion of the community.

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

We presented the above resolutions as an expression of our thought on freedom, at the recent Woman Suffrage Convention in New York:

We presented them as the advanced thought, knowing

tion in New York:

We presented them as the advanced thought, knowing them likely to be misunderstood, carped about, and possibly condemned utterly by some of the progressive minds of to-day; but we also knew that until the line was broken, those in the rear could take no step forward, and we would not that they should take a flying leap over our heads and land, possibly, in the mud; possibly on heights where it might take time for us to reach them. It is the business of some one to launch new ideas, not one of which is ever lost.

some one to launch new ideas, not one of which is ever lost.

Regarding freedom as a principle, we hold that a person in order to be a law unto himself or herself, must be absolutely free, that is without physical restraint.

We will illustrate by the human system. If it is healthy and in natural conditions, the whole complex organization works without iriction. The brain takes no cognizance of the stomach, of the heart, or liver; the blood courses through veins and arteries, the capillary and all action is steady and regular as though there were no law in existence, because the whole organism is in harmony with God's law. Now tie a ligature around the arms, take a stimulant into the stomach, breathe an impure, vitiated atmosphere, and see what a commution is raised, and how soon the brain is cognizant of laws violated. A febrile action is set up, the heart, the lungs, the brain—all the higher organs enter an indignant protest against this violation of the harmonies. Being free, each organ chooses what is best for it. Constrained by physical force, they are thrown into confusion

We come together in voluntary asseciations or organizations, and all is harmonious. Some individual, possessed with a love of power, ties a ligature on an arm, compresses the lungs, stimulates the stomach, and then friction begins.

It is usurpation of authority, an incessant demand for It is usurpation of authority, an incessant demand for legislation that is fretting and chafing human souls. Things seem out of joint and wrong: without seeing the cause we fly to external law to cure the ill, prohibition or license of an evil, making a penalty of dollars and cents or brief imprisonment the remedy, and then the public conscience is at rest. The mind and will of the offender—that part of us which, by provision or fore-knowledge of scientific principles, must accept or reject evil—is still either unconvinced or untamed.

or untamed.

The Egyptian priesthood arbitrarily and without any scientific knowledge, prescribed to each class and caste just what they should eat and drink. Modern science presents the physiological laws and becomes, per force, regulative, for the tree will yields voluntary obedience to laws founded in pattern.

What can be done for the health and happiness of the individual, by scientific knowledge, may be done for the whole body politic by teaching seli-preservation and self-govern-

ment.
With the vast amount of taxes levied to punish crime, let With the vast amount of taxes levied to punish crime, let us begin prevention. Let there be free halls where lectures on all departments of science shall be given to the masses. Give the drama free to the people; the opera to those who love music; free baths, and the free schools made so attractive that chidren will need no compulsion to make them attend. A look toward prevention is found in the union for Christian work, the free amusement room, the reading-room and the varied forms of instruction, has sayed the union for Christian work, the free amusement room, the reading-room and the varied forms of instruction, has saved many young lads from a down-hill course.

It is an admitted postulate, that the human system needs stimulus, but it is by no means a scientific certainty that

that stimulus should be wine or alcohol. On the other hand science proves clearly that alcohol, in any form, never is incorporated into the system, but always acts as a foreign substance. Give to the brain and heart the mental stimulus it demands, and you have obviated the necessity, the crav-

ing for alcohol.

Freedom on the temperance question may be trusted if science is made a basis of teaching; and on the one live question of the day, viz., the woman question freedom is the one demand

A true, high, pure nature, never asks if the law allows this or that—it follows its own intuitions; it avoids evil, just as the sheep browsing on the hillside turns away from the poison laurel and feeds only on the wholesome and nutritions hash.

ADVANCE SHEETS FROM THE PROVIDENCE,

R I, "NEW WORLD."

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS, EDITOR.

PREEDOM TO DO RIGHT.

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

"Resolved, That freedom is a principle, and that as such it may be trusted to ultimate in harmonicus social results, as in America, in harmonicus and beneficent political results; that it has not hitherto been adequately trusted in the

#### OUR INDIAN TROUBLES.

### THEIR CAUSES, COST AND CURE

BY JOHN B. WOLFF.

No. V.

The Minnesota massacre was occasioned by long-continued injustice and frauds practised by the whites, in the shape of agents, traders, and speculators of every class, who took advantage of the ignorance and necessities of the Indians until forbearance ceased to be a virtue with them, and in regular Indian fashion they retaliated on the guilty and innocent alike. Let us not forget that with all our boasted justice and christian kindness, we are gradually crushing out these children of the forest, not by natural necessity, but by abnormal and unnecessary methods, and they see and feel all this-fully comprehend the situation. We, therefore do wrong when we charge these outbreaks to their immediate and proximate incidents.

There is always a lurking feeling of hostility, the natural result of years of abuse, which, like a magazine of powder, is ready to explode from a very small spark. There prevails, for the reason named, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and animosity, among all the wild tribes who have been thus wronged, and which it will be very difficult to eradicate. With this feeling, if a soldier or citizen kills an Indian, or does some other obnoxious act, the Indian seeks the easiest method and first opportunity of revenge; and thus are Indian wars inaugurated, which might easily be avoided. It will be remembered that the Indians captured and hung for the massacre in Minnesota, showed by every act, to the last, that they felt they had done nobly and bravely. All the wild tribes have been fully informed in regard to that execu tion, and it will remain a festering sore for a generation to

The next general outbreak was on the Platte and Arkansas Rivers, which was hastened and intensified by the Minnesota affair. In the year of 1849 the overland emigration to California commenced, mostly over the Platte and Arkansas River roads. It 1858 it commenced to Colorado, and in 1859 it became a great tide, numbered by tens of thousands, travelling in every possible shape.

At this time the Cheyennes and Arrapahoe Indians of the plains had laid claims of unpaid balances due from the government and withheld for years. All this travel and the necessary and unnecessary destruction of game, the withholding of the anuities, and other grievances, were endured, and no outrages committed on those routes until an unprovoked attack was made by a squad of soldiers in the neighborhood of the City of Denver, Colorado. A small band of Indians were found in possession of stock supposed to be stolen, but alleged plausibly by them to have been found astray, and they were then taking the stock to the settlements for identification. Their guns were demanded and refused. Whereupon they were fired upon and some of them killed. This was the spark that cost hundreds of lives and millions of property. But it is not to be denied that there was a growing dissatisfaction, for causes above named, and only needed this incident to inflame it into de-

