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

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

PAGE.	PAGE.
Great Speech of Geo. W. Julian. 1	The New Declaration of Independence; Barton vs. Hatch; Immigration. 8
Children, their Rights, Privileges and Relations to Society. 4	To the Friends of Political Equality; The Alabama Claims. 9
Minor Editorials: The New Protectionists; Free Trade vs. Protection. 5	Frank Clay, or Human Nature in a Nutshell (Poetry). 10
Balaam's Ass (Poetry); The Root of the Matter, or the Bible in the Role of the old Mythologies; Realities. 6	Jim Bludso, or the Prairie Belle (Poetry); The Address of the Labor Party to the Governor of Missouri; Correspondence. 11
From the Potomac to the Pacific; Moral and Religious (Poetry); Governor Claflin's Address. 7	Sonnet; Theatrical; Miscellaneous. 12

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THE Cosmo - Political Party.

NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.,
In 1872.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

SUBJECT TO

RATIFICATION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

GREAT SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 21, 1871.

EFFECTS OF THE GRAND SYSTEM OF LAND GRABBING.

THE ENEMY OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

AN ESTOPPEL TO THESE SCHEMES.

THE OVERSHADOWING QUESTION.

Mr. JULIAN—Mr. Speaker, nothing is more remarkable than the growing tendency of legislation in this country to lend itself to the service of capital, of great corporations, of monopolies of every sort, while too often turning an unfriendly eye upon the people, and especially upon the laboring poor. The cause of this may fairly be traced to the evil genius of the times, which makes the greed for sudden wealth a sort of devouring passion, and thus naturally clutches the machinery of Government in the accomplishment of its purposes. This bad spirit, which has been steadily marching toward its alarming ascendancy since the outbreak of the late civil war, writes itself down upon every phase of society and life. It breeds political corruption in the most gigantic and frightful forms. It whets the appetite for public plunder, and through the aggregation of capital in the hands of the cunning and the unscrupulous it menaces the equal rights of the people and the well-being of society. So malign a spirit must be resolutely confronted. It is no mere question of party politics, for it threatens the life of all parties, and the perpetuity of the Government itself. It not only invokes the saving offices of the preacher and the moralist but it summons to new duties and increased vigilance every man who really concerns himself for the welfare of his country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the evil to which I refer finds some explanation in the false teaching of political economy. According to many of the leading writers on this science, its fundamental idea is the creation and increase of productive

wealth. If farming on a great scale, carried on with the skill and appliances which concentrated capital can command and methodize, will yield greater results than the tillage of the soil in small homesteads and by ruder methods, then the system of large farming must be preferred, though it deprives multitudes of the poor of all opportunity to acquire homes and independence, and entails the appalling evils of landlordism and the whole brood of mischiefs with which the monopoly of the soil has scourged the people in every age of the world. So, if manufacturing on a grand scale, with the perfected machinery and cheap labor which capital can wield, will turn out a larger product and at lower rates than numerous small industries, then such manufactures must be fostered, though the policy pauperizes and brutalizes thousands of human beings, who take rank as "operatives," and whose existence is thus made a curse rather than a blessing. Sir, I protest against such principles as both false and unjust. "The increase of wealth," says Sismondi, "is not the end in political economy, but its instrument in procuring the happiness of all. It has for its object man, not wealth. It regards chiefly the producer, and strives for the welfare of the whole people through a just distribution. It is not the object of nations to produce the greatest quantity of work at the cheapest rate."

In the light of these broad and humane principles I interpret the duty of the Government. Its mission, within the sphere of its just powers, is to protect labor, the source of all wealth, and to seek constantly the well-being of the millions who toil. Capital can take care of itself. Always sagacious, sleepless and aggressive, it holds all the advantages in its battle with labor. The balance of power falls so naturally into its hands that labor has no opportunity to make a just bargain. The labor market, it has been well observed, differs from every other. The seller of every other commodity has the option to sell or not; but the commodity the working-man brings is life. He must sell it or die. Labor, therefore, should not be regarded as merchandise, to be bought and sold, and governed entirely by the law of supply and demand, but as capital, and its human needs should always be considered. "The rugged face of society," says a celebrated writer, "checkered with the extremes of affluence and want, proves that some extraordinary violence has been committed upon it, and calls on justice for redress. The great mass of the poor in all countries have become an hereditary race, and it is next to impossible for them to get out of that state of themselves. It ought also to be observed that this mass increases in all countries that are called civilized." The proposition that the rich are becoming richer in our country and the poor becoming poorer has been vehemently denied; but I cannot doubt its truth for a moment. I want no statistics to settle it, since the unnatural domination of capital over labor, which, instead of being repressed by legislation, is systematically aided by it, clears the question of all doubt. Our vitiated currency largely increases the cost of the chief necessities of life, and is thus a heavy tax upon the poor. Our system of national banking is an organized monopoly in

the interest of capitalists, demanded by no public necessity, and rendering no substantial service in return for the burdens it imposes upon the people.

Our tariff laws for years past, while pretending to favor the laborer, have been framed in the interest of monopolists. The duty on coal, which is a necessity of life, admits of no defense. To tax coal is to tax the poor man's fire, "to tax the force of the steam-engine, to starve the laborer, on whose strength we depend for work." The duty on leather has increased its cost annually about ten million dollars, while the consumers of boots and shoes have had to pay an increase of some fifteen million dollars. The duty on lumber has largely increased its price, and is wholly paid by the consumer. The duties on wool, salt, and pig-iron, impose heavy burdens upon the poor, and, like the other duties named, can scarcely be defended, even granting the principle of protection to be sound. This legislative discrimination in favor of the richer and more favored ranks in society, and against the laboring and producing masses, ought to cease. Instead of being loaded down with burdens and exactions for the aggrandizement of a few, they should share the unstinted favor of the Government.

It is estimated by writers on public economy that four-fifths of the people of a nation are employed by agriculture. Probably this estimate is too large, but it will be safe to say that in our own country at least one-half of those engaged in industrial occupations are employed in agricultural pursuits; and they contribute to the gross value of national production three billions two hundred and eighty-two million dollars. The total number of those engaged in manufactures, including railway service and the fisheries, is seven hundred and thirty thousand, and they produce in value nine hundred and forty million and fifty thousand dollars. The estimated number of those engaged in mechanical pursuits is one million, yielding a product of one thousand million dollars. If we remember that the gross annual product of the country is only six billions eight hundred and twenty-five million dollars, and that, according to careful official estimates, only ten millions of our population are in receipt of income, or, in other words, contribute anything to the increase of our aggregate wealth, we shall see what a stupendous service is rendered to the country by the great industries I have mentioned.

These are the vital interests of the nation; and instead of being crippled and discouraged by the policy to which I have referred, they should be studiously fostered by just and equal laws. Under the influence of this policy multitudes, stimulated by the hope of immediate wealth, are abandoning productive pursuits, and seeking employments connected with some form of speculation or traffic. The population of our great cities and towns, instead of re-enforcing the "rural districts," is unduly increasing; and so is the number of buildings devoted to banking, brokerage, insurance and kindred projects. Not production, but traffic, is the order of the day. The enhanced cost of the instruments requisite for the prosecution of industrial pursuits, and the higher price of fuel, food and clothing, naturally hinder the accumulation of capital sufficient to enable the man of small means to establish himself as an independent producer. This necessarily subordinates labor more and more to capital, and concentrates the business of manufacturing and exchanging into large establishments, while working the destruction of thousands of smaller ones.

Of course the tendency of all this is to render the many dependent upon the few for the means of their livelihood rather than upon themselves, and "to divide society into two classes; capitalists who own everything, and hands who own nothing but depend entirely on the capital class." That the policy of the Government, to a fearful extent, evokes and aggravates these evils can scarcely be questioned; and that that policy results from the ugly fact that the laboring and producing classes are unrepresented in the Government, save by the non-producers and traffickers, is, I think, equally clear. It illustrates the evils of class legislation, and calls on the people to apply the remedy. "The unproductives," says Commissioner Wells, "being the chief makers of the laws and institutions for the protection of labor and industry, the increase of production and the exchange and transfer of property, they shape all their devices so cunningly, and work them so cleverly, that they, the non-producers, continue to grow rich faster than the producers. Whoever at this day watches the subject and course of legislation, and appreciates the spirit of the laws, cannot fail to perceive how more and more the idea of the transfer of the surplus produce of society, and the creation of facilities for it, available to the cunning and the quick as against the dull and the slow, has come to pervade the whole fabric of that which we call Government; and how large a number of the most progressive minds of the nation have been led to accept as a fundamental truth in political doctrine, that the best way to take care of the many is to commence by taking care of the few; that all which is necessary to secure the well-being of the workman is to provide a satisfactory rate of profit for his employer." Sir, I rejoice that facts like these are at last making their powerful appeal to the productive classes in every section of our country, and that the workingmen of all civilized lands are waking up to a sense of their bondage to capital. Were they to continue much longer to slumber in the presence of the great dangers which threaten about their future and threaten to swallow them up, I should despair of their emancipation. The organized struggle for their rights has fairly begun. Eight-hour agitation, trades unions, co-operative movements, labor-reform organizations, and the international association of the workmen on both sides of the Atlantic, in the maintenance of their rights, are so many unmistakable signs of a better dispensation; but all these agencies will fail of their purpose, or prove palliatives at best, if they do not necessitate and include such organized political action as shall compel the governing power to respect their will. That this action will make mistakes, and abuse its power when obtained, is very probable. That it will sometimes employ questionable methods, and suffer the mischiefs of bad leadership, may be taken for granted; but that in the end it will restore labor and capital to their just relative basis is as true as democracy itself. The labor question, indeed, is the natural successor and logical sequence of the slavery question. It is, in fact, the same question in another form, since the practical ownership of labor by capital necessarily involves the ownership of the laborer himself.

But the subservience of our legislation to individual and corporate wealth, and its practical unfriendliness to the producing classes, are most strikingly exhibited in the land policy of the government. In the endeavor to make this proposition clear I ask preliminary attention to the following considerations:

First, That it is the unquestionable duty of the Government

to make its lands as productive as possible. It has no right to hold back from settlement and tillage vast tracts of territory fitted for agriculture, which its own landless citizens desire to convert into improved home-seeds and make tributary to the public wealth. Such a policy is only less recreant than the wholesale destruction by law of productive wealth already drawn from the soil by the hand of industry.

Second, That in order to secure homes for the largest number, and at the same time reach the maximum of production, the Government should parcel out its lands in homesteads of moderate size, and stimulate industry and thrift by making the land-owner and the plow-holder the same person. "A small proprietor," says Adam Smith, "who knows every part of his little territory, views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who, upon that account, takes pleasure not only in cultivating but adorning it, is generally, of all improvers, the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most successful."

Third, That this policy supplies the strongest bond of Union between the citizen and the State, and is absolutely necessary in a commonwealth. Feudalism and popular liberty are totally irreconcilable. The strength of a republic depends upon the virtue and intelligence of each citizen, and his readiness to defend it in time of danger; and these safeguards are best secured by multiplying the number of those who own and till the soil, and whose stake in society thus makes sure their allegiance.

Keeping in remembrance these fundamental principles, which from the beginning should have guided and inspired the Government in the management of our vast public domain, let me rapidly survey its actual policy, and thus exhibit its fatal departure from these principles. The entire aggregate of lands sold by the Government since its formation is over one hundred and sixty million acres. Of this total amount I believe it would be safe to estimate that fully one-half, at the date of its sale, passed into the hands of non-resident owners for speculative purposes. Of course, to whatever extent the people's patrimony was thus locked up by monopolists, productive wealth was hindered, and settlers deprived of homes; and when, from time to time, the lands were sold, the enhanced price was a cruel wrong to the poor, in which the Government was an equal partner with the speculator, but without profit. More than thirty million acres yet remain in the hands of speculators, being enough to make one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred homesteads, of one hundred and sixty acres each. If these thirty millions had been sold to actual settlers, and dedicated to the raising of corn, wheat, and other products, they would have been yielding, at the low estimate of ten dollars per acre, an annual profit of three hundred million dollars, while furnishing homes for the multitudes who have been driven to hunt them in the more distant frontier, and at the cost of greater privations and dangers. This policy is thus seen to be as financially stupid as it is flagrantly unjust. In California two men own a frontage on the San Joaquin River of forty miles in extent, while two other speculators have bought Government lands amounting to five hundred thousand acres. I give these as specimen cases. To realize the mischief of these monopolies it should be remembered that the tracts thus appropriated are to be found chiefly in the valleys, and fringing the bays and rivers, and are the choice lands of the State. Very intelligent gentlemen in that State assure me that but for this evil, reinforced by railway monopoly, California to-day, instead of containing half a million, would boast a million of people. The blasting effects of such a policy are so startling that it written down in figures they would seem utterly incredible. A few capitalists in that State have also purchased vast bodies of choice timbered land in Washington Territory, and are realizing large fortunes by shipping its timber to San Francisco and elsewhere, while inflicting widespread and irreparable mischief upon the Territory.

Every gentleman from the States of the Northwest knows how those States have been scourged by this policy, while in the land States of the South, outside of the towns and cities, not one man in ten is a land-owner. It has wrought upon the country evils more fearful and enduring than those of war, pestilence or famine; and yet, through all the long years of its mad ascendancy, Congress, by a simple enactment like the bill now pending in this House, has had the power to end it forever. An act declaring that no more of the public domain shall be sold except as provided in the pre-emption and homestead laws was all that was needed to stay the ravages of this great national curse, and is all that is now wanted to avert its recurrence in new and still more frightful forms in the future. The workingmen and pioneer settlers of the country have repeatedly petitioned Congress to enact such a law; but their prayer has been denied in every instance, while their rights have been trampled down in the interest of monopolies whose wishes have been promptly coined into law. The homestead act fails to meet the case. The right of the settler to land free of cost is of far less consequence than the reservation of the public domain for settlers only, unobstructed in their right of selection. The homestead law is only a step in the right direction; for while it offers homes to the poor, it does this subject to the preferred right of the speculator to seize and appropriate the choice lands in large tracts, and thus drive the pioneer further into the wilderness and on less desirable lands.

Congress should correct this great evil at once. The President emphatically recommends it, and the Republican party should no longer hesitate in perfecting its record, and making good its boasted friendship for the landless poor. The political platforms of all parties during the past few years have taken the same ground; and in this respect have only reflected the earnest and almost unanimous wishes of the people.

Mr. Speaker, I pass to another class of facts, and still more alarming to every man who will give the subject his attention. Congress has granted lands in aid of railways and other works of internal improvement amounting to over two hundred million acres. That these grants have done good service in the settlement and development of the country I do not doubt. This is not the point I am now considering, and is one aspect only of the subject. The fact to be emphasized is, that lands just about equal in area to the original thirteen States of the Union have been surrendered to corporations, without any conditions or restrictions securing the rights of settlers. They may sell these lands for just such price as they please, or hold them back from sale altogether for a quarter of a century, or lease them for ninety-nine years. The public lands belong to the people; but Congress abdicates their sovereignty over a territory large enough for an empire, in the interest of great corporations, who thus install a most gigantic and overshadowing system of feudalism in our Republic, whose founders believed they had escaped the monarchical principles of the Old World.

The original Northern Pacific Railroad bill alone granted forty-seven million acres. The supplementary act of last session increased the grant eleven millions, making a total of fifty-eight million acres granted to one great corporation; and, as if to demonstrate the complete subservience of both branches of Congress to the wishes of this company, every proposition looking to the rights of pioneer settlers, or in any way restrictive of the powers of the corporation, was successively voted down by strong majorities. Even the right of other roads to connect with this line was impudently denied. And this nefarious policy seems now only fairly launched. The Senate at its last session passed, in all, twenty land-grant bills, calling for the enormous aggregate of over one hundred and sixteen million acres, according to careful estimates made by the Commissioner of the General Land Office. Two of these bills only have gone through the House, covering more than fifty-nine million acres. There are yet pending in the Senate some thirty-seven bills, calling for the further quantity of over one hundred and nineteen million acres; and some of these measures exhibit an audacity of recklessness so marvelous and a contempt for the rights of the people so surpassing, that I find it difficult to credit the legislative record. Among them is a bill to encourage the establishment of a line of steamships for the conveyance of our mails to European ports and ports of India and China, and for promoting immigration from Europe to the Southern States. It calls for more than nineteen million acres, for which land scrips is to be issued to the different States named in the bill in certain specified proportions; and fourteen million acres of the amount granted are to be gobbled up in the land States of the South from the unsold public lands of that section, which have been so wisely dedicated to homestead settlement only by the landless poor, white and colored.

A twin-brother of this project, and a miracle of legislative impudence, has been introduced in this body at the present session. The corporation which it creates is at once a chartered ocean carrier and a chartered land proprietor. The huge monopoly thus inaugurated, while destroying individual commercial enterprise under the false pretence of re-establishing American commerce, would seize indefinite millions of acres of selected public lands in different sections of the country, and hold them back from settlement in aid of its own greedy purposes. The entire list of land-grant bills pending in this House is not nearly so formidable as that of the Senate, nor have I ascertained how much land they would require; but it would probably be safe to estimate that the bills yet pending in both Houses, if enacted into laws, would absorb fully one hundred and fifty million acres. If we remember that our entire public domain, outside of Alaska, is only about one thousand million acres, it will not be difficult to see, in the figures I have given, the extent of the conspiracy to rob the poor of this and coming generations of their rightful inheritance in the public domain, and to crush and subjugate the producing and laboring masses through the power of organized capital. The hope of the country is in the popular branch of Congress; for the Senate, judged by its action at the last session, seems entirely beyond the reach of the people.

Sir, this whole policy should be abandoned absolutely; or, if continued under any circumstances, it should be confined to works of clearly national character and importance, connecting important distant points, and passing over a thinly-settled region of country; and the lands appropriated should not pass into the hands of any corporation, but be sold and conveyed directly to actual settlers, in limited quantities, and at such moderate price as to bring them within the reach of those who actually need them for homes. Nothing short of such restrictions can prevent the establishment of a landed aristocracy in our midst, worse even than that of the Russian and Hungarian nobles, or the old plantation lords of the South.