The Land Creek massacre, which, unlike the Minnesota (Indians by white old men, women, and children), in real Indian style, was one of the sequels of the former unjust and impolitic conduct of an irreponsible military captain, which culminated an intensification of the barbarities of that protracted and disastrous conflict. It is, perhaps, true that re Indians in that camp who had been guilty of depredations, but it is also true that they had been called to the adjacent fort by the Governor and furnished food and protection, and had not been detected in any acts of hostility after this quasi treaty had been made. It is further true that they were driven away from the fort by military orders, that they were in camp, and seeking to prevent starvation by hunting, and that they had asked to remain near the post on the Arkansas, where they would have been directly under the eye of the military. To butcher these Indians and not be able to follow up the victory, provided they were hostile, was only to call down greater vengeance in other quarters, which was the fact.

his hand against his white brother—had always been his friend, and had resigned his position in the tribe to escape the necessity of taking part in the raids on the settlements, and always counselled peace. All the glory that Sheridan acquired in the late war was eclipsed by this act of perfidy and murder. These facts are again alluded to for the purpose of showing that we are indebted largely to the presence of the military in the Indian country for a large per cent. of the provocations; and to their wanton and injudicious exercise of their powers, for the actual commencement of hostilities, as well as the perpetuation of the memory of unmerited outrages, as compounding interest to be collected from future generations. We have some startling r velations to make in regard to these same military operations which ought to arouse the whole nation. In our next we shall begin the financial part of the subject.

#### A WORD IN SEASON.

An agitation meeting is to be held at a private house in this city to-day, to discuss the movements of both the associations of wild women, who lately held conclave at Steinway and Apollo Halls. Certain members of the little clique of women who represent the County Suffrage Association, it is presumed will attempt to call Miss Anthony, Miss Lozier and others who gave Mrs. Woodhull the right hand of fellowship on the platform of the National Association, to account for their temerity, and attempt to vindicate their own moral and social status by the wholesale condemnation of their course.

own moral and social status by the wholesale condemnation of their course.

It is very tunny. The reproving ring are of that sort which suggests the familiar quotation—"Satan reproving sin." It is an old saying that "Whoso liveth in a house of glass should not be ready to throw stones." But women are ever ready to forget the homely adage, and in the endeavor to maintain even an uncertain position on the outskirts of the "best society," into which they are struggling to enter, will often attempt to assure their own position by pulling other folks down. Our opinions concerning the leader of the Apollo Hall suffragists have been well ventilated. We advise, however, the three or four women who have been chewing gall for the last week, because they were apparently put in the shade by both conventions, to keep quiet. Be just as virtuous and exclusive and proper and nice as you possibly can in your private lives and conversation, but don't make too much parade and talk of it before the world. Your little histories, we are told, are jotted down in the annals of halls of learning; are chronicled among the iree-love spiritualists, to which one of you belong; are the laughing stock of the journalistic circle on which another is a parasite. A little too much "standback-lam-holier-than-thou" talk even to Mrs. Woodhull-Blood, or criticism of Miss Anthony, Mesdames Hallock, Lozier and Stanton, for recognizing her, may arouse some indignant person to give three or four little histories to the world which would make quite as much stir in the ranks of suffrage, journalism and sorosis, as the clishmaclaver about your Sister Woodhull has done. Keep quiet, dears. "Soiling another will never make yourself clean," you know.—star.

#### DEATH.

A SONNET.

O Death! why do men fear thee and surround Thy name with terrors, that the stout heart fears With creeping flesh the chill ill-omened sound, Though he would meet thee, nameless, free from tears, Nor sigh as sounds die on his bloodles ears, And fainter grows the forms of riends around? When thou dost summon us, we leave this coil Of changeful earth to be resolved, may be, To grass or flowers or elemental soil The living soul to fleshly garb set free Like the gay fly that bursts his wintry tomb. Man knows a brighter and more genial day, And finds a happier sempiternal home.

-Intellectual Repository.

THE NEW YORK Code amendments call for some strong strictures from the learned in the law. Judge Dwight is out with some cogent remarks on the subject of that mysterious and most indefinable offense, "contempt of court." Anything may be a contempt of court if a judge is only sensitive enough. The power of the court contemned is absolute and irresponsible. Whether the court knows itself or not, it cannot be contemned. The Erie judges are as safe from contempt as Kent or Story. The judge may squint at justice ever so obliquely, may be totally unable to see it, but contempt, however strong, must not be expressed. The penalties are irreversible; nothing short of purging will be accepted. The Code proposes to define when the court is contemptible

MISS KATE STANTON will enter the lecture-field next fall Ith a lecture entitled "Whom to Marry," and she says she shall study her subject all summer. Miss Stanton is, we believe, a young lady, and she never had a husband in her life; wherefore her lecture will probably be-we will say interesting. During the summer, however, her loneliness may be remedied; and in that case she will have to tear up her old lecture and write another and entirely different one, which may be valuable. It isn't a bad idea, occasionally, for one to know what one is talking about.

HENRY WARD BEECHER says, "It will scarcely be denied that men are superior to women, as men; and that women No mother says, "I must take care of my babe, and love my husband because the law says so." She never thinks of Black Kettle and his band—an Indian who had never lifted separately." That is a sound platform. are immeasurably superior to men, as women; while both Then came the massacre by Custer, under Sheridan, of of them together are more than a match for either of them

#### THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

This remarkable book, just from the press, contains a graphic consolidation of the various principles involved in government as the guarantee and protection to the exercise of human rights.

Such principles as, from time to time, have been enunciated in these columns are here arranged, classi fied and applied. A careful consideration of them will convince the most skeptical that our Government, though so good, is very far from being perfect.

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"There is a simplicity, freshness and originality in this book which rivets the attention; and one rises from the perusal with the feeling of being refreshed, strengthened and made better by such a healthy mental stimulant. She divests the woman question of all its sentimentalities and places it where it should be, on the firm ground of justice. Read this book in the morning, when the mind is active, and it is a good preparation for intellectual work; it is full of suggestions, and compels thought in the highest direction. Our advice is get the book and study it."

—New World.

#### EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

The object of the author in presenting this book to the public was:

First, To show that woman has the same human rights which men have.

Second, To point out wherein a condition of servitude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were above instead of below equality.

Third, To prove that it is a duty which women owe to themselves to become fully individualized persons, responsible to themselves and capable of maintaining such responsibility.

Fourth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of humanity demands of women that they prepare them selves to be the mothers of children, who shall be pure in body and mind, and that all other considerations of life should be made subservient to this their high mission as the artists of humanity.

Fifth, That every child born has the natural right to live, and that society is responsible for the condition in which he or she is admitted to be a constituent and modifying part of itself.

#### WOMAN'S RIGHTS-NEW BOOKS.

We have received copies of two books which just now possess considerable interest for many people. They are entitled respectively, "Constitutional Equality, a Right of Woman," by Tennie C. Claffin, and "The Origin, Functions and Principles of Government by Victoria C. Woodhull. We have examined these books carefully, not only for the sake of the subjects treated of, but because of the discussion which has been called out in the past few weeks about these two remarkable women.

It would seem as though everything had conspired at once to bring them and their views before the public. First, the *Tribune* paraded them as the champion free-lovers by way of attacking its old enemies, the womans unfrage women; then one branch of the suffragists attacked them, while the other wing as vehemently upheld them, and lastly they were brought bodily before the public in the recent trial. These conflicting elements of notoriety were enough to have made any one famous for the moment, and ought to make their books sell. The chief element of curiosity, however, was in the fact that they were denouned so blitterly by the *Tribune* as free-lovers, while they were, on the other hand, indorsed so enthusiastically by a lady so universally respected as Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books fails to show anything so very startling in the doctrines put forth in them, however distasteful they may be to many. They advance many strong arguments for giving the women the right to vote, for a remodeling of the marriage laws, and, in fact, for the general renovating and making over of society. Some of these are new, and some not so new, but they are very well put, and will be found not uninteresting, even to those who are opposed to the doctrines advocated.—Newark (N. J.) Register.

#### FRIENDSHIP.

He that is thy friend indeed, He will help thee in thy need; If thou sorrow he will weep, If thou wake he cannot sleep; Thus of every grief in heart He with thee doth bear a part. These are certain signs to know Faithful friend to flattering foe.

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p. m. For Stamford, 7, 8 (Ex.), 9, 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 2:15, 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15, 8 (Ex.)

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JAMES H. HOYT, Superintendent.

NEW YORK CENTRAL AND HUD SON RIVER RAILROAD.—Trains will leave Thirtieth street as follows:
8 a. m., Chicago Express, Drawing-room cars attached.

10 a. m., Special Drawing-room Car Express. No accommodation for way passengers except in Draw-

ing-room cars. 10:40 a. m., Northern and Western Express, Drawing-room cars attached.

4 p. m., Montreal Express, Drawing-room cars attached.

6 p. m., First Pacific Express, with Sleeping cars through to Watertown, Syracuse and Canandaigua. (Daily.)

through to watertown, syracuse and Canandaigna. (Daily.)

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

11 p. m., Night Express, Sleeping cars attached. 7a. m., 2 and 5 p. m., Poughkeepsie trains.

9 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peekskill trains.
5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.
6:40, 7:30, 9:10 and 10:15 a. m., 12 m., 1:30, 3, 4:25, 5:10, 8:10 and 11:30 p. m., Yonkers trains.
9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.
C. H. KENDRICK,
General Passenger Agent.

NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1870.

RIE RAILWAY.—TRAINS LEAVE
Depots foot of Chambers st. and foot of 23d
st. as follows:
Through Express Trains leave Chambers st. at 9
a. m., 11 a. m., 5:30 p. m., and 7 p. m., daily. Leave
23d st. at 8:45 a. m., 10:45 a. m., and 5:15 and 6:45
p. m., daily. New and improved Drawing-room
Coaches accompany the 9 a. m. train through to Buffalo, connecting at Hornellsville with magnificent
Sleeping Coaches running through to Cleveland and
Galion. Sleeping Coxches accompany the 11 a. m.
train from Susquehamah to Buffalo; the 5:30 p. m.
train from New York to Buffalo, and 7. p. m. train
from New York to Hornellsville, Buffalo and Cincinnati. An Emigrant Train leaves daily at 7:45 p. m.
For Port Jervis and Way, 4:30 p. m. (23d st. at 4:15
p. m.)
For Middletown and Way at 3:30 p. m. (23d st. at 4:15

For Middletown and Way, at 3:30 p. m. (23d st. at 4:15 p. m.); and, Sundays only, 8:30 a. m. (23d st., 8:15 a. m.)

For Otisville and Way, at \*7:30 a. m. (23d st., \*7:15 a. m.)

For Newburgh and Way, at \*7:30 a. m. (23d st, \*7:15 a. m.)

For Newburgh and Way, at 9 a. m., 3:30 and 4:30 p. m. (23d st. 8:45 a. m., and 3:15 and 4:15 p. m.)

For Suffern and Way, 5 and 6 p. m. (23d st., 4:45 and 5:45 p. m.)

For Suffern and Way, 5 and 6 p. m. (23d st., 4:45 and 5:45 p. m.)

For Paterson and Way, from 23d st. depot, at 6:45, 9:45 and 1:45 a. m.; \*1:45, 3:45, 5:15 and 6:45 p. m.

From Chambers st. Depot, at 6:45, 10 a. m; 12 m.; \*1:45, 4, 5, 5:15 and 6:45 p. m.

For Hackensack and Hillsdale, from 23d st. Depot, at 8:45 a. m., and 12:45, 3:45, \$5:15, 5:45 and \$:45 p. m.

From Chambers st. Depot, 9 a. m., and 1; 4; \$5:15, 6 and \$:645 p. m.

For Piermont, Nyack, Tallmans and Way, from 23d st. Depot, at 8:45 p. m.

For Piermont, Nyack, Tallmans and Way, from 23d st. Depot, at 9:15 a. m; 1:15, \$:15, 4:15, 5:15 and \$:6:15 p. m., and Saturdays only, \$1:130, \$:130, 4:15, \$4:30, 5:15 and 6:30 p. m.; and Saturdays only, \$1:20 indinght. Tickets for Passage and for Apartments in Drawing-room and Sleeping Coaches can be obtained, and orders for the checking and transfer of Baggage may be left, at the Company's offices, \$241, 529 and 937 Broadway; 205 Chambers st., 33 Greenwich st.; cor. 125th st. and Third ave, Harlem; 338 Fulton st., Brooklyn, Depots foot of Chambers st. and foot of 23d st., New York: No 3 Exchange place, and Long Dock Depot, Jersey City, and of the Agents at the principal hotels

L. D. RUKER.

Gen'l Pass'r Agt.

Dec. 22, 1870.

\*\*Baily, ‡ For Hackensack only, ‡ For Piermont and Nyack only.

For Hackensack only. + For Piermont \* Daily. ‡ Fo

A TENNESSEE FARM FOR SALE, LOCATED IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ABOUT 12 miles from Clarksville, which is one of the finest

tobacco marts in the world.

Contains 343 acres—about one hundred in cultivation, the rest covered with the best timber.

Produces corn and tobacco, and yields the most abundant crops. It is on the north side of the Cumberland River, about 2½ or 3 miles from a railway station. It is richly timbered and abundantly watered, and is in a very healthy section of country.

There is a small Log-house upon it, occupied by Mr. Powell, who has rented and cultivated the farm

Ar. Powell, who has rented and cultivated the farm for the last seventeen years.

A better investment could not be made. Necessity alone compels its sale at present. Before ten years it will sell for \$100 an acre.

It ought to have been stated that the farm is about 31 miles from Nashville, the capital of the State.

I gave \$10,000 for the farm and will sell it at an advance of \$500.