Mr. Speaker, the readiness of the Government to espouse the cause of monopolists and corporations is not less forcibly illustrated in the management of our Indian reservations during the past eight or nine years. These reservations, when the Indians desire to part with their title, are no longer conveyed directly to the United States, and thus made subject to the control of Congress, as other public lands, but are sold by treaty to railroad corporations, or to individual monopolists, in utter disregard of the rights of settlers under the pre-emption and homestead laws, and without any warrant whatever in the Constitution of the United States, which gives to Congress the sole power to dispose of and manage the public domain.

As I have shown on other occasions, millions of acres have thus fallen into the grasp of monopolists, which should have been the free offering of the Government to our homeless pioneers. The most remarkable of these transactions is the late treaty with the Cherokee Indians, by virtue of which a territory fifty miles long and twenty-five miles wide, containing eight hundred thousand acres, was sold to James F. Joy for the price of one dollar per acre. The right which these Indians had in these lands was that of occupancy only, and this they had abandoned and forfeited by the attempted conveyance of it to the Confederate States in 1861. The lands were thenceforward subject to pre-emption and settlement precisely as all other public lands; nor did the Cherokees manifest any disposition to occupy them or any hostility to their settlement by our citizens. They had no desire whatever to convey the lands to any party save the United States, and their sole aim was to recover the value of their reservation, which they had vainly sought to convey to the public enemy. At the date of this treaty more than one thousand families were on the land as actual settlers, and there are now thirty-five hundred, or about eighteen thousand settlers, occupying the counties of Bourbon, Crawford and Cherokee.

Two-thirds of the heads of these families are honorably-discharged soldiers, who have in good faith settled upon these lands under the pre-emption and homestead laws, as they had the right to do, made valuable improvements, and expended their spare means in securing for themselves comfortable homes. All these people, save those on the land at the date of this pretended treaty, are at the mercy of Joy. He is their potentate and king. As the head of a railroad which he is building through their lands, and in doing which he affects to dread the hostility of the settlers, he has called on the Governor of Kansas for military aid; and Federal soldiers are now quartered on these settlers, at the instigation of the Governor, who acted in the matter on his own responsibility, and not by authority of law. To these wrongs and outrages, perpetrated in the interest of a single monopolist and his retainers, must be added the fact that the State of Kansas loses the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of these lands, to which she was rightfully entitled for educational purposes, while the United States loses the coal lands extending over considerable portions of the territory, and valued at millions of dollars. The total value of land, including these

minerals and the improvements of the settlers, at a moderate estimate, may be set down at ten million dollars. So much for one single scheme of spoliation, carried on by the authority of the Government against its own loyal citizens, whose hard toil is adding to the public wealth, and whose valor helped to save the nation in its conflict with rebels. The treaty-making power, even granting the title of the Indians, had no more right to convey these lands to Joy than had Congress to usurp the functions of the Executive. The whole proceeding is void under the Constitution of the United States, and will be so declared by the Federal courts, unless they, too, like the manipulators of this treaty, shall lend themselves to the base uses of railroad corporations and the Indian ring. Sir, this transaction has no parallel, save in another treaty, not yet ratified, by which a tract of country, belonging to the Osage Indians, two hundred and fifty miles long and fifty miles wide, and containing eight million acres, was sold to Sturgis, another railway baron, at the rate of nineteen cents per acre, to be paid in annual instalments, during a period of fifteen years, in the bonds of his company.

Mr. Speaker, equally startling, not to say monstrous, has been the conduct of the Government in dealing with its swamp and overflowed lands. The lobby which pressed the passage of the act of 1850, granting such lands to the States, urged that they were of little value, and that the General Government could not afford the expense of reclaiming them; but the truth is that, to a very large extent, they are the richest lands in the nation, and that the cost of their reclamation is no greater than that of other agricultural lands. It was likewise urged that the States could better be trusted with the work than the General Government; but time has fully demonstrated to the contrary, and very sadly to the nation's cost. The well-understood machinery of the General Land Office, available to individual energy and enterprise, afforded the best and only means of solving the swamp-land problem. No legislation has ever been more disastrous to the country; and if the act of 1850 was not framed in the interest of organized thieving and plunder, then its entire administration is so wholly out of joint with the law itself that an honest man is hopelessly puzzled in the attempt to account for it as an accident.

The act, in failing to give any definition of the phrase "swamp and overflowed land," has supplied a perpetual temptation to mercenary men and corrupt officials to pervert it to base ends. Instead of submitting the character of the land in dispute to the register and receiver of the local land office, and investing them with the power to compel the attendance of witnesses, it leaves the question to be decided by the Surveyor-General, who has no judicial power, and is generally engrossed and often overwhelmed with his own proper duties. His office may be hundreds of miles from the lands in controversy, thus causing great and needless expense to the poor settlers, who are required to attend, with their witnesses, at the hearing, which is frequently appointed at a season of the year rendering it a great hardship if not an impossibility to attend.

Although the Surveyor-General is an officer of the United States, it practically happens that local and State influences completely override the rights of the General Government. The lands are surveyed and their character settled soon after some unusual overflow, or in a season of great rains; or large bodies are declared swamp because small portions of them only are really so. By such methods the most frightful abuses are the order of the day, working the most shameful injustice to honest settlers, and fatally obstructing the settlement and development of the country. One hundred thousand acres of land in one land district, and situate in different localities near the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains, some five to six thousand feet above the level of the sea, are now claimed by speculators as swamp, while it is shown by the sworn statements of many of the settlers on these lands that they actually require irrigation to make them desirable in the raising of either hay or grain. Many of these settlers who have resided on these mountain lands for years, and made lasting improvements and pleasant homes in the most perfect good faith, are now brought face to face with hostile claimants under the swamp-land act, who have not the shadow of a right.

More than sixty million acres in all have been selected as swamp, and over forty-five millions patented, being nearly double the quantity patented to railroads, and a very large proportion of which is dry land, and among the very best which the Government owned. The work of spoliation is still in full blast, and nothing can arrest it but an act of Congress so defining swamp and overflowed lands as to make impossible the outrages to which I have referred; outrages so cunningly planned and so infernally prosecuted as to make quite respectable the average performances of professional pickpockets and thieves.

Mr. Speaker, the grants made by Congress for educational purposes may fairly be classed with the profligate legislation to which I have referred. Their aggregate for common schools, universities and agricultural colleges is more than seventy-eight million acres. No conditions were prescribed to prevent the monopoly of this vast domain, or the trifling maladministration of it by the States which has actually taken place. In some of them the school fund has totally disappeared. But by far the worst of these educational enactments is the agricultural college act of 1862. Its grant of thirty thousand acres of land for each Senator and Representative in Congress absorbs nearly ten millions, which are handed over to the cause of monopoly. The States having public lands within their borders will hold back from sale the shares to which they are entitled in order to a rise in price, thus obstructing the settlement of the country and placing burdens on the landless poor; while the States having no public lands are entitled to scrip representing their proportions, which is thrown upon the market, and has generally sold at about fifty per cent. less than its par value. In some instances its price has gone far below this; so that while it fails to supply a fund with which to build colleges, it enables speculators to appropriate great bodies of the public domain at a very low rate, as if its settlement and tillage were an unprofitable or an unmanly employment, or a barbarian practice which the Government should discourage.

More than eight hundred and eighty-four thousand acres have been located with this scrip in the State of California alone; and I remember that at the last session Congress passed an act to perfect the title of a noted monopolist of that State to some thirty thousand acres so located, which act, by way of legislative irony, was entitled, "A bill amendatory of an act to protect the rights of settlers upon the public lands of the United States." Of the motives and purposes of the men who originated and carried out the act of 1862, I have nothing to say; but the law itself is as vicious and mischievous as if it had been studiously planned as a conspiracy against the public welfare. No man can defend it, and it ought to have been entitled, "A bill to encourage

the monopoly of the nation's lands, to hinder the cause of productive wealth, and to multiply the hardships of our pioneers, under the false pretence of aiding the cause of general education." Kindred observations apply to our half-breed Indian scrip, which was to be issued to the Sioux Indians in person, but, by some black art, is now located in violation of this requirement. The whole amount of this scrip is nearly three hundred and twenty-one thousand acres, while scrip covering over seventy-seven thousand acres has been issued to the Chippewa Indians.

Our legislation respecting military bounty lands belongs to the same class. More than seventy-three million acres in all have been appropriated for military and naval purposes, the effect of which has been far more ruinous to the prosperity of the country than beneficial to the soldier and seaman. The warrants issued for the lands granted were to be located only by the soldier. It was soon provided, however, that he might locate them by an agent, and finally they were made assignable. The Commissioner of the General Land Office says that of the Mexican war bounty land warrants the records of his office show that not one in five hundred of those issued and placed in the hands of the soldiers or their heirs has been located by them, or for their use; and he estimates that not to exceed ten per cent. of them have been used by pre-emptors as assignees in payment for actual settlement, the remainder having gone into the clutches of the speculator. While the soldier was cheated out of his warrant, or sold it at a very low rate, the public domain, which should have been free to him and to all other poor men, has been absorbed by monopolists, who have fixed upon it such tariffs as they could exact from those in search of homes. And yet, in the face of these unfortunate but very instructive facts, persistent attempts have been made in Congress for years past to reenact the same mischievous folly. Several bills are now pending in this house providing bounty lands for the soldiers of the late civil war, one of which calls for one hundred and sixty acres for each soldier who served twelve months. The number of these, according to careful official estimates of the War Department, is at least two millions, exclusive of deserters, those who paid commutation, and those dishonorably discharged. Multiplying this by one hundred and sixty, we have the aggregate of three hundred and twenty million acres of land. It is by far the most appalling scheme of spoliation of which I have any knowledge, calling for about one-third of the remaining public domain, exclusive of our Russian possessions. The warrants issued for these lands, when thrown upon the market, would probably sell as low as a quarter of a dollar per acre, or less; a pitiful mockery of the soldier, while the pre-emption and homestead laws would be practically nullified, and curses innumerable lavished upon coming generations. It would make the plunder of the people a national institution, and breed an army of vampires to prey upon their life. Sir, I need hardly say that the soldier asks for no such legislation; but he does ask that the public lands shall no longer be squandered by speculators, but be set apart for those only who desire them for homes.

Like considerations apply, with almost equal force, to another pending measure, providing that every honorably discharged soldier and seaman who served ninety days in the late war for the Union may select one hundred and sixty acres of the public domain, and receive a patent therefor at the end of five years, without settlement. If all our soldiers and sailors should apply for land, as they would have every reason to do, since they could get it for the asking, the measure would absorb more than three hundred and fifty million acres. If one-half only should apply, it would require every acre of land which the Government could survey within the next twenty-nine years, at the rate our surveys are progressing, thus totally blocking up the general march of civilization and settlement now in progress, and consigning the public domain to solitude; while the soldier, on receiving his patent, would be under no obligation to settle on his land, and might sell it to the shark who would be lying in wait to take advantage of his poverty in driving a bargain. The bounty which the soldier needs and deserves should be paid in money, and be graded in amount according to his term of service; or if land is to be given him, let him have it under the homestead law, with the discrimination in his favor that his term of service, whether long or short, shall be counted as part of the five years' settlement now prescribed by law.

But the Government has not only thus favored the squandering of the people's rightful patrimony, but in some instances it has shown itself positively unfriendly to the producing classes, and especially to that grand army of occupation, the pioneer settlers. I give two notable examples. In the year 1864 Congress granted to the State of California the famous Yosemite Valley, in perpetual reservation as a pleasure-ground and spectacle of wonder. But it turned out that, prior to the grant, Hutchings and Lamson, two enterprising settlers, had selected homes in the valley under the pre-emption laws, built their cabins, planted orchards and vineyards, and expended some thousands of dollars in making themselves comfortable, while braving great hardships and privations in this remote and inaccessible region. California, however, having accepted the grant, caused an ejectment to be brought against these settlers, who appealed for protection to the Legislature; and an act was passed, subject to its ratification by Congress, reserving to each of them one hundred and sixty acres, including their improvements, and reserving to the State the right to construct bridges, avenues and paths over the pre-emptions, so that the public use of the valley could not be obstructed.

Early in the present Congress a bill was introduced in this body confirming the act referred to, and thus redeeming the pledge of the nation embodied in the pre-emption law, that their homes should be secured to them on compliance with its prescribed conditions. They were the only pre-emptors in the valley, and the simple, naked question presented by the bill was whether the Government would maintain its pledged faith. The nation recognizes the sacredness of contracts. It will not allow any law to be passed impairing their obligation, and, as between individuals, compels their performance. Should it then deliberately violate its own contract with these pioneers, and thus proclaim its faithlessness to all settlers? The House of Representatives, on the 2d day of last July, answered this question in the affirmative. By its recorded vote of one hundred and seven against thirty-one, it declared that Hutchings and Lamson should be driven from their homes; and I must say that I know of no vote since the passage of the fugitive slave act of 1850, which calls more loudly for general and unhesitating reprobation. It insults our hardy pioneers, who have encountered wild beasts and the scalping knife of the Indian in exploring our distant borders and extending the march of civilization, by telling them they are outlaws on the public domain.

It was said in the debate on this bill that these settlers

might start "lager saloons, cornfields, and cow-yards" on their premises; but surely the fact, should it happen, ought not to deprive them of their rights as settlers, nor could it possibly interfere with the public use of a valley containing over thirty six thousand acres. Indeed, I think it might have been far wiser to carve it up into small homesteads, occupied by happy families decorated by orchards, gardens and meadows, with a neat little post-town in their midst, and churches and school houses crowning all; but in any event the claims of these settlers should have been held sacred. The marvelous beauty of this valley can have nothing whatever to do with the right of pre-emption as a legal principle, and is evidently used as a mere pretext. The truth is, as I have reason to believe that wealthy capitalists in California, whose power is sometimes felt in Washington, have their eye on this valley. They are already a corporation in embryo for the purpose of obtaining a long lease of it, and building a magnificent hotel within its walls; and a part of their enterprise will probably be the construction of a railroad, with government aid, as near to the valley as practicable. Their animating purpose is to enrich themselves by levying tribute upon gentlemen of elegant leisure, rich tourists, and such others as can afford to endure their exactions, while such plebeians as Hutchings and Lamson will have to hunt over and less aristocratic pleasure grounds. But whether I am right or not in the opinions, the defeat of the bill referred to was a flagrant wrong to these settlers. It was the complete miscarriage of justice. It can scarcely be necessary to add that the same measure had been twice reported adversely in the Senate, where it found even less favor than in the House.

But I am very sorry to say, Mr. Speaker, that the Federal judiciary has at last made common cause with Congress against the rights of our pioneer settlers. The case to which I now refer arose between Whitney, a pre-emptor of a quarter section of land included in the famous Spanish grant known as the Socal Ranch, in California, and which the Supreme Court of the United States had declared invalid, and General Frisbie, a noted monopolist, who claimed title to a portion of said ranch, including Whitney's claim, under an act of Congress passed chiefly through his agency. The Local Land Office in California decided the case in favor of Frisbie; but on appeal to the General Land Office, Whitney's pre-emption was sustained. Frisbie then prevailed on the Secretary of the Interior to ask the opinion of the Attorney-General on the question of law involved, which was the right of pre-emption, the facts being admitted. The Attorney-General gave his opinion to the effect that a settler under the pre-emption laws acquires no vested interest in the land he occupies by virtue of his settlement, and can acquire no such interest till he has taken all the legal steps necessary to perfect an entrance in the Land Office, being in the meantime a mere tenant at will, who may be ejected by the Government at any moment in favor of another party. This opinion being accepted as law by the Interior Department, Whitney prosecuted his claim against Frisbie in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, which sustained his pre-emption as valid. Frisbie thereupon appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, which, in March last, decided it in his favor, fully affirming the doctrine of the Attorney-General that settlers on the public lands under the pre-emption laws have no rights which the Government is bound to respect.

Sir, a bad law may sometimes be explained on the ground of haste, or surprise; but here we have the deliberate judgment of the highest court in the Union that where the pre-emption law invites settlers on to the public lands, and offers them homes on certain prescribed conditions, with which they are willing and anxious to comply, the Government may write itself down a liar before the nation by robbing them of the lands they have selected, and the money and labor expended upon them in good faith. And this is the unanimous opinion of the court. It totally ignores the strong and pointed authorities which the whole country has understood to have settled the law to the contrary, and the whole policy of the Government during the past forty years; and whoever will read it carefully in the light of the facts of the case will find that it elaborately pettifies the cause of the monopolist from the beginning to the end.

Sir, I brand it as the Dred-Scott decision of the American pioneer. It threatens the complete overthrow of the land policy of the Government, and the establishment of the vicious principle that settlers on the public domain are mere trespassers, with whom no terms are to be kept. It arrays the Government against the poor man in his hard struggle for a home, and makes it the ally of monopolists, who have at last heard their triumph proclaimed from the supreme bench. It strikes at the nation's well-being, if not its life; for we are largely indebted to the wisdom and justice of our policy, as embodied in the pre-emption and homestead laws, for our marvelous progress as a people, and for the place we hold among the other nations of the world. It signals the ugly epoch we have reached in the domination of capital over labor, and the danger which menaces the very principle of democracy. It strikes at the honor of the nation, which, as I have said elsewhere, can as innocently repudiate the debt it incurred in saving its own life as to violate its pledged faith to our pioneers that they shall have homes on the public domain on conditions which are honestly accepted and complied with on their part. They should be the favorites of the nation. The pre-emption law should not be construed strictly against them, like a penal statute, but liberally, in furtherance of the great and majestic object. "The pioneer," says the President in his late message, "who incurs the dangers and privations of a frontier life, and thus aids in laying the foundation of new Commonwealths, renders a signal service to his country, and is entitled to its special favor and protection."

Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Englishman and well-known friend of English workmen who has recently been among us, took occasion to exhort the workmen of our country against the spirit of discontent, pointing them to our cheap lands, our fair wages for work, and the favorable condition of our poorer classes generally, while deprecating any special effort looking to their future welfare. Sir, if he had duly considered the facts I have presented I am sure he would have tendered no such counsel. Instructed by the state of affairs in his own country, he would have warned us against the very evils which make the social condition of England so frightful a problem, and which can only be averted here by sounding the cry of danger, and laying hold of the means of escape before it shall be too late. True, the condition of the working people of England and the United States is at present very different. The old feudal system of William the Conqueror crushes England to-day. The military features of the system, with the royal prerogative, have disappeared, and three-fourths of her people are not now slaves, as was the fact a few centuries ago; but the principle of land monopoly inaugurated by that system is more powerful for evil now than ever before.