ISABELLA G. POLLICK.

# American Pianos

PARIS EXPOSITION.

TRIUMPHANT AT THE

## UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION,

PARIS, 1867.

### CHICKERING & SONS

WERE AWARDED THE

Highest Recompense over all Competition, the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and

## FIRST GOLD MEDAL

for the American Pianos, in all the three styles exhibited, viz.: Grand, Square and Upright. This award being distinctly classified by the Imperial Commis sion as

FIRST IN THE ORDER OF MERIT, places the Pianos of Chickering & Sons at the head

of the list, and above all other Pianos exhibited. A General Reduction in Price, and a strict adhesion

#### ONE-PRICE SYSTEM.

adopted by them April, 1869. Uniform and Fair Prices

to all purchasers.

In addition to their established styles of Pianos, Chickering & Sons offer, for the use of Schools, Teachers and others, wishing a good, reliable Piano at an exceedingly moderate price.

The SCHOOL PIANO, a thoroughly complete instrument of seven octaves, precisely the same in size, scale, interior mechanism and workmanship as their highest-priced Toctave Pianos, the only difference being that the School Piano is made in perfectly plain case. It is in every respect a thoroughly First-Class Chickering Piano, and is offered at a price which cannot fail to give satisfaction

Chickering & Sons also desire to call especial attention to their new

# Patent Upright Pianos,

which, for power and quality of tone, delicacy of touch, perfection of mechanism and durability and general excellence of workmanship, with beauty of design and finish, cannot be excelled by any other Pianos of this style now offered.

## Every Piano is fully Warranted.

WAREROOMS:

No. 11 E. 14th Street, Between Union Square and Fifth avenue

# MRS. M. BRANTON'S

FASHIONABLE

# Hair-Dressing Rooms,

No. 129 WEST 27TH STREET,

Between 6th and 7th Avenues, NEW YORK Mrs. M. Branton takes the pleasure in announcing to her lady patrons and the public generally, that she has opened the above Rooms, where HAIR-DRESS-ING in all its branches will be carefully and promptly attended to, by her own personal supervision, and endeavor to receive the approbation of her lady patrons.

The very latest and most fashionable style of

The very latest and most fashionable style of HAIR-DRESSING will be strictly followed. Old Hair made over in the latest style.

PRICE LIST:

Hair-Dressing at Residence, per week. \$2 50 one time 1 00 " " Mrs. Branton's 50

### The Friends of Peace

are invited to attend the Fifth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union, Cooper Institute, New York (Room, No. 24), on Wednesday, May 10, 1871, at 10 M., and 3 and 8 P. M.

In addition to the officers and members of the Union, and of kindred associations, the following speakers have been invited, and are expected to ad dress the Convention: Julia War Howe, Elihu Burritt, Lucretia Mott, Hen. John B. Storm, Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, Aaron M. Powell, Hon. George W. Julian, Mrs. Charlotte D. Wilbur, George Drury

Admittance free. Annual dues and contributions may be sent to the Treasurer

ROBERT F. WALLCUT 103 Springfield Street, Boston.

#### READ THIS!

THE LOWEST PRICE LIST EVER PUBLISHED

### WATCHES.

l	In Solid Gold and Coin Silver only.	
	BENEDICTS' TIME WATCH-PRICES	S.
	Silver Watch, Ovington Benedict. \$30 Gold (18 kt.) 90	00
į	Silver Watch, Samuel W. Benedict. 45 Gold (18 kt.)	nn
	AMERICAN WALTHAM WATCHES-PRICES	
	Coin Silver Hunting Watch, Wm. Ellery. \$19 Gold Hunting Watches, Gents' Sizes. 79	00
	Gold Hunting Watches, Gents' Sizes	00

### Sent to all parts of the country by Express, with privilege to examine before paying. Send for a Price List before purchasing elsewhere. BENEDICT BROTHERS,

Jewelers and Keepers of the City Time, 691 BROADWAY, near Fourth Street, NEW YORK.

#### PROPOSALS.

PEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS, NO. 287

Broadway.—To contractors—Proposals enclosed in a sealed envelope, with the title of the work and the name of the bider indorsed thereon (also the number of the work as in the advertisement), will be received at this call. ceived at this office until Monday, May 29, 1871, at 11 o'clock A. M., for the following works:

No. 1. For paving Thirty-first street, from Second avenue to East River, with Belgian pavement.

No. 2. For paving Fortieth street, from Madison to Third avenue, with Belgian pavement.

No. 3. For paving Hubert street, from Hudson to West street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 4. For paving Franklin street, from West Broadway to West street, with Belgian pavement. No. 5. For paving Watts street, from Canal to West street, with Belgian pavement.

No. 6. For sewer in Seventy-second street, between

Avenue A and First avenue. No. 7. For sewer in Water street, between Gouver-

neur and Jackson streets No. 8. For sewers in Hudson street, between Bank and West Twelfth street, and between Horatio and

Gansevoort streets

No. 9. For sewer in Fifth avenue, between Thirtysecond and Thirty-third streets.

No. 10. For regulating, grading, curb. gutter and flagging Sixty-fifth street, from Ninth to Tenth ave-

No 11. For regulating, grading, curb, gutter and flagging Forty-seventh street, from First avenue to

East River. No. 12. For flarging Fifty first street, from Broad-

way to Eighth avenue.

No. 13. For flagging Seventieth street, from Third

to Fourth avenue.

No. 14. For flagging Seventy-seventh street, from

Third to Fifth avenue No. 15. For furnishing this Department with 40 granite and 100 bluestone basin-heads and their ap-

purtenances. For furnishing this Department with 600 cast-iron

manhole frames and covers.

Blank forms of proposals, the specifications and agreements, the proper envelopes in which to inclose the bids, and any further information desired, can be had on application to the Contract Clerk at this office.
WILLIAM M. TWEED,

Commissioner of Public Works. NEW YORK. May 17, 1871.

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.

OR

No. 63 Clarendon Street,

BOSTON

MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,

824 Broadway, New York.

### MRS. MARTIN'S

#### Kinder-Garten School.

696 BROADWAY,

ALBANY, N. Y.

Hamilton Harris, Esq. Isaac W. Vosburgh,

> Capt. Quackenbush, U. S. A. Hon. W. B. La Beau.

C. T. Shepard,

S. A. Lush.

REFERENCES.

Thomas W. Olcott, Esq., J. H. Armsby, M. D.,

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G. H. Thacher, Mayor, Rev. I. N. Wyckoff, D. D. Rev. W. B. Sprague, D. D.

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Rev. E. L. Maggoon, D.D., Dio Lewis, Boston, Mass.,

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# BANKING HOUSE

### HENRY CLEWS & Co.,

No. 32 Wall Street.

Interest allowed on all daily balances of Currency

Persons depositing with us can check at sight in the same manner as with National Banks.

Certificates of Deposit issued, payable on demand or at fixed date, bearing interest at current rate, an available in all parts of the United States.

Advances made to our dealers at all times, on approved collaterals, at market rates of interest.

We buy, sell and exchange all issues of Government Bonds at current market prices; also Coin and Coupons, and execute orders for the purchase and sale of gold, and all first class securities, on com-

Gold Banking Accounts may be opened with us upon the same conditions as Currency Accounts.

Railroad, State, City and other Corporate Loan

Collections made everywhere in the United States. ( anada and Europe.

Dividends and Coupons collected.

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OSBORN & CAMMACK,

# BANKERS.

No. 34 BROAD STREET.

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

SAM'L BARTON.

#### BARTON & ALLEN, BANKERS AND BROKERS,

No. 40 BRUAD STREET. Socks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.

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FOR SALE BY S. W. HOPKINS & CO., 71 BROADWAY.

### MISS SIBIE O'HARA, Ladies' Hair Dresser

CHILDREN'S HAIR CUTTER,

(Late with J. Hanney, of Baltimore,) No. 1302 F STREET, 2d door from Thirteenth, Washington, D. C.

Braids, Curls and Fashionable Hair Work for Ladies one two hand.

# MISS INGRAHAM'S FAR-FAMED SPIRIT BADGES

CAN BE OBTAINED AT

767 Sixth Avenue,

And sent by Post throughout the country.

the boasted remedies of the old-school practitioners All letters of application must contain \$1.

Addressed MISS A. S. INGRAHAM,

767 Sixth avenue, N. Y.

# G. W. WARD & CO.

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# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S

WEEKLY

FOR THE PACIFIC COAST.

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WOODHULL, CLAFLIN & CO.,

### Bankers and Brokers.

No. 44 BROAD STREET, New York.

THE

## LOANERS' BANK

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER,)

"Continental Life" Building, 22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

 CAP\_PAL
 \$500,000

 Subject to increase to
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WILLIAM M. TWEED,
A. F. WILMARTH,
EDGAR W. CROWELL,
DORR RUSSELL.
SHEPHERD F. KNAPP,
ARCHIBALD M. BLISS,

This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC-TIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.

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will receive special attention.
FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST paid on CURRENT BALANCES, and liberal facilities offered to our CUSTOMERS.

DORR RUSSELL, President. A. F. WILLMARTH, Vice-President.

# "MEN AND WOMEN."

"REALITIES AND POSSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN WOMANHOOD."

#### Housekeeping & Homekeeping

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

Mrs. Starrett will make engagements with City Lyceums, as follows: One Lecture, -

SPECIAL TERMS TO SMALLER PLACES.

# BANKING HOUSE

KOUNTZE BROTHERS

NEW YORK,

14 WALL STREET.

Four per cent, interest allowed on all deposits. Collections made everywhere.

Orders for Gold, Government and other securities

# 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 all its branches TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT. CHEAPER than heretofore, in consequence of the difference in his rent.

CHATELAINE 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 harmless 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.

IN DENOMINATIONS OF

\$100, \$500 and \$1,000

These favorite SEVEN PER CENT. BONDS are secured by a First Mortgage on the great Midland Railroad of New York, and their issue is strictly lim ited to \$20,000 per mile of finished road, costing about \$40,000 per mile. Entire length of road, 345 miles, of which 220 have been completed, and much progress made in grading the remainder.

RESOURCES OF THE COMPANY.

Full paid stock subscriptions, about.....\$6,500,000 

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

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

NEW YORK, Dec. 2, 1870. Messrs. George Opdyke & Co., New York:

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

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

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

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

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

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

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

For sale, or exchanged for Government and other current securities, by

GEORGE OPDYKE & CO., 25 Nassau Street.

MAXWELL & CO.,

#### Bankers and Brokers,

No. 11 BROAD STREET,

NEW YORK.

#### SCHOLARSHIP.

Value \$150. Will Sell It For \$100.

It entitles the holder to attend as many regular lectures as he pleases until he is graduated.

The institution is known as "The Eclectic Medical College of New York," the only one of the kind in the city, and is located at 223 East Twenty-sixth street. All particulars ascertained from Professor COMINS, 174 East Twenty-sixth Street, a few doors from Third avenue.

#### 8 Per Cent. Interest

# First Mortgage Bonds!

ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY RAILROAD COMPANY.

Principal and Interest Payable in Gold.

105 MILES COMPLETED and in operation, the earnings on which are in excess of interest on the total issue. Grading finished, and ONLY 6 MILES OF TRACK ARE TO BE LAID TO COMPLETE THE ROAD.

Mortgage at the rate of \$13,500 per mile.

Price 971/2 and accrued interest.

We unhesitatingly recommend them, and will furnish maps and pamphlets upon application.

> W. P. CONVERSE & CO., 54 PINE STREET.

> > TANNER & CO., 11 WALL STREET

# JOHN J. CISCO & SON. BANKERS.

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 Collections made on all parts of the United States

HARVEY FISK.

and Canadas.

A. S. HATCH.

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#### FISK & HATCH.

BANKERS.

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Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bankers, Corporations and others, subject to check 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 Certificates of Deposit available in all parts of the

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,

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

miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis-

FISK & HATCH.

### A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas. No extra charge when others are inserted. SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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

# JAMES M'CREERY & CO.,

BROADWAY AND ELEVENTH STREET,

On MONDAY,
WILL OPEN A SPLENDID ASSORTMENT OF
RICH LACE GOODS,

Comprising
REAL CHANTILLY SHAWLS, from \$87 to \$400.
LLAMA LACE SHAWLS, in beautiful designs, from \$15 to \$75. LLAMA LACE SACQUES, the handsomest imported

this season.

REAL CHANTILLY SACAUES, from \$100 to \$200.

The largest assortment of Real THREAD AND GUIPURE LACES ever offered.

REAL POINT HANDKERCHIEFS, \$2 to \$75.

REAL POINT APPLIQUE HANDKERCHIEFS, \$3

ALL THE NEW STYLES IN POINT, POINT AP-PLIQUE AND DUCHESSE COLLARS, CAPES, BARBS, COIFFURES, etc.

REAT VALENCIENNES SETS, COLLARS, SLEEVES, HANDKERCHIEFS, in the latest styles, at very low prices.

We will also open a magnificent assortment of INDIA CAMELS' HAIR SHAWLS, in beautiful designs and colorings, at extremely low prices.

# JAMES M'CREERY & CO.

BROADWAY AND ELEVENTH STREET, On MONDAY.

WILL MAKE A GRAND EXPOSITION OF NEW SPRING AND SUMMER SILKS, JUST RECEIVED

AT VERY ATTRACTIVE PRICES.