About the middle of the last century there were three hundred and seventy-four thousand land-holders in England, while now she has only thirty thousand. The number is still decreasing. One-half of her soil is owned by one hundred and fifty persons, and nineteen and a half millions of acres in Scotland are owned by twelve proprietors. These land-owners have very properly been styled sovereigns. They may consign a whole county to the solitude of a deer forest, or clear a large territory of its population as they would exterminate vermin. Fifteen thousand people, without any respect to age, sex or condition, and for no fault of their own, were turned out of the Sutherland estates in the early part of the present century. These things could not have been done under the old feudal system. Under that system the vassal, in return for his services, had lands allotted to him. If the lord had rights, they involved some corresponding duties to the slave; but now the English land-owner is more than a feudal lord, while the poor have no feudal rights. The extinction of small free-holders, and the absorption of the lands by a few, introduced pauperism, which has steadily grown with the growth of large estates. The poor have thus been driven into the towns, and compelled to live in hovels, dens, and garrets, just as the same consequences followed in Republican Rome when the patricians seized the lands of the small free-holders and drove their occupants into the capital.

Under the feudal system the lands supported the poor and defrayed all the expenses of the State; but now, while land in England is constantly rising in value, and its tillage is so greatly aided by steam-plows, threshing-machines, reapers, improved live-stock, and increased knowledge of the capabilities of the soil, the land-owner escapes the burdens of taxation, and imposes them upon the poor, because he is the maker of the laws. This is a sad picture, and it forcibly illustrates what the Duke of Argyll says of the antagonism between natural law and legislation. No one can fail to agree with him when he says that this antagonism "must be eliminated if legislation is ever to be attended with permanent success;" nor can any thoughtful Englishman disregard his warning when he declares that "institutions, upheld and cherished against justice, and humanity, and conscience, have yielded only to the surge of war." The salvation of England lies in the complete overthrow of her system of landed property, which has feudalized labor as well as land, and in the restoration to the poor of their rightful inheritance in the soil. This would solve the problem of her pauper labor, and open the way to the solution of every other vital question. By diversifying the pursuits of her people, and giving homes to multitudes who are dragging out wretched lives under her factory system, or driven into her almshouses and prisons, it would radically reconstruct the whole fabric of her social life. A disenthralled country would bear witness to the saying of St. Pierre, that "it is not upon the face of vast dominions, but in the bosom of industry, that the Father of mankind pours out the precious fruits of the earth."

But is the resemblance of our own country to England so faint as to awaken no concern for our future? Have we not borrowed from her very many of her feudalistic ideas and practices? Are we not following in her track "with a step as steady as time?" Our country, indeed, is relatively new; but for that very reason ideas and systems, whether wholesome or vicious, ripen swiftly in this age of marvelous activities. Let me take the State of California as an example. She is cursed by a system of Spanish grants, covering her best lands, and handing them over in great bodies to individual monopolists; and this evil is greatly aggravated by the absorption into these monopolies of large tracts of Government lands contiguous to them, through the shocking maladministration of Federal and State officials. Then there are hundreds of thousands of acres of Government lands bought by a few speculators, largely with college and Indian scrip at low rates, and thus held back from the landless poor, save upon such terms as these speculators may see fit to exact.

Besides all this, hundreds of thousands of acres have passed into the custody of the State, and thence into the clutches of monopolists, through a monstrous perversion of the swamp-land acts of Congress, as already shown; thus inflicting upon the country and our pioneer settlers a stupendous wrong. The monopoly of California lands by her railroad corporations must not be omitted from this sad inventory, nor should it be forgotten that the power of this organized landlordism must inevitably exert a shaping influence over her judiciary, whose rulings have so often been most unfriendly to the poor. If to all this we add that the great landholders of the State, the Bank of California, her steamship companies, and her railroad and mining corporations find it to their interest, to stand by one another, and are to a considerable extent interested in common in the business of each other, we shall readily see that the maxim that "capital owns labor" has a tolerably fair prospect of being verified in that State. To a very alarming extent the capital of the State holds the labor of the State in its power; and that it should seek still further to starve and degrade labor by coolie importations is the most natural thing conceivable. It wants a base and background for its growing domination, and longs to liken our country more and more to those of the Old World, in which not one man in five hundred is a landowner, and "wages slavery" bears almost as grievously upon the poor as chattel slavery once did upon its victims in the South.

The coolie traffic has its genesis in the aggregation of capital in the hands of a few men, and especially in the monopoly of the soil; but while it should be prohibited by strong statutes, the real remedy for it must be sought in the removal of the causes which produce it. We must go to the root of the matter. I have spoken of California; but land monopoly in other States has become almost equally alarming. In all of them the spirit of monopoly is rampant, while the Government, putting on the temper of the times, has become its representative and most powerful auxiliary. Feudalism, it is true, in its primitive form, has no existence among us; but our great and rapidly multiplying corporations threaten us with more fearful feudalization than that which cursed England five centuries ago. It brings the laboring classes more and more within its power, creating a subdued and subordinated class of proletarians like the Chinese, or an aggressive and embittered one like the English working people. The motive for cultivating the soil here in large tracts, and according to the principles of scientific agriculture, are quite as strong as in any other country, while the effort to capitalize our lands as naturally involves the spirit of association, through which a few men of administrative talent constantly enlarge their estates, and drive the poorer and less provident classes to the wall.

The effect of labor-saving machinery and steam upon the increase of production and the concentration of capital must be quite as potent here as in the countries of Europe in subjecting the laboring masses to the cunning and cupidity of the "captains of industry," as they are sometimes styled

who control our railroads, telegraphs, banking institutions and land grants, being the monopolizers of transportation and controllers of credit and exchange. These men are not only the captains of industry, but, as I have shown, the captains of legislation also; and their dominating idea is legislation for property primarily, and for man secondarily. They dictate our laws from the lobby, suborn the judiciary into their service, and poison the fountains of public opinion. Under their sway wealth is more and more centralized, and the very life of our free system of government is threatened.

The remedy for these evils, Mr. Speaker, is to be found in the thorough reconstruction of our land policy. This is the question of questions. It underlies every other, and no party deserves to live that will not face it. The questions of the tariff, of finance, of internal taxation, of civil service reform and of national education are simply side issues. The just solution of all of them will be comparatively easy, if aided by a wise settlement of the land question. The labor movement itself will prove an unmeaning wrangle, if it does not plant itself upon this as its central idea, and press its demands for other reforms through its adjustment. In pointing out the evils of our present policy I have indicated some of the reforms which these evils make immediately necessary; but we have gone so far in the direction of feudalism, and are still drifting toward it at so fearful a rate, that the right of private property in land may itself ere long have to be reconsidered. This right, in its unlimited sense, is disowned by three-fourths of the human race, including the ablest thinkers of the present generation. It is at war with the great primal truths of the Declaration of Independence, and can no more be defended than the absolute right of private property in the sunlight and the air. I do not propose, or even suggest, any scheme of agrarianism; but that this asserted right, according to some just method yet to be applied, should be subordinated to the rights of man and the public good is as true as any of our fundamental political maxims.

Sir, this question reaches down to the very bed-rock of democracy; for if a few individuals or chartered corporations may absolutely own millions of acres, they may own the whole of a State or continent, and thus practically enslave its people. The unrestricted monopoly of the soil thus logically justifies a land-owning despotism, and is just as repugnant to republican government as slavery is to freedom. The land-holders of a country govern it, and therefore the struggle for equal rights, whether in this country or in Europe, most resolutely upholds the natural right of the people to an inheritance in the soil. Thus only can they most certainly work out the overthrow of every form of aristocratic and dynastic rule, and institute a real democracy in their stead. Every household is a little commonwealth, and the aggregate of these make the nation. The family is the peculiar institution of the race, the most blessed creation of God; and nations are prosperous and strong in the exact proportion in which it is protected and cherished. It is the foundation of society, the parent and master of the State. The home embodies all that is best in our civilization, all that is most precious and sacred in the idea of country, of liberty, and of life. To guard and foster it should be the grand purpose of our laws; and to fail in this duty, or to throw obstacles in the way of the multiplication and security of well-ordered homes, is to strike at the life of free institutions. The land question then, I repeat, is the great living issue and overshadowing question of American politics. No other problem goes down so deep, or lies so near the heart of the people. Even the grand cause of woman's enfranchisement is fairly included in it, in so far as the ballot is powerless to save in the hands of landless citizens; while that cause must find its chief support in the laboring masses whose battle-cry is "homes for all," and who will welcome the heart and brain of woman as their natural and most powerful allies.

CHILDREN, THEIR RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND RELATION TO SOCIETY.

No. VII.

We now approach a part of the subject which is of supreme moment, and that is the care which embryonic life demands in order that the required character shall be given the new organization, which having been the result of a union of two, brought about under the strictest application of adaptation, and of complete knowledge, begins its individualized existence. During this period of life, every influence to which the mother is subjected, be it ill or good, produces its legitimate effect upon the embryo. Whoever is an adept in these matters can go through society and from each individual tell what circumstances his or her mother was surrounded by during her pregnancy. To call to mind the truth of this we have but to refer to the "marking of children;" every other characteristic is equally the subject of the mother's surroundings. So it must become clear to every mother how terribly important this period of life is, and what a momentous responsibility she assumes when she undertakes the duties of an artist for humanity. And should such duties be entered upon thoughtlessly, carelessly, and with no regard whatever for them in a special sense? Should marriages be consummated and these considerations be left out of the question, and never thought of until the actual responsibility is assumed? Mothers of humanity! yours is a fearful duty, and one which should in its importance lift you entirely above the modern customs of society, its frivolities, superficialities and deformities, and make you realize that to you is committed the divine work of perfecting humanity.

In this sense, and under this consideration, marriage becomes a thousand times more sacred than you or any other has ever regarded it. So fearfully sacred should it be that it should never be consummated until the researches of science and the teachings of wisdom are exhausted in the effort to prove that it will be a benefit to humanity.

It is because of this sacredness with which we regard the union of the sexes that we denounce the present marriage systems. Under these the interests of children are utterly ignored, and only the continuation of the union thought of, people all the while being deceived with the idea that it is for the children's sake that unfortunate unions should continue. No matter how ill-mated people may be, children

will result. It will be difficult to find a case where an actual hate exists and not find children. What can be expected from children generated, born and raised under such influences? There are numerous instances constantly being made public where mothers are even brutally treated during pregnancy, and oftentimes because they are pregnant. That such things are, is a standing impeachment against the rules of society, and a damning shame upon those who would perpetuate them under any circumstances.

Just the life the mother leads will she prepare her child to lead. Just what the mother desires to make her child she can mould and fashion it to be. What a condemnation these considerations are upon the practices of fast onable society! How utterly worthless are the lives of so many mothers, and how devoid of purpose. Just so are their children. In the insane desire for dress and display, which characterizes so many women, lies the bane of life for their children. The cold heartlessness of the woman of fashion contains the germ of destruction for her daughter and the seeds of vice for her son. No warm-hearted, generous-souled children can spring from such soil. It can alone sow to the wind and reap the whirlwind.

Nor should the listless and unoccupied condition so many women fall into during pregnancy be much less discountenanced. Energy, purpose and application should be the very first considerations, and in just those directions it is desired the child should excel. In this respect, a thousand times more, are women the artists of humanity than they have ever thought. I remember once to have heard Mrs. Mary F. Davis deliver a lecture on "Woman as an Artist." Although quite young at that time it made a lasting impression upon me. It should be repeated in the hearing of every woman living until she should appreciate the full weight of the responsibility which the Creator has imposed upon her.

The practice of abortion is one which spreads damnation world-wide. Not so much in those cases where it is accomplished, but in those much more numerous cases where it is desired, attempted, but not reached. As soon as a woman becomes conscious that she is pregnant and a desire comes up in her heart to shirk the duties it involves, that moment the fetal life is the unloved, the unwished child. Is it to be wondered that there are so many undutiful children; so many who instinctively feel that they are "incumbrances" rather than the beautiful necessities of the home? This curse blasts the lives of thousands who should have been a blessing to themselves and the world.

Another practice prevails which can but be most disastrous to the child. When a woman finds herself pregnant she begins to hide herself from the world, for fear that it shall also know it. If the child lives to birth the world must know it. Why should it be deemed so terribly immodest previously as to warrant the virtual confinement of the mother? What true mother's heart but bounds with pride and joy when she sees the beautiful results of her constructive work? Why should she not also feel a like happiness when she realizes she is performing that constructive process? Is it to be wondered that there are so many children lacking all confidence in themselves and so foolishly diffident that it follows them through life? It should be the pride of every woman to be the willing, the anxious, the contented mother, and if she be so under the guidance of the knowledge we deem essential she will never have cause to regret that she fulfilled the duties of maternity. All of these practices which do so much to degenerate the character of children should be discountenanced by every humanitarian, and every woman encouraged and assisted to wisely and perfectly mould and fashion the life which they shall give to the world.

We should feel satisfied with having performed enough for one life if we could bring humanity to regard these matters sufficiently to make them feel the necessity of reform in the entire circumstances which attend the bearing of children as deeply as we feel it. We are convinced that this is the point to which effort must be directed, that humanity may be relieved of the continued productions of the veriest abortions of manhood and womanhood in human shapes, by which it is now so extensively cursed. Child-bearing must be made an aim in marriage, and no longer left to be its merest chance. Children have a right to be born according to the very best methods which science can lay down, and men and women have no right to disregard this right, least of all to trample upon it.

A GIRL NEWS-BOY.—A somewhat curious case was recently heard before a New Orleans court, in which a suit was brought for the property left by a certain Henrietta Newsham, whose history while in the flesh was not without its romance. This person came to New Orleans from Vicksburg on a flatboat during the war, accompanied by her cousin, who was said also to be her lover. Upon the arrival of the twain in New Orleans, Henrietta adopted the garb of a boy, and became a news-boy. She continued to sell papers and to dress in male attire, unsuspected by her associates, until an order from General Banks ordering a draft in New Orleans induced her to resume the habiliments of her sex. She thereafter became known as the girl-newsboy. In 1864 she died of the small-pox. In the following year her cousin died of the same disease, and in 1865 he again, with whom the two lived, also died. Some thousands of dollars were left by the girl-newsboy, and the suit now brought is by a person assuming to be the mother of Henrietta, and who claims her estate.

[CONTINUED FROM NINTH PAGE.]

Lincoln's proclamation of blockade of the Southern ports. This, again, was a flimsy pretext, an afterthought; for the dates of said recognition and proclamation of blockade prove the former to have preceded the latter by three days. However, the English government declining to discuss this portion of the question, our government subsided into a "masterly inactivity." In the meantime, the sufferers by the depredations of the Alabama ascertained semi-officially that by individually prosecuting their claims for damages in the English law-courts they could recover them, and thus leave our government "no cause of action." To checkmate this move, our government proposes to pay all claims for said damages, and this would assuredly be a wise act, inasmuch as our merchants would get reimbursed for their losses without further delay, and the government will demonstrate that they do mean to collect that bill. But whom is the government to pay—the ship-owners or the insurance companies? It is argued that the owners who being insured received the value of their vessels are out of court, and that the insurance companies suffered no loss in consequence of the high rate of war-risk they charged, and *ergo* the ships and cargoes were destroyed and no one lost anything thereby, and that the only inconvenience or damage really inflicted was only the increase in premium charged by the insurance companies. This self-consoling idea is the favorite dogma and last knot-hole of the London *Times*. We have lost a mercantile marine, every ton of which must be paid for. Whether our government will pay the money to Tom or Dick after receiving it and giving to England a receipt for payment in full, is a domestic matter to us, and of no more consequence to England than is the fact as to whether her laws are properly made and worded so as to prevent evasions of her neutrality. We exact neutrality, accomplished by any means English law-makers choose to employ; and we demand payment of all damages resulting from open negligence, or any cause within reach of repressible measures by English statesmen.

The New York *World* of January 4 draws a parallel of cases between the Hornet and the Alabama, upon the hypothesis that both had left port under similar circumstances, but in presuming these circumstances the *World* omits the fact that sworn evidence of the enlistment of men and hostile intent on the part of the Alabama was presented to the English government three days before that vessel's departure, and this omission renders the *World's* suppositive case of no value whatever.

In conclusion, we think that allowing this question to remain in abeyance is very undesirable, and as England evinces no desire to make a settlement until she is likely to get into trouble (when she becomes *instantly* nervously anxious,) it is the duty of our government to press a settlement, and in doing so, to give England an opportunity to prepare the minds of her people for the full restitution they must inevitably make in the end.

AN abusive and thoroughly uncalled-for article, headed "Church Music" appeared in a Sunday paper possessing few, if any, claims to respectability, and though for that reason the unjust and utterly false statements can do no harm by extensively circulating among decent people, yet they demand some notice at the hands of a competent and reliable critic. The choir at Dr. Adams' church is, without exception, the best in the city, and could not be improved under any circumstances. Its director, who is regarded by this wise reformer as "*passé*" is a refined and elegant gentleman, whose judgment and taste in musical matters is beyond question, and the organist is a composer and musician of great ability and no small renown, and his performances are always enjoyed by real lovers of organ music. The soprano, whose rich, powerful and sympathetic voice has delighted the congregation of Madison Square Church for twelve or fifteen years, is as effective as ever, and it is absurd to suggest that her voice is either shrill or worn, for she is in her prime, and we trust will gladden our hearts for many a year to come. The contralto is too well-known in musical circles as a thorough artiste, for a word from us to be needed, she having recently made a brilliant success in oratorio with Miss Kellogg, and as a soloist at the concerts of the Church Music Association. The tenor is faultless in tone and style, and always equal to any emergency, and the fearfully berated basso is a sweet and reliable singer. We are sorry to be obliged to say it, but the fact that the very stupid article signed "Solomon Reform" was perpetrated by an ignorant and malicious person is beyond a doubt, and must be patent to all.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION IN CALIFORNIA.—The Woman's Suffrage Association, of California, was to have held a State Convention at San Jose on the 18th instant. We have not yet seen a report of the proceedings and are therefore ignorant of the result. Mrs. H. M. Tracy Cutler is president of the Association.