MEDIUM COLORED STRIPED SILKS, at 87½c., \$1, \$1.12% and \$1.25 per yard. BLACK AND WHITE STRIPED SILKS, at \$1.50 and \$1.75 per yard. GRISAILLE STRIPED SILKS, \$1.50 and \$1.75 per yard. GRISAILLE STRIPED SILKS, extra qurlity, at \$2

LIGHT COLORED STRIPES, in all the New Shades at \$1.50, \$1.75 and \$2 per yard.

COLORED CHECK SILKS, at \$1, \$1.25 and \$1.50 per yard.

yard. STRIPED GAUZE DE CHAMBREY, in desirable shades and very fine quality, at \$1.37½ per yard.

A Full Assortment of PLAIN COLORED SILKS,

In choice colors, at popular prices
Great bargains in BLACK SILKS, in all the celebrated
mak o s.

AMERICAN SILKS of approved makes.

Also, an invoice of INDIA CAMEL'S HAIR SHAWLS, Of exquisite designs and colorings, in plain and filled centres, at less than cost of importation.

SPRING AND SUMMER SHAWLS of every description, imported expressly for our retail trade, at the lowest possible prices.

# James M'Creery & Co.,

BROADWAY AND ELEVENTH STREET, WILL OFFER ON MONDAY,

WILL OFFER ON MONDAY,

EXTRAORDINARY BARGAINS
in new
SPRING AND SUMMER DRESS GOODS.

AN IMMENSE ASSORTMENT OF LISLE THREAD,
NORWICH BYADERE STRIPED and CHECK
ED WASHING POPLINS, at 25 cents per yard.
ENGLISH REVERSIBLE DIAGONAL SERGES.
A NEW FABRIC FOR SUITS, IN TWO
SHADES, FOR TRIMMINGS, at 50 cents per
yard.

SHADES, FOR TRIMMINGS, at ou cents per yard.

FRENCH MOHAIRS, IN ALL THE NEW SHADES, VERY DESIRABLE FOR TRAVELING WEAR.

AN ELEGANT STOCK OF STRIPED AND FIGURED GRENADINES, from 37% cents per yard.

A FULL LINE OF ENGLISH BAREGES, at 20 and 25 cents per yard.

BLACK IRON GRENADINES, IN ALL WIDTHS
AND QUALITIES.
SILK WARP MOHARS, SILK SERGES, PONGEES, SATIN DE CHENE, IN ALL THE NEW
SHADES.

JAPANESE SILKS,

In Black and Gray Stripes
A FRESH SUPPLY OF 4-4 PRINTED PERCALES,
at 12½ cents per yard.

FRENCH BATTIEST CLOTH, FOR ROBES. A NOVELTY.

DELAINES AND GINGHAMS IN GREAT VARIETY, at 12½ cents per yard.

ALSO, A BEAUTIFUL ASSORTMENT OF INDIA SHAWLS AND SCARFS, AT PRICES LOWER THAN EVER BEFORE OFFERED.

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A NEW WEEKLY JOURNAL EDITED BY

THEODORE TILTON,

Devoted to the Free Discussion of all Living Questions in Church, State, Society, Liter ture, Art and Moral Reform.

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Price Three Dollars a Year, Cash in Advance.

MR. TILTON, having retired from THE INDEPENDENT and The Brooklyn Daily Union, will hereafter devote his whole Editorial labors to The Golden

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#### ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN .- The Golden Age contains an elaborate four-column notice of Page's "Head of Christ," of which it justly says that it has excited more comment than any other picture in the exhibition. The article is presumably from the pen of Theodore Tilton, and as Mr. Tilton is the fortu-nate owner of this picture, it is reasonable to infer that Mr. Tilton thinks very highly of the work. The world will scarcely, however, believe with him that he possesses the one perfect picture. He justifies Page's conception and treatment at every point. Christ being not only man, but God, we see in this head the renewal of that perpetual youth which is emblematic of Divinity—the Grecian ideal being the standard of Divinity. That the Greek was the most perfect of mortal types in art, that Greek perfection was perpetuated by the artists of that classic age, and imitated by the artists of the Renaissance, is not to be denied. But that Christ the man was a Jewprobably a red Jew like David—ruddy and fair, that probably a red Jew like David—ruddy and fair, that the Jewish type was distinguished for, and that it is capable of expressing virile beauty, is equally not to be denied. It was not necessary for Mr. Page, as an artist, to have recourse to the Hellenic type. That is precisely the objection to modern art. Its highest efforts are imitative tied down, by rules, increased preconcentions. tative, tied down by rules, ines and preconceptions. Because antiques are straight-nosed and low-browed. is there no beauty save in straight noses and low brows. Was the artist at liberty to convert a historical personage, notoriously a Jew, without a taint of foreign admixture in his blood, into a Greek. What was Christ on earth? A man of the people, the son of a carpenter; by the legend of the early church assisting his father in his trade and handicraft; by the gospel account, a thinker, an observer, an enthusiast, an idealist, a man deeply conscious of the things seen and unseen. All this is consistent with homeliness of person, as in Socrates, or with beauty of person as in Raphael or Da Vinci. But there are no facts on which to rely. In our ideal of unknown excellence we always associate personal beauty with qualities of soul. But it is not necessary to violate probability by a recourse to impossible types. This is on the assumption that Mr. Page has given us a picture that gives the world as surance of a perfect man-nay, more, of the Man Di-vine. Now, as we look at the picture, it seems to us that Mr. Page has come nearer the real than ideal-Christ, the son of the Carpenter, is before us. Strong, manly, capable of "doing" much—perhaps with those full lips, eloquent; certainly sensuous—those blue eyes, which wear not the "introspective" cast that Mr. T Iton ascribes to them, but the faamilir expression of observing an object far behind the audience, lodking into a far vista of life or the dreamland, elevate the face from the grosser ideas with which the very strong features are replete. Another critic has found in this royal head an expression of the "Evolution" theory—close at hand a manly face, afar off anoval of madonna delicacy. This is pure bosh. Mr. Page probably intended to give us the face of a man-young, vigorous, with capabilities of action—something, in short, different from the delicate, refined, sensitive, effeminate faces that church art has created and perpetuated. In this Page has succeeded. Whether the Greek be better than the Jew for that purpose may be questioned. The artist, perhaps, intended to give us a generic type of the universal man which included both Jew and Gentile; and, indeed, we incline to think that the features before us have quite as much of the Saxon as of the Greek—the Christ expression being derivable from the eyes and from the hair, to the arrangement of which we are already familiarized. But surely Mr. Tilton exceeds the limit when he says that the hair of Page's Venus is the most perfect ever put on

### SUGGESTIONS OF OPERA BOUFFE.

The poets are never conventional. They have ever dramed of that golden age of bliss and innocence, "where love is liberty, and nature law." Entire freedom of life and conversation, restrained only by politeness. "The virtue of the soul, or the sense of what is due to the freedom of others, is the aspiration of all developed humanity."