CERTAINLY—WHY NOT?—A Vermont girl wants to know if the woman's rights movement includes the right to do the courting? If it does, she is in for it, as the men in her vicinity are very bashful.

THE NEW PROTESTANTS.

The woman suffrage advocates have gained an important point. They have induced certain titled and honorable ladies of the nation to "speak right out before folks," and send a remonstrance to Congress against allowing women to vote. Nothing could be better for the woman suffrage cause. It increases agitation, and agitation is sure to help the suffrage party. We remember sundry remonstrances from great men, from distinguished clergymen, from religious bodies, from honorables, male and female not a few, twenty or thirty years ago, against the abolitionists and against allowing them the right of petition. All such proved a god send to the "agitators." It aided them. It gave them capital opportunities to expose the weak points of their opponents.

Just what happened to the abolitionists is happening to the woman suffrage people. Any attempt at argument against them exposes the weakness of the opposition, and to secure public opposition is a point gained. It will as surely "help the cause along," as it increases thought and agitation. In accordance with our custom of giving both sides, we reproduce the protest of the distinguished women:

THE PETITION AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

To the Congress of the United States, protesting against an extension of woman suffrage:

We, the undersigned, do hereby appeal to your honorable body, and desire respectfully to enter our protest against an extension of suffrage to women; and in the firm belief that our petition represents the sober convictions of the majority of the women of the country.

Although we shrink from the notoriety of the public eye, yet we are too deeply and painfully impressed by the grave perils which threaten our peace and happiness in these proposed changes in our civil and political rights, longer to remain silent.

Because Holy Scripture inculcates a different, and for us a higher sphere, apart from public life.

Because as women we find a full measure of duties, cares and responsibilities devolving upon us, and we are therefore unwilling to bear other and heavier burdens, and those adapted to our physical organization.

Because we hold that an extension of suffrage would be adverse to the interests of the workingwomen of the country, with whom we heartily sympathize.

Because these changes must introduce a fruitful element of discord in the existing marriage relation, which would tend to the infinite detriment of children, and increase the already alarming prevalence of divorce throughout the land.

Because no general law, affecting the condition of all women, should be framed to meet exceptional discontent.

For these and many more reasons do we beg of your wisdom, that no law extending suffrage to women may be passed, as the passage of such a law would be fraught with danger so grave to the general order of the country.

Should the person receiving this approve of the object in view, his or her aid is respectfully requested to obtain signatures to the annexed petition, which may, after having been signed, be returned to either of the following-named persons:

Mrs. Gen. W. T. Sherman, Mrs. John A. Dahlgren, Mrs. Jacob D. Cox, Mrs. Joseph Henry, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Butler, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Rankin, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Boynton, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Samson, Mrs. B. B. French, Miss Jennie Carroll, Mrs. C. V. Morris, Mrs. Hugh McCulloch, all of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Senator Sherman, Mansfield, Ohio; Mrs. Senator Scott, Huntington, Pa.; Mrs. Senator Corbett, Portland, Oregon; Mrs. Senator Edmunds, Burlington, Vt.; Mrs. Luke P. Poland, St. Johnsbury, Vt.; Mrs. Samuel J. Randall, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Catharine E. Beecher, 69 West Thirty-eight street, New York city.

A Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, says that when this protest was taken to the wife of one of the present cabinet officers she replied:

"I have all the rights I want; I find more than I can do in my own sphere of duties, but this subject is too deep, and too broad to be acted upon, except after the most serious reflection. Although I coincide with Catharine Beecher's views, I think it of little consequence that the country should know it, and if we come out with our petitions we are doing exactly that which we so much condemn in the strong-minded. Besides, I dare not accept the responsibility of speaking for the poor and lowly of my own sex. Let them talk if they want to; this is a free country, and they have a right to be heard."

So, the women are increasing the agitation of thought which is said to be the "beginning of wisdom."—*Williamsport (Pa.) Gazette and Bulletin*.

The following relating to suffrage occurred upon the bill for a Territorial Government of the District of Columbia was under consideration.

The Senate bill to provide for a government for the District of Columbia was taken up and read.

Mr. Julian (Rep., Ind.) moved to amend the sixth section, which gives the elective franchise to all male citizens of the United States by striking out the word "male." [Laughter.] He declared that he offered the amendment in good faith, and desired a vote upon it by yeas and nays.

Mr. Cook (Rep., Ill.) opposed the amendment. He hoped the House would not encumber the bill with the issue of female suffrage. The district had been made the scene of experiments with every form of government, and he did not want it to be made the scene of that experiment. The vote was taken by yeas and nays, and the amendment offered by Mr. Julian was rejected—yeas, 55; nays, 117.

There was much excitement and amusement in the House as the members responded to their names. Some of the votes in the affirmative provoked much laughter, while the positive and decided tone with which others voted "Nay," brought down the House. The following is the vote in detail:

YEAS.—Allison, Arnell, Asper, Atwood, Banks, Barry, Buck, Buffinton, Burdett, Cessna, Cobb (Wis.), Cobb (N. C.), Coburn, Cullom, Darrall, Dixon (N. C.), Ela, Farnsworth,

Finkelburg, Hamilton (Fla.), Harris, Hawkins, Hoar, Jones (N. C.), Julian, Kelley, Lawrence, Long, Loughbridge, Maynard, Milnes, Moore (N. J.), Morey, Morrell (Penn.), Negley, Orth, Packard (Ind.), Paine, Pierce, Platt, Pomeroy, Porter, Prosser, Sargent, Scofield, Shanks, Smith (Tenn.), Stevenson, Stoughton, Strickland, Twichell, Washburn (Wis.), Willard, Wilson (Ohio), Wolf—55.

NAYS.—Ambler, Archer, Barnum, Beatty, Becks, Bethune, Benton, Biggs, Blair, Boles, Booker, Brooks (Mass.), Buckley, Burchard, Conger, Conner, Cook, Cowles, Cox, Crebs, Dickby, Dickinson, Dockery, Donley, Dox, Duke, Duval, Eldridge, Ferris, Fisher, Fox, Garfield, Getz, Gillfillan, Griswold, Haldeman, Hale, Hamill, Hawley, Hay, Hill, Holman, Holmes, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Ingersoll, Johnson, Jones (Ky.), Judd, Kellogg (Conn.), Kelsey (N. Y.), Kerr, Ketchum, Knapp, Knott, Ladin, Lewis, Lynch, Manning, Marshall, Mayham, McCormick, McCrary, McGrew, McKee, McKenzie, McNeely, Meier, Morgan, Morrill (Me.), Mungen, Myers, Niblack, O'Neill, Packer (Penn.), Palmer, Peck, Phelps, Poland, Potter, Rainey, Randall, Reeves, Rogers, Sanford, Sawyer, Schumacher, Sheldon (La.), Sheldon (N. Y.), Sherrod, Snobar, Slocum, Smith (Ohio), Smith (Oregon), Smith (Vt.), Stevens, Stone, Strong, Swann, Sypher, Tanner, Taylor, Tillman, Townsend, Tyner, Voorhees, Wallace, Washburn (Mass.), Welker, Wells, Wheeler, Williams, Wilson (Minn.), Winchester, Witcher, Wood, Woodward—117.

FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

Your valuable and interesting WEEKLY, of which I have been a constant reader since its first number, contains no article in its last issue upon the above subject, so I presume that you have come to the same conclusion as myself, viz.—that Mr. F. Y. and Mr. B. could never convince one or the other on the subject under consideration. I have noted with care all the articles of Mr. F. Y., who asserts "that a high protective tariff is essential to the well-being and prosperity of all classes of our country," and of Mr. B., who declares "that the object of free trade is to secure a perfect equality between all classes of industries, so that no privileged class shall say to another, that if you want to purchase my wares, you must pay me forty per cent. more than you could purchase them of my neighbor;" and again, "that either free trade or protection is the true principle." I propose to try and demonstrate that these gentlemen are in error. I have read able arguments, both *pro* and *con*, than either those of "F. Y." or "B." and failed to discover the "true principle" in them, simply because the premises in all the cases were erroneous. I find the true principle, which should govern our intercourse with nations, to be in a *well regulated currency and a medium tariff*. A nation to create and accumulate wealth must be industrious and economical. It may and can do so either under a free trade policy, or under a high protective tariff. I believe that a medium course is best for all concerned. I think life too short and individual man's observation too limited to learn by actual experience just what that medium, to a decimal fraction, should be; but an approximation to that medium would be better than either extreme. To make free trade or a high protective tariff a political platform is to very seriously injure the whole country. The success of the former policy is to force the northern and eastern portion of our people from their present vocations at tremendous sacrifice, by rendering their factories and machine shops dead stock, because they could not compete with foreign labor under our present monetary laws. The success of the latter would tend to concentrate capital into the hands of gigantic monopolies, to be used against the South and West for the benefit of the few, and unavoidably and surely break down our boasted free institutions. The success, first of one policy and then of the other, would cripple and retard the growth of the country, and engender bitter hatred between the North and South, and between the East and West. It seems to be a law of matter that a medium is best. The medium course is one whose operation will work to the mutual benefit of the whole nation and must be governed or graduated by circumstances. The operation of a tariff should fluctuate in sympathy with our currency as compared with the currency of the nation with which we traded, and a foreign war would always cause a change. There are many staple articles of merchandise that have entirely ceased coming from France and Germany since the war, and would not come, either under a free trade policy or under a high protective tariff. Our government loses the revenue, and the home-made materials are rapidly advanced in price by speculators, and the Government is powerless to collect any additional revenue upon the advance. Our currency and our tariff should be expanded or contracted to suit great national emergencies, in order that our people should not be subjected to loss by circumstances not under their control, but they should not be tampered with in individual cases. The individual may change his occupation without loss to the country, but half a nation of forty millions subjects cannot be trifled with by sudden change of tariff, from very high to zero, or vice versa. Space is too limited to illustrate the practical working of the various tariffs, but I think Mr. F. Y. and Mr. B. will agree with me that a medium is best—either of the others are impracticable.

C. H. P.

A LADY CONTRACTOR.—Mrs. Collins, of Haddam, N. H., is a contractor for constructing a section of the Valley Railroad. She superintends the work and pays off her men with her own hands.

ANOTHER POSTMISTRESS.—Mrs. Mary Berdeau has been appointed postmistress at West Point, N. Y.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

BALAAM'S ASS.

BY E. G. HOLLAND.

(Numbers, xx., 11: 21-30.)

I.
If the Ass was inspired, and the Angel saw
Sooner than he whom the Ass did bear,
What is the lesson, what is the law,
Involved in the fact so striking and rare?

II.
Dunderhead, under the melting white heat,
In eloquence doth the Orator beat:
To masses, ill-used, the moment was given,
Wherein they could speak the rebuke of high Heaven.

III.
The Ant and the Ox, the Ass and the Bee,
Teach Prophets and Sages high wisdom to see:
The Priest and the Prince were Balaam in state;
The Ass was the People who carried the great.

IV.
"Saddle the Ass!" was the cry they e'er made.
And the Ass was well saddled with taxes they laid,
And bitted so closely he scarcely could bray,
And tolling, and beaten, he passed the long day.

V.
The Rider grew angry and proud in the way,
And dealt the fierce blows of his fury each day,
Repeating that he, by the high will of God,
Must rule the domain by other men trod.

VI.
There came, in God's time, a beautiful day,
When His Angel of Freedom stood firm in the way,
The tyrant resisting, with sword bravely drawn,
Whose sheen was as bright as the eye of the dawn.

VII.
The rider this Angel was slow to behold,
And his anger waxed hot as the Ass waxed bold.
When the Angel of Freedom comes nigh to the world,
From its blind, maddened despots, are thunderbolts hurled.

VIII.
The abuses augmenting, the Ass can but "speak,"
And the rider, dismayed, in attitude meek,
Dismounts! He sees, though long he had ridden,
The skin of the Ass a Lion had hidden!

IX.
As Ages advance, the People are king.
Nor deem the old crowns a wonderful thing:
They rejoice in the Truth, no prey to old fears,
Whilst Princes and Priests grow bountiful ears!

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

BY C. B. P.

No. VIII

Nil admirari was not the highest wisdom with St. John, for, when he saw the woman with face painted and head tired, the Dawn arrayed in purple and scarlet, he wondered with great admiration to see her appear in such questionable shape, with airs from heaven and blasts from hell, sitting on many waters and transforming herself into an angel of light when clothed with the Sun and having the Moon under her feet. She had inclined her ear to a parable and opened her mouth in dark sayings upon the morning and evening harps. As the woman of the wine-press, whom the Lord trod in his fury, she had made the inhabitants of the earth drunk with the wine of her fornication; and when she rode upon the scarlet-colored beast, it was not upon the cherub that the Lord rode, or upon the Jeshurun horse which waxed fat and kicked in excellency on the sky, but upon the beast full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns wherewith to blaspheme and push the saints from one end of heaven to the other. John, with great admiration, saw her ascend out of the bottomless pit as it began to dawn, and, when it was yet dark, bringing up seven devils with her to be cast out by the Sun, as the virtue from him should transform her into a saint. From the bottomless pit or sepulchre came the Lord and his saints, at the rising of the Sun, from the same plane of being whereby he had descended into hell at sunset. The Lamb that was slain yet liveth again, and the saints which slept came out of their graves and went into the holy city. The "mind which hath wisdom" may see how seven devils might be cast out of the woman as readily as the seven green withs be broken by Samson when the Spirit of the Lord was upon him. The Gospels are the dramatic rendering of the solar kingdom of heaven, and He whom Christians worship is the personified hero of the Sun.

Thus we may see, in every change of base,
The self-same woman who had run the race
With bridegroom from his chamber—the same Sun
Rejoicing with her in the race to run.
Ancient of days, or young as dewy morn,
The Sun and Virgin were alike new-born.
Conceived in cloud-land and immaculate—
Each morning opening the celestial gate.
And when the Sun fled from her loved embrace,
Tears, such as angels weep, bedew'd her face;
She sought him, sorrowing, for she did not wist
That he had work to do when he had kiss'd
Her dewy lips so early in the dawn—
Her tears he dried as dew upon the lawn;
For thus the former things are passed away,
And all tears dried up by the god of day.
Alas! alas! says John, for in one hour

Her riches gone with all her heavenly dower.
Woman! what have I to do with thee? Fled!
And I nowhere to lay my weary head.
Like Niobe, all tears, who would have thought
That so great riches would have come to naught—
Your soul be dried away like manna-rain,
With bread from heaven gather'd up again;
Twelve baskets full, and not a fragment lost,
Scatter'd in Israel and on Jacob's coast.
She was, when seeming in blasphemous name,
From same rock hewn as whence the Virgin came;
That rod-struck rock that gushed with many waters,
And in the foam hid Zion's sons and daughters.

The Christian Church has gathered the spoils of the ancient wars in Heaven, and making them a plan of salvation, has maintained the fight even unto this day with that same old serpent called the Devil and Satan. When the Lord fought with the stars in their highways, or came down in a cloud, his coat was of divers colors, meet for them that take the spoil. Very often from an older pattern in the Mount, a goodly Babylonish garment was turned another side out. When the Lord God made coats of skins for Adam and Eve, we may suppose the pattern to have been the same as was rent in Jacob and scattered in Israel—that same old coat all buttoned down before. While the new cloth was not to be sewed to the old, it was to fill the old pattern, so that not a jot or tittle of the old garment be lost, though divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel. All the signs in heaven were gathered into the folds, and the coat without seam was woven from the top throughout.

With this goodly Babylonish garment, St. John arrayed his woman who sat upon a scarlet-colored beast full of blasphemous names and *mystery* upon her forehead as a warning to the groundlings not to penetrate into dark corners and disembowled sacred mysteries, it being given only to the few to understand a parable, the words of the wise and their dark sayings—only to the elect, and but to the chiefest of them: Art thou "a master in Israel and knowest not these things?"

How quickly passed away the morning blush—the maid of the mist—the scarlet woman, with painted face and head tired—skirts, *à la prier*, and of serpent length, trailing a third of heaven's stars along the horrible pit and miry clay. How in the *fata morgana* every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. What a *meles* in heaven between the legions of night and darkness winged by the Prince of the air, where cherubim, seraphim, and beasts with eyes before and behind, most do congregate, coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, or hastening with the great red dragon to raise a breeze for the Devil's machine upon the shelling hills. What a rataplan of hail upon the heavens of brass and men blaspheming God. How the white horses, the red horses, the black horses and the pale horses of Jeshurun kicked in excellency on the sky. The rider on the black horse weighed the night in his balances—the rider on the red horse opened the ruddy morn and marshalled the way with a great sword. The conquering hero rode the white horse of the Sun, leaving Death on his pale horse to gather all hell into his garner.

In the new song of Moses and the Lamb, how readily do the voices of the night echo the old song when doctrine dropped like rain and speech distilled as dew. How Babylon was transformable into the Jerusalem above her gorgeous towers and cloud-capped battlements, or flaming walls of the world—her winged horses and chariots of many running to battle *ramoosed* the sky as the bridegroom came out of his chamber. From the face of him who sat upon the white throne, the earth and the heaven fled away, nor was the Mother of God slow to make tracks to a place prepared in the wilderness, using the two wings of a great eagle that she might hurry up from the face of the serpent. With her, as with the Devil, fled the shades of night. All vanished as by the stroke of the enchanter's wand. "For in one hour so great riches is come to naught, and in one hour she is made desolate," as per John.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[From the Revolution, Thursday, January 5.]

REALITIES.

BY P. A. TAYLOR.

I am informed by *Pen and Pencil*, with certain harsh in-exorableness of tone, that *something* I must produce this evening, or incur a sentence something too dreadful to be contemplated, no less than that of ostracism (perhaps ostracism for incapacity should be spelt asstracism).

Well, what are the words? *Realities* and *drifting*. Very good; then I'll take both, for the most characteristic element that I have noted of *realities* is that they are constantly *drifting*.

Wishing to start from an undoubted basis, I asked a friend, before sitting down to write, what exactly he understood by *realities*, and he replied, with the air of a philosopher, "whatever man, through the medium of his senses, can surely realize." The conclusion to draw is that there is some inextricable connection between *realities* and *real lies* in which I am confirmed by Johnson, who traced the derivation of the word *reality* as from *real*.

Sir John Lubbock, in his "Origin of Civilization," under the heading of "Savage Tendency to Deification," states as a fact that "The King of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon afterwards, upon which all the Kaffirs look'd upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed

near it. At a glance it occurred to me, this is a *reality* well worthy of being brought under the notice of *Pen and Pencil*. Will it not furnish, thought I, material for their philosophers, and mirth for their humorists, and surely an excellent subject for their artists. But is it true? Aye, that must be my first discovery. Who shall hope to palm off doubtful *realities* upon *Pen and Pencil*, without deservedly drifting to disgrace?

Without indecent boasting, I believe I may assure this august assembly that I have probed the matter to its very root; the whole truth is in my hands, and shall be faithfully presented to this critical company. I shall be excused from detailing my method of examination; the time would fail us were I to make the attempt; suffice it to say that I have brought all possible modes under contribution, and many more, and that not a single fact has been set down unless previously tested by a wild flight of imagination. Upon principle, too, I decline to say how I have arrived at the realities of the case. Least truth should suffer through disapproval of my process.

If I say that I have telegraphed direct, some wretched caviller may observe that he never heard of Kaffir wires. I may have conversed with the ghost of the wicked King of Koussa Kaffir through the medium of Mrs. Marshall, but some jester—how I do detest the race—might object to my plan of *marshalling* my facts. I may have "asked that solemn question" of the leg of my lloo table, which does *not* by any means "seem eternal," something after the fashion of Ion. I may have caught the little toe of Mr. Home, as he was floating in mid-air, and so found my information, as honest debts should be paid, *on the nail*. I may have—but no more—I respectfully decline to communicate, to-night at least, aught but the ascertained *realities*.

It is true, then, that a stranded anchor was thrown on the shore of Koussa Kaffir; that it created wide-spread wonder and inquiry as to its whence, its wherfore, and its whither; that the king, being of an inquiring mind, often examined the anchor, pondered over its shape and its materials; that one day, testing this last with too much energy, one fluke was quite lopped off. His majesty was pleased with the result, although it did not seem to do much towards solving the difficult questions connected with the strange visitor; but it was afterwards generally reported that some of the wisest of the Kaffirs had shaken their heads three times, and had remarked that if anything should happen they should doubt whether it was not for something.

Something did happen. The king that night ate for his supper forty four ostrich eggs, besides two kangaroos and a missionary. It was too much for even a Kaffir king; he was seized with night-mare, raved of the weight of the anchor on his chest, and died.

The effect produced upon Kaffir public opinion and the Kaffir press was startling and instantaneous. The king had broken the anchor; the king had died—had died *because* he broke the anchor; that was evident, nay was proved—proved by unerring figures, as thus: the king was fifty-five years old; had lived, that is to say, 20,075 days; to say, therefore, that he had not died this day *because* of his daring impiety was more than twenty thousand to one against the doctrine of probabilities.

The anchor, therefore, was a power—was a devil to be feared—that is, a god to be worshipped; for in savage countries there is a wonderful likeness between the two. Thus was born a religion in Koussa Kaffir. Divine honors or dastard fears were lavished on the anchor; a priesthood sprang up who made their account in the Kaffir superstition. They were called anchorites. They were partly cheats and partly dupes; but they made a livelihood between the two characters. They fixed the nature and the amount of the sacrifices to be offered, and the requirements of the anchor were in remarkable harmony with the wants of its priests. Natural causes, too, were happily blended with supernatural. The anchor was declared to be the great healer of diseases. For immense sums the ministering priests would give small fillings to the diseased, and marvelous were the cures produced by oxides and by iron; never, in short, was there a more prosperous faith. The morals of the people, I grieve to say, did not improve in proportion to the extent of their faith. An anchor that is supposed to remit sins on sacerdotal intercession is probably not favorable to the higher morals in Koussa Kaffir.

But a trial had to come upon the anchor-devil and its worshippers. Under it it must collapse, or, passing through it as through the flame of persecution, come forth stronger and brighter than ever. Which should it be? It was an interesting spectacle. Let me finish my story.

There returned to Koussa Kaffir a native who had voyaged round the world since he had left his native land; he had seen and had observed much; he was well acquainted with anchors; had seen them in all stages and under all conditions; he knew their use by long experience; he had handled them. One time his vessel had been saved by its stout anchor; another time he had had to save the ship by slipping his cable and leaving the anchor at the bottom; he had never known an anchor resent the worst usage; he would not worship this old broken one. Some thought him mad, some wicked; he was called infidel by those who knew his mind, but for a long time he followed his friends' advice, and said nothing of his awful heresy.

But this condition of mind could hardly last forever. Travel had improved his intellectual force, as well as given special knowledge about anchors and other things; he began to lament over and even to despise the folly of his race; he burned to cast off some at least of their shackles of ignorance

and superstition. "How shall I begin," cried he one day, "to raise their souls to something higher, while they worship that stupid old rusty anchor in the sand?"

His soul began to burn with the spirit of martyrs and reformers. "I will expose this folly; I will break to pieces their anchor-devil, and when they see that all is well as it was before, they will begin to laugh at their own devil, and will have their minds open to a higher faith."

But first he would consult his friends; if possible obtain their sanction, and act in unison with others. He met with no encouragement. One gravely rebuked him for his presumption and conceit, and produced a long list of eminent Kaffirs who had bowed before the anchor. Another found in the absurdity of the anchor faith its best evidence of solidity. It was, he said, a faith too improbable for a Kaffir to have invented; any fool, he added, could believe a probable religion, but it needed a superior Kaffir to swallow this. Some put their tongues in their cheeks (a vulgar habit among the Koussa Kaffirs), and said: "Silly fellow, we know all that as well as you do; but the anchor is a profitable anchor, and as needs must, you shall be one among the priests."

Again, others said: "We, too, have our doubts, but as a political engine we must retain our anchor. How should we keep the lower orders? How restrain our servants from pilfering without its influence and sanctifying power. The fact is, that in our complicated social system all society depends upon the anchor." "Between ourselves," one added, "if Heaven had not sent that particular anchor, some of us think we must have sent to Woolwich for another."

But the only arguments that caused him any hesitation, and which did give him some pain, were from certain women who implored him not to destroy their anchor idol. "We cannot judge," said one of these, "between your arguments and the conclusions we have been brought up to reverence. The anchor may not be a god but only a symbol, but how beautiful a one! Does not the anchor save the ship? And are not our own lives, too, like the storm-tossed vessel? That anchor is associated with all we have felt, suffered, prayed for. Destroy that symbol, and you wound and endanger the deepest elements of religion in our hearts."

Finally, one very intelligent friend said to him with much solemnity: "Rash man, forbear! Stop while there is time in a course that may bring down ruin on the State and on yourself, and for the doing of which you can have, as a rational being, no temptation whatever. I grant you, you may be right, and the rest all wrong; but what then? We can know nothing of the matter, and you may be wrong. Now, anyhow, we are on the safe side of the hedge. If the anchor be a devil he may do you harm, and if he be only a bit of rusty iron you will be none the worse for a bow and a grimace."

The rash man was immovable. Doomed by the infernal god to pay the penalty of having lit his Promethean torch at Woolwich dockyard, armed with a mighty hammer, and followed by an awe-struck crowd, he fell upon the anchor, and with one mighty blow struck off the other fluke. It was his last! Inspired by religious zeal, the Koussa Kaffirs rushed upon him, and in the sight of the outraged anchor beat his brains out on the beach. It was observed that his friend who liked to be "on the safe side" threw the first stone, and the advocate of public morals was the next; after that they rained too thick to tell who did the most.

Meantime the anchor of Koussa Kaffir will be worshiped for a thousand years, for has it not slain the only two men who dared to question its authority!

FROM THE POTOMAC TO THE PACIFIC.

BY ANNIE DENTON CRIDGE.

III.

EIGHT THOUSAND FEET ABOVE THE SEA, }
Sunday, Jan. 1, 1871. }

OMAHA TO OGDEN.

What a country we have passed through! Not a tree have we seen except two small scrubby things that hardly deserve the name. The sleeping car (Pullman's palace car) is most comfortable; easy chairs in which passengers are seated, and a lady playing the organ (by the way, we have two parlor organs) make one feel very much at home. The sun goes to rest in the west, and the line of the horizon on both sides shows the faint outlines of the distant mountain-tops touched by the departing beams; but those mountains are neither grand nor lofty—are little more, in appearance, than our bits of hills from our sitting-room in Philadelphia Row (Washington, D. C.)

As we came over the plains I thought of the poor emigrants who, in days now past, wended their way over the same path, or no-path, no tree to greet the eye, only sage-brush—sage-brush everywhere. What a vast, illimitable ocean of the same character—all of the same wool and web.

Last night the moon looked down very kindly as we went steaming along. There is a peculiar feeling, a strange realization of being alone, away from civilization. Though we are on steam cars, all cities and city life are left behind, and one feels alone. Now the organ sounds again, and the ladies sing songs; we looked at the moon and the attendant star (Jupiter), and felt a peaceful content. Occasionally

sparks from the engine would set on fire the prairie, which was novel to most of us.

We had on board, however, two uncaged turtle doves—that is to say, a pair of humans evidently just married; but I christened them the turtle doves, and I like to think of them by that name. How they cooed and minced, forgetful of any other world than their own love-world, and of any other human being in that world but their two dear little selves! While I write, they go swinging down the car, their arms around each other; and now they recline on a lounge, their little wings fluttering while they coo so prettily!

The sun shines beautifully, and now we are far above the plains—far above our dear friends of the Atlantic slope, and I find myself thinking of the Atlantic cities and their busy, buzzing multitudes as I would of a few flies crowded together on a sprinkling of sugar on the edge of a table. It hardly seems possible that we can be at such an elevation; and yet as we ascended with such laggard steps, I thought that even the engine seemed to partake of our regrets in leaving our dear friends behind.

On, on we speed, but not one scene of beauty; verily, we are shut in. Nothing can we see but the clouds above us and a strip of flat surface on each side of the cars of about a quarter of a mile in width. We are in the condition of some folks with large self-esteem who hold their heads so high that they cannot see the ten thousand beauties that lie at their feet.

Have we only gained the mountains to be shut in from all that could charm us? Ah, but now I hear the cooing of our turtle doves, and I say, Be satisfied, oh, my soul!

Saw a prairie dog this morning; it stood on its hind legs and watched us with astonishment.

Just left Cheyenne. A few trees, or shams of trees—perhaps twenty pines—blessed our eyes. A paymaster and his clerk were on board; they are going in an ambulance with four gray mules—which were ready for them at the depot—to pay the Indian annuities. An escort of thirty soldiers accompanies them. Our sweet turtle doves have seen neither trees, mules, nor ambulances! Now come fences to keep off the snow.

5 P. M., 8,240 FEET ABOVE THE SEA.

We cannot realize that we are so much nearer heaven, for the rise is so gradual. Not a tree, not a hill on which to rest our eyes until this afternoon; all a vast [stopped by a snow-shed]. A peep of Pike's Peak to the south [more snow sheds]. The weather has been delightful; the sun shines through the snow-sheds. More mountains are coming into view. Glad I am, for we have passed through such an unending sea of prairie, level, almost, as the floor.

LATER.

Still shut in. This is worse than the prairie, for we can only see about a quarter of a mile on either side of us. All else is sky; not a hill or even distance.

Monday, Jan. 2.

Still the same dead, dull mountain scenery. How weary I am!

AFTERNOON.

We draw near Ogden, and what grandeur, what magnificence we have beheld in passing down Echo Canon! The rocks are well named "castle rocks." It needs but a slight infusion of imagination to behold castles, turrets, battlements, etc. Even our baby that had cried so much on the way, was hushed by the beauty, I said. On a stool near the door of the last car I have sat for two hours, with baby on my lap, looking over the wild, grand scene, as it was un wound, as it were, from a huge spool. On the left, behind, as the cars sped on, the "Devil's Slide," the "One-Thousand-Mile Tree"—a grand old tree, the equal of which we had not seen for a thousand miles, but which you would pass daily without noticing it in the least. Then the "Devil's Gate!" I am glad the devil has some grand old places assigned him.

As I sat there enjoying it so intensely, and yet dreaming—dreaming, I could fancy there "old King Cole" and his men were having a good, social time; or others, just as jolly and huge, were patting their heads together for a hearty frolic. Oh, the comical faces—the grinning faces, that winked and grimaced at baby and I as we dashed down Echo Canon.

Only thirty miles from Ogden! Ah, yonder is a dog, and now some Chinamen working on the railroad. What little cots—some covered with canvas. Are these the days of the Lilliputians?

Our two turtle doves have found a snug little nest in a small stateroom generally occupied by the conductor or porter. Birds do sometimes choose singular places.

Verily, God must have made this country late on Saturday night, for it is confusion and magnificence throughout, helter-skelter in delightful abandon.

B. GRATZ BROWN.—The Governor-elect of Missouri is a native of Frankfort, Ky., the namesake of a prominent and wealthy citizen of Fayette County, Benjamin Gratz, Esq., and the son of Judge Mason Brown, Secretary of State during Gov. C. T. Morehead's administration. B. Gratz Brown went to St. Louis about twenty years ago, a well-educated young man, full of talent and pluck. A bold man, with the nerve to follow his own convictions, he burst through the trammels of a Whig education and soon made himself known as one of the leaders of old Bullion's body guard. As editor of the St. Louis Democrat, he and Frank Blair subsequently led the Benton Democracy through all its phases of free-soilism, and finally expanded it into the Republican party of Missouri.—Louisville Courier Journal.

MEX'S RIGHTS.—They have man milliners in San Francisco, and gentlemen baby-linen manufacturers in Brooklyn.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

NOT KNOWING.

I know not what will befall me, God hangs a mist o'er my eyes;
And o'er each step of my onward path He makes new scenes to rise;
And every joy He sends me comes as a sweet and glad surprise.

I see not a step before me, as I tread the days of the year;
But the Past is still in God's keeping, the Future His mercy shall clear;
And what looks dark in the distance may brighten as I draw near.

For perhaps the dreaded Future has less bitter than I think;
The Lord may sweeten the water before I stoop to drink;
Or, if Marah must be Marah, He will stand beside its brink.

It may be He has, waiting for the coming of my feet,
Some gift of such rare blessings, some joy so strangely sweet,
That my life can only tremble with the thanks I can't repeat.

O restful, blissful ignorance! 'Tis blessed not to know;
It keeps me quiet in the arms which will not let me go;
And hushes my soul to rest on the bosom which loves me so.

So I go on not knowing: I would not if I might;
I would rather walk in the dark with God than go alone in the light;
I would rather walk with Him by faith than walk alone by sight.

My heart shrinks back from trials which the Future may disclose;
Yet I never had a sorrow but what the dear Lord chose;
So I send the coming tears back with the whispered words,
"He knows."

GOVERNOR CLAFLIN'S ADDRESS.

[We take the following from the editorial columns of the Boston Daily Traveller, thanking that able journal for its good words in behalf of Woman Suffrage. It is a sign of great progress in this direction when so many of our secular and influential papers advocate this cause. We give the article entire.—Ed.]

Governor Claflin's address, delivered on the 7th, is much praised, but not beyond desert, as a lucid exposition of State affairs, and as abounding in the expression of sound political views. We are glad to see that His Excellency takes ground in favor of Woman Suffrage, which he supports in a clear and forcible manner. Every sensible, liberal-minded man will admit that the Governor is correct when he says that, "with regard to the abstract right, it is difficult to see why one sex only should exercise the privilege of voting, and there are certainly many strong considerations why those now excluded should be permitted to share in public offices." This is well put, and, coming as it does from a man who, though a firm radical, is remarkable among our statesmen for the sobriety of his language and the gravity of his manner, it ought to have some effect on the minds of Senators and Representatives; and we hope to see something done by the Legislature in response to His Excellency's excellent suggestion. But some women, we are told, do not desire the suffrage for their sex. Admitted—but what of that? No one purposes that women should be made to vote, whether they would or not. Alter the laws so as to allow women to vote or not, as each and every woman should decide for herself. Thousands of men never vote, and many thousands of men vote irregularly. At some five-and-twenty elections at which we had the right to vote in the last twenty years, we voted only eight times—and, should we live for twenty years longer, we do not believe we shall vote four times. Still, we should be very loth to lose our power to vote, and we should consider that man an enemy who should seek such a change in the suffrage laws as would exclude us from the list of voters. Place women on a footing of perfect political equality with men, and leave it to themselves to exercise the power thus acquired, or to refrain from exercising it, as they shall see fit. Some of them laugh at the idea of voting. Let them laugh at it. That is one of their rights. But if Mrs. A. thinks voting folly, that is no reason why Mrs. B., who wishes to vote, should be deprived by force of the "privilege"—we should say the exercise of her right—to vote. There is no more justice in forcibly preventing Mrs. B. from voting than there would be in forcing Mrs. A. to vote. There is something nonsensical in citing female opposition to female suffrage as an argument against the proposed change, for that opposition only proves—what? Why, that some women do not desire the power to vote. Very well, for them; nobody would think of asking them to vote. Suppose that a thousand men were to petition the Legislature to a late measure for the restriction of the suffrage to men possessing of at least two thousand dollars' worth of unincumbered real estate, or of an income of not less than two thousand dollars a year—what an outcry there would be, and how just would be that outcry! Yet there are many men in this State—and very good men too—who would take the power to vote from all but men of property; and their view of the suffrage is in no respect more liberal than that of those advocates of universal (?) suffrage who say that women should not vote, and who actually would continue to exclude the majority of the people from all participation in the political business of the Union, the State, the district and the town! One of the arguments of these miracles of logic is that some women would sell their votes. So do some men, and yet no one openly purposes to restrict masculine suffrage. Another is that some women would become coarse as politicians. So do some men, and yet it is not thought proper to disfranchise all men because some of them are given to coarse practices. Another is, that some women would vote ignorantly—as if half the men who vote do so intelligently! In truth there is not an argument (so called) against woman's voting that is not quite as effective against allowing most men to vote; and it is only within a comparatively short time that the right of all men to vote has been generally admitted. Every elderly man can recollect the time when the suffrage was much restricted in most of the States; and, indeed, it is not without restrictions now in many parts of the Republic. But the changes wrought are immense, and in the making of those changes it is not difficult to see that further changes are to be made, the chief of which will be the admission of women to the enjoyment of the suffrage. Besides giving his good word for the political rights of women, Governor Claflin speaks emphatically in behalf of such reforms in regard to women's rights of property as would cause our code to embody the principle of common justice. As the laws now are, the grossest injustice is codified, as it were, and women are treated as if they were slaves, or even inferior animals. Massachusetts ought to be ashamed of such legislation, and should hasten to make the changes that are necessary to complete her claim to be considered a Christian Commonwealth.