The most erthodox of divines, if he be a classical scholar, feels no wrong in that attribute of comedy which makes the married man the butt and the lover the favorie, the protest of love against selfish possession, though he may consider it necessary to uphold marriage, as he does the church, as a sort of Providential break or hold back upon liberty in its tendency toward license.

The men of genius of all ages were all free-thinkers and free-lovers.

The marriage institution, so sacred to the common place soul, is as little regarded in art as it is in the drama of human life, which art imagines.

This is prettily illustrated in Offenbach's charming opens of 'La Belle Helenc,' so admirably put upon the stage lately at Fisk's Opera House.

Aimee plays the lively lady, who prefers the Dardan shepherd to the uxorious king with charming vivacity. Indeed, this travestic of Grecian life is graphically put before the audience. The music is redolent with graceful rollick and heart-felt abandonment; full of that combination of inspirating melody and tempering harmony, so characteristic of the composer. The orehestradeserve commendation for the skill with which they render the delicate accompaniments and bold instrumentation of Offenbach. The concerted pieces are admirably done.

The seenery, in the last act, in the Isle of Cyprus, is worthy of comment; and the graceful nymphs of the ballet enliven it with one of those magic dances, into which they throw all the resources of their wonderful art, illustrative of the almost inconceivable capabilities of the human anatomy under culture.

Those who delight in diversified mirth, provoking and picturesque entertainments, should be grateful to Mr

to Mr. Fisk for his skill, taste, and figerative, in supplying this want. The sparkling and fascinating Persini portrays, bewitchingly, the character of the boy *Oresles*. These French opera bouffes instruct us towards the attainment of greater social freedom.

"When from the lips of truth, one mighty breath shall, like a whirlwind, scatter in its breeze. The whole dark rile of human mockeries, Then shall the reign of mind commence on earth And starting fresh as from a second birth, Man, in the sunshine of the world's new spring, Shall walk transparent, like some holy thing."

In former times of Tostee, these operas were frequented principally by the French. They now attract apparently more thoroughly American andiences, infusing some liberality of artistic perception, instead of catering merely to minds exhausted with amusement, or to mere dissipation of

ed with amusement, or communications who desire to study the old and oft repeated comedy of love, go and see the lover-like type in Paris; who, disguised in the habit of a high priest of Venns, carries off his prize in the judgment of beauty; the crowd, sympathizing, as istrue to nature, more with the lover than the husband.

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

DEAR WEEKLY.

Allow me to call your attention and that of all lovers of art to an oil-painting now on exhibition at the gallery of the Union League Club House. Among the Sierras, it is entitled, representing a sun-set on those mountains so celebrated for their beauty.

The Western horizon glows with fire from the departing sun, gilding and fringing the crimson and purple clouds, and bathing the whole scene in a rich warm coloring. Lights again the almost tropical vallies; discovers the glisten of the ribbon of water winding at the base of a distant mountain, and touches the edges of the rocky cliff, with something of the glory of the day, dying in the sky. The mountain-stream dashes along at the base of the cliff, and another still nearer in the foreground, leaps to meet it in dashing wave and cascade.

tain-stream dashes along at the base of the cliff, and another still nearer in the foreground, leaps to meet it in dashing wave and cascade.

A fallen tree placed across it serves to show that even in this wild canon the foot of man has trod. The artist, Miss Hattle N. Clark, now twenty-four years of age, is a native of New Haven, Conn., but spent her childhood in Louisville, Ky. Her artistic dreams and aspirations possessed her soul at an early period, but the way was not opened for her study in that direction until years after. Promised a course of art-study and development the ensuing fall, and disappointed in its realization, the next season named as a period at which the attainment of her hopes and desires, might be certain. Again the inevitable something intervened, and after years, literally full of promises, she was at last enabled to start for New York, where for three winters, she devoted herself to unremitting study and work. Two years at the schools of design. Cooper Union, and, the third under the instruction of Prof. F. Rendel an eminent artist of the French school of coloring-Having been called home to her parents, now residing in Sacramento. Cal., she was obliged to abandon her loved pursuit in this city. With the anticipation of returning East to complete her study the following fall, she took her departure via Union Pacific R. R. the 14th of March, 1870. The journey was replete with interest, and almost a continual ovation. Such diversity of scene as glided by, like a mighty moving panorama, in which the boundless prairies, the settlements here and there appearing, having, seemingly, like Jonahs gound, spring up in one night, busy with life and enterprise. The red buttes, the mad torrents, palisades, at an altitude of 8,000 feet, and towering up at an almost appalling height. Devil's Gate and Devil's Slide, of the Rocky Mountains, the miles of desert, alkali and sage-brush; the picturesque groups of noble red men, as spoken of by the Prophet Fennimore Cooper, arrayed in much-soiled and worn bl

similar in texture to that of a horse's mane, though not nearly so fine; papposes, with fist in mouth staring with bright, animated eyes, evidently content in their bright mummy-like wrappings.

The beautiful great Salt Lake, with the Wahratch mountains standing guard with dazzling snows, and shadows blue as indigo, soft and velvety, all mingled and dissolved again to give place to succeeding views. The snow-sheds, forty-one miles long, with sleigh breaks in ervening near, and at the summit of the Siena Nevadas, are reached, and vot dan necessary, though abominable evil. The smoke from the locomotive, so unavoidably confined, finds its way into the train, until every coach is nauseatingly full. Emerging from these, and commencing the descent, one of the two lo omotives is withdrawn, and snow-covered trees, and drifts of twentv and thirty feet deep left behind, and a milder climate attained in three quarters of an hour. A little verdure now appears, and the varied scenes become more grand and beautiful. A glance upward, and the summit appears at a distance, now clothed in shining white. It recedes, and, finally, disappears. Purple mountains, slopes of green velvet, limpid streams, wild gorges, down whose precipitous sides goats are springing; trussel-bridges, of a length and height almost unpreceduted in the way of bridges, and calculated to give one a degree of dizziness, in contemplating, when the iron horse stops to rest mid-way. In doubling Cape Horn, the scenery is unsurpassed in grandeur. Far beneath you in the valley, behold a log-house, which, from its distance, seems a boy affair! Environing the vale are mountigins, a delicate green where the light falls, and the frich purplish shadows varying and toning the thirs. In the distance glides the American river, a sliver thread. The climate waxes wirmer, and wraps are burdensome. Houses appear, embowered in groves; peach-trees in the yards, drifted with pink blossoms. Golden popies, brilliant scalet, purple and blue flowers nod to the gentle breeze among the

s a sketch from hatcher, of coloring.