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WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

1871 vs. 1776.

THE NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ADOPTED BY THE

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

At Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1871.

We, the undersigned, believing that the sacred rights and privileges of citizenship in this Republic have been long guaranteed to us by the original Constitution of the United States, and that these are now made manifest in the XIV. and XV. Amendments, so that we can no longer refuse the solemn responsibilities thereof, do hereby pledge ourselves to accept the duties of the franchise in our several States so soon as all legal restrictions shall be removed.

And believing that character is the best safeguard of national liberty, we pledge ourselves to make the personal purity and integrity of candidates for public office the first test of fitness.

And, lastly, believing in God as the Supreme Author of the first American Declaration of Independence, we pledge ourselves in the spirit of that memorable Act, to work hand-in-hand with our fathers, husbands and sons, for the maintenance of those Equal Rights on which our Republic was originally founded, to the end that it may have what is declared to be the first condition of just Government—the consent of the governed.

BARTON vs. HATCH.

We call the special attention of all who are interested in the mysteries of successful railroad management to the very able reply of Mr. Samuel Barton to Mr. Rufus Hatch's attack upon Commodore Vanderbilt. From a careful investigation of all sides of this question one can scarcely fail to conclude that had the Commodore taken hold of any other Trunk Railroad the same results would have followed as have in the line virtually controlled by him.

We have yet to arrive at that stage of perfection which will not permit the most being made of all the advantages which are offered by the Government to corporations to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. The remedy for this lies in legislation, which must move in some such general manner as to make it impossible for such results as Mr. Hatch points out to be attained. The distinction to be observed in the public judgment between this class of railroad management and that of railroads built on paper, by which the public is swindled by false representations of value and benefit into the purchase of bonds, is obvious.

It is very seriously to be questioned whether any who take exceptions to the old Commodore's business management would not be glad to be possessed of the same capacity and the like opportunity to apply it.

We recommend the most careful consideration of both sides of this question, and are very glad that the manner these things are done is thus brought prominently before the public, for "Agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom."

IMMIGRATION.

Is it a New Move of a Corporation which Rules the Judiciary of a State? Is it a Scheme of the Men Who Tried to Rob the Sinking Fund of Pennsylvania?

PERHAPS THE INEVITABLE JAY COOKE & CO.,
OR A "DRIVE" TO GIVE THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
MORE POWER.

Dangers from Centralization Pointed Out to Horace Greeley.

Not very long ago a convention was called at Indianapolis for the purpose of devising measures for the protection of immigrants. The call appeared to have been made under the authority of various Western State Governors. The convention was attended in good faith by many men of standing and reputation, and by delegations; but, on its assembly, it was soon discovered to be a mere trick engineered in the interests, materially, of the Pennsylvania Railroad people—one of whose ticket agents was intended to have been Chairman or President of the convention—and politically, for the purpose so to act upon Congress as to place entire immigration business under the management of the General Government, with a perfect army of inspectors, superintendents, clerks and so forth, unrivaled in numbers even by the present locust swarm of revenue officials—and all these men were to be under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury, adding to his already immense patronage and dangerous powers.

The terrible expense which could thus be added to the National "out-go" was, of course, kept very much in the background—but it is easily understood; and surely this is no time to saddle new burdens on the people, who are now weighed down with the interest on the public debt and the extravagant expenditures of a Government, which in these expenditures does not even encourage commerce.

If we consider that the National expenses for the past year, leaving out those of the Army and Navy and the interest due on the public debt, were \$4,400,000 more than the similar (not Crown) expenses of Great Britain—while in the English expenses is included a sum of several millions of dollars paid for the support of steamship lines—we can see that our simple Republican Government spends very much and has very little to show for it, after all; not even assisting the people to earn the sums of money it takes from them.

A recent notice in a daily newspaper has again called attention to the immigration subject. The notice is as follows: "Henry D. Cooke (of Jay Cooke & Co.), with several Western members of Congress, called upon Secretary Boutwell, this afternoon, to get his views on the bill introduced into Congress in accordance with the memorial of the National Immigration Convention, asking that custom officials shall be made the agents of the Government in all matters relating to immigration. . . . After hearing the explanation offered by Mr. Cooke that it would take the matter out of the hands of the State authorities, and make the Government the protector of immigrants until they reached their destination, Secretary Boutwell said he would think the matter over, and desired the committee to call again."

Now we desire, as a very pertinent matter, in this case, to call attention to the continued assaults, in the worst interests of "centralization," made at the National capital by the members of this firm of Jay Cooke & Co., and if Horace Greeley would give as frank and fair a statement of his opinions of their actions as he did recently of the "job" of the Western Union Telegraph Company, he would "do the State some service."

Jay Cooke & Co. are a new firm. That is to say, one that was brought into existence by the war. Their money was made and their banking house established by their employment as brokers for the sales of the Government debt. Out of these sales they are reported to have made handsome commissions, and are supposed to be wealthy. Naturally, having been, so to speak, brought into existence by employment from the Federal Government, certainly having had no antecedent position or financial employment that would have taught them respect for, or knowledge of, the ethics of constitutional law, we find them, in season and out of season, urging at Washington measures very inimical to the interests of the country at large, but profoundly calculated to be of benefit to themselves. It may be that the philosophy of these days finds no blame in the unlimited pursuit of self-interest by bankers. We may admit this, however unwillingly, for the sake of argument, because the establishment of such a doctrine makes it the more incumbent on the representatives of the different States of the Union assembled in

Congress to carefully scrutinize every scheme presented to them by such parties. A very dangerous element is being rapidly introduced into the system of the nation. One that will, if allowed, sap every foundation of State or individual rights, and will give us a moneyd oligarchy worse than any ever known in the history of the world, because it will exert its power through gigantic, unfeeling, brazen-faced corporations.

Let us see: Jay Cooke & Co. procured a charter from Congress for a life insurance company. They are said to have asserted its exemption from any State control. This State of New York contested that idea and maintained successfully its authority. The State laws were complied with therefore in this case. But how may it be in the next? The agencies of the life insurance company were all to be connected with the national banks. That was a paramount part of the plan. Behold the moneyd and political influence which might thus be joined together. What right had Congress to enter into such special legislation?

The Northern Pacific Railroad Company from Congress, Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co. its promoters, agents and managers, receive a charter of incorporation and a free gift of (we now quote Jay Cooke & Co.'s own words), "Lands in value sufficient to 'build the entire road,' fit out an entire fleet of sailing vessels and steamers for the China, East India and coasting trade, and leave a surplus that will roll up to millions."

Associated in this Northern Pacific Railroad affair are understood to be some of the prominent men of the Pennsylvania Railroad "ring." Already arrangements have been made by these last to connect their road with Duluth, the eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific, by a line of steamers on the lakes; and a bill to incorporate, subsidize and shamefully give a monopoly of our carrying trade on rivers, lakes and oceans to a company to be called the "American and European Steamship Company," is now before Congress in the interest of some of the same parties. We have repeatedly exposed this most nefarious scheme. If it should pass Congress, it will be the most iniquitous and wicked "job" that has ever been legislated upon any country.

On top of all these carefully laid and slowly developing plans comes this of the "Immigration," which caps the climax to all. Under the hollow mockery of a philanthropy which would be best served by the protection of State laws, State rights and State courts; it is, in point of fact, a game to place power in the hands of the treasury ring—frightful expense on the people—give joint control of the immigration business to the Pennsylvania Railroad—the owners of the Northern Pacific land grants and of the projected American and European Steamship Bill. Tear off these different masks and the same purpose will be found behind each, the same moving spirits direct one and all, for a selfish and wicked end. Legislators of the national Congress, you represent in the halls of the Capitol the interests of the States you are elected from, the rights of the masses of the people who have elected you. Be warned in time, oppose centralization. Opposition to it is now our best bulwark against united and corrupt monopolies. If you desire to serve the immigrant, give such aid to a company, organized under a State act of incorporation, as may be reasonable, and require its ships to be built under rigid Government inspection, its rules be framed and enforced for the full protection of immigrants; its policy to be such as will re-establish our ship-building and aid the creation of other companies, but guard against monopoly, guard the country from such schemes as that of the American and European Steamship Company and its concealed originators, as you would your own households from the entrance of the evil one.

We call upon the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York—who control the great immigrant port of this city, where more than five-sevenths of all the immigrants to the country are landed—to declare the motives of the Pennsylvania company and its supporters, and why the agents of that company were at one time shut out from Castle Garden, the immigrant depot.

Rely upon it, the heavy expense of national interference in such an affair would not be decreased by the connection with it of railroad managers who have in a few years managed to water their own securities \$31,461,914, besides giving guarantees on leases almost without limit. Nor will morality be very strictly enforced by men who could boast of controlling a judiciary or seek to rob their own State of its sinking fund!

Congress is absolutely bound to protect the immigrant at sea. It has the authority to establish steamship lines and give directions concerning them. It alone has the authority to make international treaties for such purposes even. But that obligation ceases when the immigrant is landed. His care then becomes a police regulation belonging to a State.

"A State has the right to deny foreign paupers, or foreigners likely to become paupers, a residence.

"A State has a jurisdiction of its own ports for purposes of port regulations, harbor police, sanitary police, quaran-

tine, pilotage, and the support and regulation of paupers, foreign and domestic.

"A State has the right to maintain paupers, foreign and domestic, and to lay a tax for that purpose on foreigners or others, when undoubtedly within its jurisdiction and not imports or subjects of commerce. But the Federal Government has no power to maintain paupers, foreign or domestic, or to levy taxes for that purpose."

New York endures nearly all the evils, while other States benefit from immigration. New York stays the spread of contagious diseases, for five years from his arrival protects the immigrant, guards him from imposition on his landing, and although not always able to save him from the consequences of his own ignorance and credulity—to do which "would require a special detective to be assigned to each immigrant"—yet does give a far more efficient, economical, kindly and meritorious protection than ever would be given by the incompetent lower officials of the Federal Government under the control, secret or otherwise, of the parties we have above referred to.

What would become of the immigrant in the hands of such officials as those who, by bribes, thefts and embezzlements, cost the Government one hundred millions of dollars, according to the statement of a Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in collecting three hundred millions?

What kind of measures would be adopted for aiding immigrants by corporation "rings," if they had the power to adopt them, when such "rings" attempt openly to plunder a State of its funds by lobbying a bill through its Legislature for that object?

The bill to deprive Pennsylvania of its sinking fund is again being agitated. The Governor of the State shows his fear of the cormorants in advising that the fund should be at once used for the reduction of the State debt, so that it may not be stolen. A leading journal in Pennsylvania says: "The passage of this swindling bill over the Governor's veto (for it can become a law in no other way) will damn, and ought to damn, forever any party in the state which allows it." Of its passage last winter when it was vetoed by Governor Geary, the same journal says: "All know from the reckless and extravagant character of the harpies swarming around that all the money would have been squandered." The bill was put through and then withheld from the Governor until the night before adjournment so that he could not be able to veto it legally in time; but Governor Geary had his veto ready and sent it in at once and faithfully guarded nine and a half millions of dollars of the people's money.

The largest interest and the most important that is now left to the United States is the immigrant business: Shall it be meddled with to its ruin, to serve the concealed purposes of robber capitalists, "rings," private corporations?

UNHAPPY MARRIAGES.—The universal expectation of married people is that their married lives will always be happy ones. Deluded dreamers! They imagine that they are different from other people, and that when they enter the portals of matrimony, love, peace and prosperity will ever be their attendants. Such ones had better by far consider themselves the same as others, but form iron resolutions to do differently from other married people—resolutions that will keep them from the dangerous coasts on which so many have been wrecked and ruined. Unhappy marriages depend upon many causes. Previous to marriage, many try to appear more intellectual, more amiable, or more accomplished than they really are. Depend upon it, that love brought into existence by a moonlight stroll, strengthened by deceit and fashionable displays, and finally consummated through the influence of intriguing friends, will fade in after life almost as fast as the flowers which compose the bridal-wreath.

A WOMAN'S CONVENTION IN THE SOUTH.—A Woman's Rights Convention will meet in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on Wednesday, the 8th of February. Mary Warren is the moving spirit. The Woman's Rights cause is awakening considerable interest in the Southern States, and the projected convention will no doubt be largely attended by the talented women of the sunny South.

A NOVEL WOMAN'S RIGHTS QUESTION.—In Crawford County, Iowa, Mrs. Hunter has brought an action against Miss Sarah Moran for seducing her husband. Mrs. Hunter claims three thousand dollars damages, and as the case is pretty clear, and as Sarah has considerable property, it is thought that the lady plaintiff will recover.

ANOTHER LADY LECTURER IN EMBRYO.—Mrs. Frances M. Carter gave readings to a private circle of friends on the 20th January at Delmonico's, in this city, preparatory to coming out before the public. You have talent, Frances; there is plenty of room; make a bold movement, and, in the language of Barnaby Rudge's raven, "Never say die."

ANOTHER CLERKSHIP.—Miss Jane U. Whittlesey has been appointed a clerk in the office of the Topographer, Post-office Department, Washington.

TO THE FRIENDS OF POLITICAL EQUALITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

The cause of woman's suffrage has come to a direct issue. The diffusive labor of many years has now been concentrated in the National Halls of Legislation. Congress has been memorialized for a "declaratory act" in accordance with the general construction of the Constitution, as interpreted by the XIV. and XV. Articles of Amendments thereto. The memorial is now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, under consideration, and in due time it will be reported to the House of Representatives. Thus far the most favorable progress has been made, and no effort will be spared to press the matter to a successful issue during the present session of Congress. The late vote upon striking out the word "male" from the bill to organize a territorial government for the District of Columbia, while most flattering, cannot be considered a test vote, although so spread over the country by those who wish it was. A one-third vote upon a question for the first time coming before Congress, and that too without any discussion, augurs most favorably for immediate results. It is known that forty of the fifty-five affirmative votes one month ago would have been "nay." If like results continue to flow who can tell but that our demand may be granted before the close of the present session?

There is sufficient ground for hope to induce us to call upon every person, male or female, who has any interest in this movement, to rally to its support. In every city, town and hamlet there are more or less who feel the great injustice which women are subjected to without any chance for appeal, and these should at once get up petitions to Congress, to be presented through their representatives, urging this act of justice. Its friends should not wait for some one to take the lead. Every one should feel that he or she is a leader and should set about the good work; should draw a petition, sign it themselves and get everybody else whom it is possible to do the same, and then forward it either direct to their representative in Congress or to Mrs. Josephine Griffing, Secretary of the Women's National Suffrage Association, Washington, D. C., who will see everything of this kind properly attended to.

A million names should show Congress that the Sherman-Dahlgren memorial is a *libel* upon the women of the United States. It needs but this to compel Congress to do what they know already is right, and which they acknowledge must soon be granted. Many will vote against this extension of suffrage to woman, who when approached outside of Congress admit that our position is correct. Such as these, who know the right but do not dare or will not act upon it, require this power to be brought upon them. If they can be made to feel that the country is with this movement they will find courage to do the right. Not only must these petitions flow from the people upon Congress so as to overwhelm it, but the same power should be brought to bear upon the legislature of every State. The Suffrage Associations everywhere should lose no time in following up in the several States the movement begun in Washington. It requires only that the friends of the cause should act in concert to secure this most just legislation. Their real power has never been felt. There is a point now to rally around. Then rally, and let no side-questions interfere to break the force of the onset which can be made upon Congress and State Legislatures the present winter.

The petitions should be similar to the following:
To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

We, the undersigned, women citizens of the United States, desiring to exercise the elective franchise, do humbly pray your honorable bodies to enact a declaratory law recognizing our right to vote under the Constitution, as interpreted by the XIV. Article of Amendments thereto. And your petitioners will ever pray.

MR. JULIAN'S SPEECH.—We take special pleasure in being able to present to our readers the great speech of Hon. Geo. W. Julian, delivered January 21, 1871, in the House of Representatives, against the numerous "Land Grabbing" schemes pending in Congress. It is to be regretted that Mr. Julian's term expires with the present session. Such able and fearless opponents of corruptionists' schemes the nation can ill afford to lose. We trust everybody will read this speech carefully through.

HON. A. G. RIDDLE'S ARGUMENT.—Next week we shall lay before our readers the very able argument of Hon. A. S. Riddle before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of the "Woodhull Memorial."

DISTINGUISHED LADY FARMER.—The Hon. Mrs. Yelverton, Lady Avonmore, the heroine of the famous English divorce suit, has gone on a farm in Missouri, and will henceforth give her undivided attention to raising stock.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

International law, as acknowledged by all nations, provides that no nation shall permit its subjects to arm, equip or fit out any vessel for the purpose of committing hostilities against any foreign power with which said nation may be at peace, and that upon presentation of evidence taken under oath, to the effect that any vessel is so fitting out with such intent, it shall be the duty of the government to seize the offenders and bring them to trial for an intended infraction of neutrality. It is not denied, on the part of England, that Mr. Adams did present evidence taken upon oath, that the Alabama was so fitting out, and had actually enlisted men in the port of Liverpool for the purpose of committing hostilities against the United States. The official documents also prove, and it is not denied, that the English law officers of the crown did actually condemn the Alabama for infringement of the laws of neutrality; such condemnation being by them officially announced in ample time to have seized the ship, orders to which effect were given a day previous to her departure. Here, then, we have an admitted law and an indisputable violation. It is true the English government sent orders to seize the vessel on her expected arrival at Nassau, and it cannot be denied that the same acts rendering her liable to seizure at Nassau rendered her liable to seizure in any British port, and no jurist can be found to assert that a vessel liable to seizure for a violation of neutrality in the ports of Liverpool and Nassau are not alike liable at the Cape of Good Hope, or at any other of the British ports wherein the Alabama took shelter. But what was to be expected of the nation whose whole naval history was a series of unjustifiable attacks upon other nations in times of peace. In 1739 the English captured Spanish ships in the Mediterranean without any declaration of war. In 1755 the English captured French ships without any declaration of war. In 1758 the English captured merchantmen belonging to the United Provinces without any warning or declaration of war. In 1673 the English attacked the Dutch fleet without any declaration of war. And in 1803 the English assailed Spanish vessels without any declaration of war. And, in like manner, Copenhagen was bombarded without any declaration of war. These historical facts, of course, boded but a small probability that England would act in good faith to a commercial rival, when it was to her interest to act otherwise. The fact that during the wars of the Carlos in Spain a vessel was built in England which rumor said was fitting out to commence hostilities against Spain in behalf of Don Carlos; whereupon the English government, not being able to gather sufficient evidence whereon to detain said vessel, detailed a ship-of-war to follow her, and the suspected vessel was followed and watched, being thereby prevented from committing any acts of aggression, might have warranted the conclusion that the nation that could be so watchful of a suspected vessel, would have been at least equally as vigilant with regard to the Alabama, she being condemned by its own highest legal authorities, but England always consults what she considers for the nonce her interests.