Owing to the extraordinarily depressed state of monetary affairs all through the Pacific coast last year, it was found impossible for her to come East to perfect herself in her pursuit, as anticipated. It was not the first time, however, she had aimed at the hill difficulty, and her desire and ambition prompted her to various efforts, all of which failed in success, exhausted inventive faculty, and discouraged her in all attempts. She has finally brought her picture to New York, in the hope of realizing sufficient from the proceeds of its sale, to enable her to continue her study and work where there are so great facilities and advantages for, and so much sympathy with, this land advantages for, and so much sympathy with, this and advantages for, and so much sympathy interesting, beautiful and profitable pursuit

Mrs. H. B. Stowe is amusing the readers of the Christian Union with a story, chiefly composed of watered ideas, in which she arrays the Bible against the modern view of woman's rights, and makes a feeble effort to be sarcastic at the expense of her sisters, who are honestly seeking what they deem their rights.

#### WOMAN ITEMS.

At the Manchester (England) Police Court two men were brought up in custody, charged with being drunk and disorderly. When arrested, both prisoners were respectively attired in male costume. While they were at the police-station, the inspector was struck with the appearance of the smaller of the two, and after looking close at the prisoner, said: "Why, you are a woman." She admitted the fact, and told a remarkable story of her adventures. Sixteen years ago she and her husband were schoolmaster an echoolmistress at a national school at Gloucester. Her husband lost his situation through drinking, and subsequently they both learned the art of house painting. Her husband made her cut off her hair and sell it, dress herself as a man, and go about the country with him. She had worked with men on high buildings in London without fear of detection. She had been separated from her husband for some years, and the other prisoner was her nephew, and she always passed as his uncle. The usual penalty for drunkenness was inflicted, and the woman went off in her male attire.

[Here, now, is a case in which a woman of energetic

[Here, now, is a case in which a woman of energetic character proves her ability to do man's work. It may or may not be desirable that women should pursue muscular employments. But the special fitness lodged in the attire. Who would have given this woman work as a house-painter had she been in hoopskirts and female fixings ?]

A Washington correspondent says that, though the marriage of his daughter Jessie to Fremont was much against the wishes of Thomas H. Beaton, he allowed the wedding to take place at his own house, and afterward carried the notice to the office of the Globe. The elder Blair, reading over the notice, remarked: "This is not the usual form, Colonel. It reads that Miss Benton marries Mr. Fremont. Permit me to transpose it." "No, sir," replied Benton, very emphatically. "Let it stand. John Charles Fremont did not marry Jessie Benton; Jessie Benton married John Charles Fremont, sir."

Miss Ellen Hammond, daughter of Dr. Justus Hammond, of Danielsonville, was one of the graduates of Women's Medičal College, of New York, at the recent commencement, and will have charge of her father's practice during his absence to the Legislature, to which he has been recently elected.

The witty journals make a raid on the young ladies who miss the chance of waltzing with the Czarowitch that didn't come. For one woman that cries "what a pity," there are a hundred politicians and journalists who mourn their lost chances of making politicians.

Adaline Patti, upon one of herrecent benefit nights at St. Petersburg, was called before the curtain twenty-five times; three times she was sent for to come to the Imperial box, and was presented with diamonds and other jewels, valued at 50,000 francs.

Boston girls, as a rule, are the most intellectual, New York girls the most stylish, Brooklyn girls the most "fiirlatious," Philadeiphia girls the most ladytike, Baltimore girls the prettiest, and Chicago girls the most extravagant. So says an exchange.

Fontenelle being asked one day by a lord in waiting at Versailles, what difference there was between a clock and woman, instantly replied: "A clock serves to point out the hours, and a woman to make us forget them."

Mrs. Henry Wood, the English novelist, is reported to have not realized not less than £20,000 by the sale of her set sational stories, which at first she could not induce any publisher to look at.

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THEME.

Astræa, the Genius of Liberty and Justice, seeks a dwelling place upon earth. Persecuted and driven from land to land, she follows the evening star and finds at last a beautiful kingdom in the Western world; this becomes her home and the birth place of her beloved daughter Hesperia.

Erotion, the Genius of Love and Fidelity, the husband of Astræ and father to Hesperia, after many wanderings in search, at last joins the objects of his love and care. Reunited, they preside over this new land and seek to preserve it tor their child's inheritance. They are recognized and cherished by a small band of devoted tollowers, who summon them to their counsels in the city of Fraternia.

At first liberty and love prevail, but Austræ discovers the presence of a serpent who breathes on her a subtle poison, and she (with Erotion) is slain.

Llamia, the serpent of policy, then controls and takes in charge the beautiful child Hesperia, seeking to unite her in marriage to her foul son Slavery—who must be nameless evermore; but Hesperia is warned by the Genius of Nature, Callos, who, in the guise of a poet and magician, holds sway even over Llamia. When Hesperia beholds him she recognizes her soul's counterpart, and is prepared, by his words and love to resist all the wil machinations of Llamia, and her son.

Llamia, however, holds temporary power over the form of Hesperia, and succeeds in throwing a spell around the maiden which she vainly imagines will prove fatal; the love of her parents and Callos rouses her spirit, and with them she withdraws into the world of souls, where, for a time, she beholds the scenes enacted under the influence of Llamia. She witnesses in Athenia and Crescentia deeds of horror and the tortures inflicted upon the oppressed. Calios sings to her in plaintiff soigs of these down-trodden ones, lures her by the voice of nature, and in iterlacethy kingdom.

Long years does Llamia hold sway, and at last wakens the voice of war; when Astræa, not dead, but only withdrawn for a space, turns the sword of L

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NEW YORK, May 13, 1871.

EDITORS WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

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The lamentable failure of the party now in power, after six years of ordinary and extraordinary legislation, to restore our Southern States to a condition of friendliness, peace and prosperity, and the consequent continued burdening of our Northern States with the great bulk of an oppressive national debt, is but one of many weighty reasons why our people are beginning to look forward, hopefully and with confidence, to the formation of a new and better political organization.

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The fullest and best expression that we have yet seen of this new need of the people is, as we think, embodied in Mr. Helper's latest work, just is-ued by us, entitled "Noon-day Exigencies in America."

Herewith we send you a copy of the book, trusting that you will give it a careful perusal, especially the chapter headed "The Necessity for the Formation, and Suggestions for Some of the Basis, of a New Political Party."

We doubt not that, if the work commends itself to your good judgment, you will further the object of its inception and publication. You will not fail to observe, by reference to the dedication and other portions of the work that the author has given special attention to the rights of labor and to the general incrests of the workingmen and working women of the country.

More especially would we request your perusal of

country.

More especially would we request your perusal of the matter on and between pages 23 and 65 believing as we do that on those pages you will find thoughts and facts of prime importance to the noblest womanhood of the future.

Yours, very respectfully,

BIBLE BROTHERS.