It is also a settled law and practice that vessels captured shall be adjudicated upon in a prize court; and this law and practice is absolutely necessary to prevent belligerents from capturing the vessels of neutrals under pretence of their belonging to the enemy. Yet England allowed the Alabama entrance to and the hospitalities of her ports when that vessel had captured and destroyed vessels without any such adjudication, and as our government appears to make no complaint upon this point, we presume that by common consent the belligerent having his ports blockaded may burn or otherwise destroy his captures at sea without adjudication; whilst the belligerent who can keep his ports open is denied any such a right. This is one of the Alabama chickens that will go home to England to roost with a vengeance if she should go to war.

The whole course pursued by England in this matter has been one of self-convenience, delay and subterfuge, giving way just in proportion as she has been pressed. During our war she stoutly and defiantly refused to discuss the question at all; upon its conclusion and our victory she was quite willing to submit part of the question to arbitration, in London; yes, even in Washington. Meantime Mr. Forster and others were expressing their regrets in the English House of Commons that the Alabama was allowed to escape, and stating that England was prepared to pay the amount of damages that an arbitrator would no doubt adjudge against her; while the London press teemed with conciliatory articles acknowledging England's liability, and the English government overtly implied that they would not object to the question of England's liability for premature recognition of the Southern Confederacy; but when this point was put fairly upon an acknowledged basis, she declined to allow her conduct in recognizing the Southern Confederacy to be questioned, stating that they were compelled to grant such recognition in consequence of Mr.

[CONTINUED ON FIFTH PAGE.]

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

FRANK CLAY;

OR,

HUMAN NATURE IN A NUTSHELL.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

DEDICATION.

Most modern authors paint their actors in
The strongest garbs of villainy and purity,
Select a hero and a heroine
Of wondrous wealth though born in some obscurity;
They both, of course, descend to zero in
This world's estate, but always sage futurity
Brings them both out as very constant lovers,
Then husbands, wives and fathers, also mothers.

Orlando, Clarence, Orville, Seraphina,
Sir Charles, the Count, the Countess, or Miss Maud,
Of late have had full sway, each having been a
Wronged victim by some dreadful crime or fraud;
All planned as nicely as some philopona,
The heavy villain always getting floored.
They take well if you handle them with tact,
But suit me not, I wish to deal with fact.

I take the world precisely as it stands,
And show mankind as one is apt to find him;
My hero does not roam through foreign lands
With daring deeds or wondrous feats behind him,
Not even persecuted by fierce bands
Of ruthless villains, who would fain consign him,
With much *sang froid*, to torture and perdition,
And then usurp his fortune and position.

And so the heroes of this model rhyme
Will take their parts each in his proper sphere,
Avoiding those mysterious plots of crime
Which every day assail the public ear.
I don't intend sensation, not a line
In that way in my pages will appear;
But what with love, law, politics and trade,
I mean to show the world as it is made.

Will no one dare to tell the simple truth,
And view the world in its prismatic colors,
Expose the reign of fraud and crime forsooth,
Committed daily for the sake of dollars?
Making the age a play of virtue bouffe,
One-half adepts, the other rising scholars
At making money the best way they can,
While all exclaim the honest is the plan,

"A gentleman who drinks merely imbibes,
But if a workman he's a drunken beast;
The gentleman his slight excess ascribes
To first-rate wine at ball, or club, or feast:
The workman all assail with diatribes,
A good-for-nothing sot, to say the least.
Yes, yes; there's all the difference, you see,
Between a slight excess and vulgar spree."

"Where, where shall truth seek for a resting-place,
And where shall honor dare to walk abroad?
Oh, where shall justice hide her blushing face,
Nor feel that she is shunned, betrayed, abhorred?
Go search the world, find them a hiding-place,
In Christendom they are alike ignored
By peasantry or dukes, who merely mock
And hold them up a common laughing-stock."

There, that's the cynics style, much too severe;
Besides, you know Pope ran it several years;
And then I think 'tis palpable and clear,
"Twould never move a culprit unto tears;
No doubt 'tis best a middle course to steer,
Appealing first to hopes, and then to fears,
Although I grant when dealing with a fool,
There's nothing so acute as ridicule.

Well, there's Kit Carson comes out every day,
And having killed an Indian or two,
And driven two or three more score away—
That being of course the least that he could do—
Partakes of breakfast after the affray,
And hunts for other fights in pastures new,
Or saves a maiden from some savage band
Which kindly keeps her for his saving hand.

Josh Billings slyly, in facetious mood,
Tells many truths in an amusing style,
That makes much more digestible the food,
Because his paragraphs don't stir one's bile,
And yet expose the bad and plead the good;
They teach a lesson, yet amuse the while;
And though you laugh at every point of wit,
You feel the truth of every single hit.

But I must take a different style in hand,
And hold our common life to public view;
I wish you to distinctly understand
I mean to probe each subject through and through,
Presenting it as good, and great, and grand,
As faithful portraiture permits me to;
And say to those who make unpleasant stricture,
Blame not the photograph but blame the picture.

The world is practical, you may depend
There's quite enough material within it,
If to the task your energies you bend,
To show that after all the virtue in it
Preponderates; besides, the way to mend
Is, after holding vice aloft, to pin it,
Like base coin to the counter in full gaze,
The malefactors then may mend their ways.

Sometimes within my novel you may find
The gloss of vice so faithfully is shown,
It almost seems excused; but bear in mind
'Tis so in actual life, and you will own
That when you read the sentiments behind,
Their forces for the previous gloss atone;
I mean to fill my pages with much matter,
The sophistries of sycophants to shatter.

Just step inside where men most congregate,
And listen to these lords as they debate;
Honor is humbug, virtue is a myth,
Candor a blind to fool your neighbor with;
And as to honesty in any trade—
A good idea, of course, for mere parade;
And all's deception, pulling down the wool
O'er other's eyes, then dubbing him a fool.

Apply the rules they use for all mankind
To each of them, and then of course you find
That they at least are honest, virtuous, candid:
The rules apply to what the other man did.
Oh, all the world is bad, but him, I guess;
Why certainly, he's good: I see, oh yes,
Each stands upon his modest dignity,
Proclaims, "Behold, all men are bad but me."

But still one cannot banish the suggestion,
Perhaps there may be two sides to that question;
For calling all the world hard names, you see,
Is apt to picture fallibility.
When spectacles make all things dirty seem,
One's apt to think the pebbles can't be clean;
Not that I mean to cast reflections, no;
'Tis only other folk are bad, you know.

That is not just, it really is not fair—
Because one tells what really does exist,
To rail at him, facetiously impair
His worthiness by shrouding it in mist;
Look well around, I soberly declare,
His inference you scarcely can resist,
There's such profusion living of each kind,
Whate'er you seek for you will surely find.

Ah, me, this human clay's a fickle fact,
Tossed as a boat adrift upon the tide:
Our path's as aimless and as frail our fact,
As onward to the grave we slowly glide;
Pure selfishness the prompter of each act,
Regardless what the future may betide;
Our few good thoughts and feelings pass away
Like gleams of sunshine on a stormy day.

The pleasures of the hour are all in all,
The future may be left to mind itself;
The most momentous question's the next ball,
The fashions, or amassing further pelf.
'Tis thus we flutter on from birth to pall,
Engrossed in passions, mammon, and our wealth;
Death leads before and claims us all at last,
And then it is we see the hollow past.

But all the world declaims at pelf and mammon,
Yet act the antipodes of what they preach,
As though precept were pleasantry and gammon,
Their duty ended when they glibly teach
Their children morals, and with romance cram 'em,
A fiction time and practice quickly bleach,
Then if they do not act just as they ought to,
It quells one's qualms to know that they were taught to.

Success is the sole test of one's ability,
A lucky blunder shows your "head is level,"
A failure demonstrates the brain's sterility,
And sends your reputation to the devil;
The means employed, the commonest civility
Forbids to question, whether good or evil
Accomplished what you sought, you have succeeded,
That's all that either need be known or heeded.

'Tis smart to rig the market at your will,
To lock up wheat and raise the price of bread;
Cut down the struggling tradesman's honest bill;
'Tis smart to make a will for one who's dead,
If not found out by Jack, or Tom, or Gill,
In highest circles then you're sure to lead;
So if for fame or wealth you pine or hanker,
Steal like a politician or a banker.

You understand that if you take a bribe
And get discovered, you're a "cornered" thief,
And ergo shunned by all the honest tribe
Not yet found out; ah, well! there's one relief,
If wealthy you can sneer at diatribe,
And enter good society as chief;
Just keep your defalcation out of print,
And then of course the world sees nothing in't.

'Twould be a novel and instructive sight
To find a model, honest, candid man,
And watch his worldly progress; perhaps he might
Get wealthy trading on this moral plan;
The chances are that his Quixotic fight
Would make him bankrupt ere a year had ran.
One half the world would jeer his sorry plight;
The other say it served him justly right.

And as to fashion, who on earth would go
Dressed in a garb of antiquated style?
Your dearest friend would turn his nose as though
He had a sudden fit of nauseous bile,
And make excuses to his friends to know
So odd a man; and they, of course, would smile;
Exclaim "ah, yes!" or other interjections,
And meantime think of your friend's queer connections.

Fashion is a solid, ruthless fact,
Talk as you like, the world obeys its rules,
By every one of note its laws are backed,
It's enemies are dubbed eccentric fools,
Or country cousins, miserly or cracked,
And if not so as obstinate as mules,
So when death takes you to eternal rest
Be sensible, and go dressed in your best.

A pretty girl if not dressed a la mode
Is no one, and would quite shock good society,
Or surely she would not ignore it's code
And make herself a living notoriety;
Unless her old habiliments forbode
That her papa has failed, and so propriety
(Combined with empty purse) suggests she ought
To economize till he has passed the court.

None but a brute would wish the charming dears
Dressed like a fright to saunter down Broadway;

And then, oh, heavens! who can withstand their tears
Or see them pout or fret, and not give way;
Or watch their faces change with hopes and fears,
As though their life depended on what you say;
Go through this ordeal, oh, strong-minded man,
And keep your resolutions if you can.

'Tis then philosophy will melt like snow,
Determination melt into thin air,
"She's really very good and kind, and so
'Tis harsh to fill her darling breast with care,
And after all 'tis really not as though
She's different from other ladies fair,
How prettily she looks when finely dressed;"
Dear reader please imagine all the rest.

And must man's reason be so much belied,
And he a baubled worm crawl on the earth
In glitter, pomp, and petty tinsel pride,
His paltry garb the measure of his worth?
Is there on earth no higher aim beside
The gaze of fools? can there be such a dearth
Of sense that eik from simple grubs, and wool
From sheep should turn a man into a fool.

Oh, man! endowed by the Creator's hand,
With brain and reason infinitely grand,
Cannot these mighty gifts your brain inspire
To deeds more noble, aspirations higher?
The world resounds with ignorance, with crime,
Vice stares you in the face in every clime,
The helpless cry aloud for aid in vain,
Then cease to be a libel on your name.

"Those last two verses are a sudden change,"
I think I hear you say; well, that is true,
I like to take a somewhat widened range
Because what suits me well, may not suit you;
And if the transformation does seem strange,
The medium may be found between the two,
Just reason and you'll find the doctrine right,
But if you won't, then take which side you like.

I merely tell you now, just for the nonce,
That I like others have a settled view,
And think who disagrees of course a dunce;
But then I grant the self-same right to you,
And after holding up both sides at once,
I leave it to the reader then to do
Exactly as he pleases, as for me,
If needs be, I'll agree to disagree.

I take that back, I hardly think just so,
Although a penchant to that common end
Is quite excusable, still we all know
That strong opinions naturally tend
To wrap one in oneself, and feel a glow
Of self-importance, and we often blend
Two feelings both alike quite *outré* and strong,
One, "I am right," the other, "You are wrong."

For if one takes a whim and stares at that,
He winks and blinks, and gets blind as a bat,
And yet 'tis strange if you sit down and think
What gnats he'll rave at, yet at camel's wink;
In fact you might propound it as quite clear
That right and wrong are simply an idea;
They vary so much in the way applied
And take their shapes from those who then decide.

Each pulls your coat-sleeve, craving your attention,
To prove his case beyond all contravention,
He starts with his ideas firmly fixed,
And if you differ, then 'tis *yours* are mixed;
His argument is most invincible,
Aught that's contrary to his principle,
Without a moment's thought he casts aside,
"Too foolish to be argued"; let them slide.

Well, after all, this is a giant age,
And where 'twill land us who would dare preface?
Just see the *Herald's* news from every clime;
The *Sun*, two cents, which glories in a shine,
Then well-bred MARBLE and his rival BRICK,
Who never stopped his adjectives to pick;
The ciphering sheet, a puzzle to a Babbage,
That tells you how to grow a tree or cabbage.

The temperance men, free-love, and Mormonism,
The Fenians, free trade, and spiritualism,
Each bound in future, says its friends, to be a—
For all our ills—most perfect panacea;
We've home-made princes, foreign ballet dancers,
George Francis Train, the Count, loud necromancers,
And what with sages, office-seekers, fools,
Materials are plenty, so are tools.

Oh, thou great moralist and speaker, Wood,
Whose public labors are a monument
Such as no other city e'er withstood,
Are not these lines the true embodiment
Of all that is and has been since the flood?
Leases on earth outweigh those in the firmament,
And if one only could do as he pleases
In this life, thousands would renew their leases.

You see the synchronism of my rhyme
Alternate to the lights and shadows passes,
And holds aloft the notions of our time
As viewed through each delineator's glasses;
The truly good and worldliest combine
Presenting their opinions to the masses;
And, having slightly lifted up the veil,
Suppose that we proceed now with our tale.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DOUBTFUL SUPPORT.—It is said that Theodore Tilton
has finally determined to become an ardent supporter of
woman's suffrage. We will accept his assistance, whether it
be feeble or strong, but at the same time we must be permit-
ted to mildly doubt his disinterestedness. We lean a little
to the belief that he will remain an advocate of our cause just
as long as it pays, and no longer. Are we not right, The-
odore?

JIM BLUDSO,
(OF THE PRAIRIE BELLE.)

Wall, no! I can't tell what he lives,
Because he don't live, you see;
Leastways, he's got out of the habit
Of livin' like you and me.
What have you been for the last three year
That you haven't heard folks tell
How Jimmy Bludso passed in his checks,
The night of the Prairie Belle?

He weren't no saint—them engineers
Is all pretty much alike—
One wife in Natchez-under-the-Hill
And another one here in Pike.
A keardless man in his talk was Jim,
And an awkward man in a row—
But he never flunked, and he never lied,
I reckon he never knowed how.

And this was all the religion he had—
To treat his engine well;
Never be passed on the river;
To mind the pilot's bell;
And if ever the Prairie Belle took fire—
A thousand times he swore,
He'd hold her nozzle agin the bank
Till the last soul got ashore.

All boats has their day on the Mississippi,
And her day come at last—
The Movastar was a better boat,
But the Belle she wouldn't be passed,
And so she come tearin' along that night—
The oldest craft on the line,
With a nigger squat on her safety-valve,
And her furnace crammed, rosin and pine.

The fire burst out as she cleared the bar,
And burnt a hole in the night,
And quick as a flash she turned, and made
For the willer-bank on the right.
There was running and cursing, but Jim yelled out
Over all the infernal roar,
"I'll hold her nozzle agin the bank
Till the last galoot's ashore."

Through the hot black breath of the burning boat
Jim Bludso's voice was heard,
And they all had trust in his cussedness,
And knowed he would keep his word.
And sure's you're born, they all got off
Afore the smokestacks fell—
And Bludso's ghost went up alone
In the smoke of the Prairie Belle.

He weren't no saint—but at Judgment
I'd run my chance with Jim,
'Longside of some pious gentlemen
That wouldn't shook hands with him.
He seen his duty, a dead sure thing—
And went for it thar and then;
And Christ ain't agoin' to be too hard
On a man that died for men.

—John Hay, Tribune.

THE ADDRESS OF THE LABOR PARTY

TO THE
GOVERNOR-ELECT OF MISSOURI.

[From the St. Louis Republican, Dec. 13, 1870.]

ADDRESS.

To the Hon. B. Gratz Brown, Governor-elect of Missouri:

SIR—In your final speech to the people, at the Courthouse in St. Louis, on the 5th of November, 1870, which closed your canvass as candidate for the Governorship of Missouri, you gave utterance to sentiments which are in accord with the doctrines of the National Labor Reform party. You speak therein of "freedom equally from political disabilities applied to persons, and from the more subtle slaveries of property in the guise of taxation and tariff," that "any abridgement of personal liberty in a free Republic is tyranny, and that any levy of taxes for ostensible protection to special interests is plunder," and you insist on the corollaries of the avowal "that men being born free and equal, shall live and die so." You further advert to the struggle in which you were engaged as "being one between monopoly and individualism, which our opponents seek to convert into a struggle betwixt capital and labor," and you trust that, whilst many threats are made on the other side, no one on your part will undertake to influence any vote for you by improper means, or to discharge the laborer because he may vote as a freeman, even though it be against us.

The doctrines of the National Labor Reform party are those embodied in the Declaration of Independence and established by the Revolution; there is nothing new in them except their application; wherever the sovereignty exists the attributes of that sovereignty belong; these attributes are the soil, the currency and the ballot; when the sovereignty is invested in an individual, or in a few men in conjunction with an individual, the soil, the currency and the ballot are primarily theirs, to the exclusion of the body of the people, except so far as they are doled out to the masses for the benefit of those who hold the sovereignty in possession.

In our form of government the sovereignty and its attributes are vested in the people, not in the aggregate but in the individual; an aggregate ballot, for instance, is monarchy; and equally so is an aggregate ownership of the soil or of the currency. The truth of this doctrine is simple and obvious when avowed, and the departure therefrom by those who administer the government tends to the overthrow of the republic.

One word more in reference to fundamental principles. The necessity of asserting the individual right to the ballot arose from the very outset, because without its exercise the people could not elect a president or a constable; different to this was the requirement of the cognate attributes of the soil and the currency, belonging to a union of States sparse in numbers to begin with, and possessed of an affluence of the soil unexampled in amount and quality by those of any

other nation known to men, and governed at the commencement by rulers to whom usury was abhorrent and the flagitiousness of corruption unknown.

The non-assertion by the people hitherto of their individual right in the soil and in the currency does not extinguish these rights; on the contrary, when a system of usury is legalized, which absorbs all the profits of labor and of enterprise, and which cuts deeply into the wealth of the nation itself, and when the soil, the source of all subsistence, is donated away gratis in whole provinces by a trustee with more absolutism than the Second Charles granted territory to the courtly Quaker, the time has arrived for the people to claim and assert their sovereignty in full; otherwise, although citizens in name, they are in reality the subjects of a power which is not a republic.

Revenue reform is sought to be made the basis of a new party; you will see at a glance that revenue is but a branch of our fatal financial system, too narrow to comprehend the remedies which the disorganized condition of the monetary affairs of the country demand. In the speech referred to you have suggested distantly the causes of the surpassing evils which beset the American people: "The subtle slaveries of property," "Protection to special interests," "The struggle between monopoly and individualism convertible into a struggle between capital and labor," and the pathways which terminate in the high road that leads to the great doctrines of the revolution. Disintegration and diffusion in antagonism to concentration and unitism in all the attributes belonging to the sovereignty of the people will be found at the basis of the institutions of the founders; pursue your search, and you will be satisfied that but one resource exists, now as always, for the perpetuity of our form of government, and that that lies in the individual right of the citizen to a share in the other attributes of the sovereignty hereafter, as now, in the ballot, without the interposition of a middleman between his agent and himself.

It is immaterial what the emblem is of these constitutional rights, whether it be a fibula or a diadem, and by what denomination the party which rests upon them typifies itself, whether Republican, Democrat or National Labor Reform, the substance is in the doctrine and will vindicate itself beyond question speedily by the judgment of the American people at the polls.

In the late contest the people of Missouri, under your guidance, have vindicated their constitutional right to the attribute of the ballot without restriction, and with signal success; the contest for the other attributes of sovereignty, free homesteads and free currency, inscribed on the banners of the National Labor Reform party, is to be fought on a wider field. The one was limited to a single issue and by the boundaries of an extensive State; the others know no confines but those of the American Union and of forty millions of her citizens; happy if the great cause, so pure, so profitable to all interested, so constitutional, have its standard placed in the hands of a bearer qualified and successful as those of him who marshaled and led men of all parties to unite and extinguish finally the fires of civil discord in Missouri.

We congratulate you, therefore, in that your personal advancement has been the harbinger of great results to our State and nation.

(Signed) JOHN MAGUIRE,
Executive of National Labor Reform party for the State of Missouri.

CHAR. R. ANDERSON,
THOMAS S. NELSON,
H. O. SHELTON,
Delegates at Large from Missouri.

RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNOR-ELECT.

Mr. Brown replied as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE—I have listened with much interest to the words of your address, which has just been read, a copy of which was shown to me a few days since, and thank you for the expressions, personal to myself, of confidence and congratulation which it contains.

Approbation from any large body of fellow-citizens of any public effort having social advancement in view, is always a source of satisfaction to every right thinking man, and you may rest assured, then, that I value at its highest this testimony from individual members not less than chosen representatives of the organized unions of the workmen of our country, that my course generally has met with their sympathy and indorsement, and that they have found the sentiments uttered by me in the late gubernatorial canvass to be "in accord with the doctrines of the National Labor Reform party."

In the very able paper you have drawn up with so much force of expression, and that embraces in its categories so much of the development on which the hopes of the workmen of the country must rest in the future, I see that you boldly undertake to grapple with and solve questions needful to be adjusted before any real amelioration can be expected in the relation borne to labor by capital, and that your effort is to reconcile and not to antagonize them in their connections hereafter. That a greater elaboration of individualism under our republican forms, a more perfect incorporation into the body of our laws of personal equalities and rights, and a better method of utilizing for such ends the appliances of trade and commerce and civilization, are the topics that should invite earnest attention, will be readily conceded by all who have given thought to this subject. It is, therefore, in the line of a rigid and proper analysis that you advert to the elective franchise, to the power to issue or prescribe tokens of value and rates of assessment, and to the right of eminent domain in the public lands, as the three great questions needing effective settlement, so that a privileged class shall not be permitted to monopolize either of those elements of popular sovereignty. You are right, also, in assuming those as the controlling issues in the present condition of our country, threatening slaveries of various types and grades hereafter.

I shall not undertake in the brief space of this response to enter upon any elaborate discussion of such large and important matters. You have sounded their depths with a penetration that indicates how clearly you see the evils to be corrected. You have presented through various publications searching political axioms, and have invited full and fair examination of each position. You purpose to establish, as the groundwork of your reform movement, the equality of all citizens as to the rights and privileges, so that the privilege of each may be ever ready to protect itself against any sinister combination. You aim to substitute for the loose vagaries of our present scheme methods that may enlarge credit by diminishing usury, increase production by reducing taxation, invite investment by making it to the interest of all to discountenance any form of repudiation. You claim that the public lands of the nation should be considered as be-

longing to the people, and be distributed in the interest of the laboring masses, who will develop them, and not tied up into provincial grants to great monopolies, who will make them the appliance of dividing again with the workingman his hard won earnings before assigning him a homestead. By a policy thus conformed to the inner truth of our growth, you would change as with a magic wand that spirit which, in other sections, shapes its agrarianism and makes of it here the organism of new civil communities. And to accomplish such ends, you seek to consolidate the sentiment of the labor of the country so that it may be more potent to influence public opinion. No one can question the propriety of such course, and certainly if you succeed in impressing changes on our domestic policy embracing so much of reform in the right direction, they who pioneer these ways will win imperishable renown, entitling them to the gratitude of what will be thereby rendered the grandest nation of equal people that the world has ever known.

I do not understand from your address that you consider the matters therein outlined as exhaustive of the whole programme of labor reform, or that while insisting upon the development of a higher individualism as relates to government, you do not also recognize that great branch of the question which invites co-operation, under suitable regulations, among the workmen themselves. Beyond any dispute, the success which has attended the substitution of the national method of co-operative buying and selling and working and distributing for the irrational method of competition and cheating and starvation, gives promise of great results in the future, and, when supplemented by unions that will resort to committees of arbitration rather than to enforcements and violence and strikes, may lead all classes to believe it practicable to introduce elements into the relations of labor and capital that shall assure the forming of a more equal life in our favored republic, securing to each human being a fair share of the blessings of existence, and placing upon none the crushing burden of too much wealth.

That there may differences arise, in the course of discussion, which problems of such far-reaching consequence will require, when it comes to reduce into legislation the results theoretically wrought out, may be well expected; that agitation will be misconstrued in some quarters and misrepresented in others is more than likely; but sanguine in the purity of intention that inspires your movement, that it is pledged equally to the protection of the rights of property as being only accumulated labor, and of labor as the initial unit of all property, it is reasonable to believe that such antagonism will disappear before calm conference and lead to practical unity in measures of relief.

Renewing to you assurances of my regard for the interests of labor in every branch of industry, I have the pleasure to thank you for your attention and courtesy.

The response of Mr. Brown was listened to with profound attention, and the Labor Reform gentlemen appeared highly pleased with his compliment to their ideas as embodied in their address.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Monday, Jan 23, 1871.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN.

The world is moving. Public opinion, in regard to woman suffrage, has wonderfully changed within the last year—indeed I might say since the convention held here a few days ago. The agitation of the woman suffrage question has caused the people to think seriously about it. This is just what was wanted. The workingwomen, of course, true to the first great law of nature, are the first to favor it.

I am told that General Spinner thinks the theory of women receiving equal pay with men, when they perform the same work, is right; but, practically, he thinks with Mr. Dawes, that it would be "inexpedient," for men, being voters, would crowd them out of their places altogether. The women clerks now are almost a unit in favor of suffrage. The other day I overheard a gentleman say to one of the women clerks in the Treasury Department: "I saw you at the convention. How did you like it?" "Very well, indeed. We had some smart women there, hadn't we?" "You say we had some smart women there. You don't mean to say that you are a 'woman's righter' too, do you?" "Show me the thoughtful workingwoman that isn't." "Why, there's Mrs. Sherman, she came from the working classes." "Yes, but she does not belong to the working classes now, and seems to forget that she ever did. Just let her have a family to support, as I and hundreds more have, and she'll quickly change her tune." This is the spirit that animates them all.

Keep on agitating the subject. Let the people see you are in earnest, and soon success will crown your efforts.

Yours, ELY OB.

A LITTLE TOO MUCH OF MEN'S RIGHTS.—Mrs. Gray, alias Mary Lane, a pretty and talented young woman, who has been for some time in charge of a school at Hopkinton has been sent to the New Hampshire Penitentiary for forgery. She might better have left that business to fast young men.

MISERABLE FAILURE.—The efforts that have recently been made by a few black-and-tan politicians of the lowest order in Richmond, Va., to have Miss Van Lew removed from her position as head of the Post-office in that city have come to grief. Miss Van Lew is honored by all respectable people and her fitness for the place she occupies is acknowledged on all sides.

FACTS FOR THE LADIES.—I can inform any one interested of hundreds of Wheeler & Wilson Machines of twelve years wear, that to-day are in better working condition than one entirely new. I have often driven one of them at a speed of eleven hundred stitches a minute. I have repaired fifteen different kinds of Sewing Machines, and I have found yours to wear better than any others. With ten years' experience in Sewing Machines of different kinds, yours has stood the most and the severest test for durability and simplicity.

LYNDENVILLE, N. Y. GEO. L. CLARK.

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC
notice is hereby given to the owner or owners
equipment or contents of all Hoppers and Lathes

occupant or occupants of all Houses and Lots, improved or unimproved Lands, affected thereby, that the following Assessments have been completed, and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz :

1. For building sewers in Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth streets, between Fourth and Fifth avenues.
2. For building sewers in Forty-eighth and Fiftieth streets, between Eighth and Tenth avenues.

3. For fencing lots corner Fifty-second street and First avenue.
4. For fencing lots in East Fifty-first street.
5. For fencing lots corner Madison avenue and Twenty-seventh streets.

6. For flagging north side Forty-first street, between Broadway and Seventh avenue.

7. For flagging Rutgers slip, between Water and South streets.

9. For laying Nicolson pavement in Forty-fourth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.

10. For laying Nicolson pavement in Forty-third street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.
11. For laying Nicolson pavement in Fifty-sixth street, between Seventh and Ninth avenues.
12. For laying Nicolson pavement in Cliff street,

13. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-first street, between Second avenue and the East River.

The limits embraced by such assessments include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land situated on—

1. Both sides of Sixty-seventh street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues, and both sides of Sixty-eighth streets, between Madison and Fifth avenues.
2. Both sides of Forty-eighth street, between Ninth and Tenth avenues, and both sides of Forty-ninth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues.

2. The property situated on the corner of Fifty-second street and First avenue.

5. The west side of Madison avenue, commencing at Twenty-seventh street, and running southerly fifty-six feet therefrom.

7. The south side of Rutgers slip, between Water and South streets.

9. Both sides of Forty-fourth street, between Madison and Fifth avenues, to the extent of half the block on intersecting street.

11. Both sides of Fifty-sixth street, between Seventh and Ninth avenues, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.

12. Both sides of Cliff street, between John and Frankfort streets, to the extent of half the block on intersecting streets.

14. Both sides of Eightieth street, between Eleventh avenue and the Public Drive.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same or either of them, are requested to present their objections in writing to Richard Tweed, Chair-

man of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED,
SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

THOMAS B. ASTEN,
MYER MYERS,
FRANCIS A. SANDS,
Board of Assessors.
OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS. /

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC NO.

Notice is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all Houses and Lots, improved or-unimproved Lands affected thereby, that the following Assessments have been completed and are

1. For laying Belgian pavement in Laight street from Canal to West street

2. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-eighth street, from Lexington to Sixth avenue.
3. For laying Belgian pavement in Fifty-ninth street, from Third to Fifth avenue.

4. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Fifty-sixth street, from Tenth to Eleventh avenue.

5. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Fifty-sixth street, from Tenth to Eleventh avenue.

6. For regulating and grading, setting curb and gutter, and flagging Fifty-sixth street, from Third to Sixth avenue.

7. For building outlet-sewer in Sixty-second street and East River, and in Avenue A, between Sixty-first and Seventy-first streets, with branches.

8. For building sewers in Water, Monroe, Pitt,

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land situated on—

1. Both sides of Lighthouse street, from Canal to West street, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.
2. Both sides of Fifty-eighth street, from Lexington

3. Both sides of Fifty-ninth street, from Third to Fifth avenue to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

4. Both sides of Fifty-sixth street, from Tenth to Eleventh avenue.

5. Both sides of Seventy-eighth street, from First avenue to avenue A.

7. The property bounded by Sixty-first and Seventy-first streets, Second avenue, and the East River, and the property bounded by Sixty-second and Sixty-third streets, Second avenue, and the East River.

8. Both sides of Water street, between James and Oliver streets; both sides of Monroe street, between Gouverneur and Montgomery streets; both sides of

Pitt street, between Broome and Delancey streets; both sides of Clinton street, between Grand and Division streets; both sides of Grand street, between Ridge and Columbia streets; both sides of Mangin

and Goerck streets, between Grand and Broome streets; both sides of Goerck street, between Stanton and Houston streets; both sides of Manhattan lane, between Houston and Third streets; both sides of Avenue B between Third and Fourth and between

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present

their objections in writing to Richard Tweed, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED

RICHARD T. WEBER,
THOMAS B. ASTEN,
MYER MYERS,
FRANCIS A. SANDS,
Board of Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,
NEW YORK, November 30, 1870.

FEB. 4, 1871.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.

13

THE LOANERS' BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

CAPITAL.....\$500,000
Subject to increase to.....1,000,000

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A. F. WILLMARTH, EDGAR F. BROWN,
EDGAR W. CROWELL, ARCHIBALD M. BLISS,
DORR RUSSELL.This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC-
TIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives
DEPOSITS.Accounts of Bankers, Manufacturers and Merchants
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.

A NEW YORK GOLD LOAN.

FIRST MORTGAGE

SEVEN PER CENT. GOLD BONDS

OF THE

MONTICELLO & PORT JERVIS

RAILWAY COMPANY,
20 YEARS TO RUN,Secured by a first mortgage on the road to the UNION
TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK CITY, where
principal and interest are payable in gold. INTER-
EST QUARTERLY—January, April, July and Oc-
tober.The road is bonded at \$30,000 per mile, and is built
in the MOST SUBSTANTIAL MANNER. Connects
Monticello and Port Jervis; has a LOCAL TRADE
ASSURED, which will net sufficient to pay the in-
terest on the bonded debt, the expense of operating
the road, and LEAVE A LARGE SURPLUS to be
applied to a sinking fund.It passes contiguous to a large number of VALUA-
BLE BLUE-STONE QUARRIES, and runs through
and near some 15,000 acres of heavy timbered land,
ALL OF WHICH, when marketed, will come over
this road, so that its local trade is MORE THAN
SUFFICIENT to meet all demands. Besides these
assurances, the time is not remote when this will
form a link in a TRUNK ROAD from Ogdensburg to
this city.The undersigned offer the remainder of the bonds
at 87 and interest in currency, with privilege of ad-
vancing price without notice; and we recommend
them as desirable for permanent investment, having
THE FULLEST CONFIDENCE that they are FIRST-
CLASS SECURITIES

DAVIDSON & JONES,

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Circulars furnished on application.

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No. 59 Wall Street, New York.

Gold and Currency received on deposit, subject to
check at sight.Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate
of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of
each month.ALL CHECKS DRAWN ON US PASS THROUGH
THE CLEARING-HOUSE, AND ARE RECEIVED
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Sale of Governments, Gold, Stocks and Bonds on
commission.Collections made on all parts of the United States
and Canada.

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Bankers and Brokers,

No. 11 BROAD STREET,

NEW YORK.

Elizabethtown & Paducah Railroad OF KENTUCKY.

First Mortgage 8 per cent. Bonds.

This road, connecting the important points of Louis-
ville and Paducah, is 185 miles long and passes
through a rich agricultural and mineral section of the
State of Kentucky, the traffic of which, it is believed
will be abundantly remunerative.Fifty-nine miles of the road are already completed
and in successful operation, and work on other sec-
tions is rapidly progressing.The stock subscriptions (of which the city of Louis-
ville subscribed \$1,000,000) amount to \$3,095,000.To lay the rails and completely equip the entire
road

THREE MILLION DOLLARS

of First Mortgage convertible bonds have been au-
thorized, bearing 8 per cent. interest payable semi-
annually at the Bank of America, in the city of New
York, on the first of March and first of September.
They are now offered by the undersigned at 87½ and
accrued interest.

NORTON, SLAUGHTER & CO.,

41 Broad Street.

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BANKERS,

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DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,

No. 5 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bank-
ers, 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 Certifi-
cates of Deposit available in all parts of the
Union.We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes
of Government Securities, and the Bonds of
the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also,
Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange,
miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis-
sion, for cash.Communications and inquiries by mail or
telegraph, will receive careful attention.

FISK & HATCH.

ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.

\$330,000 IN GOLD

DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

Prizes cashed and information furnished. Orders
solicited and promptly filled.The highest rates paid for Doubloons and all kinds
of Gold and Silver and Government Securities.

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IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, AND
ALL CLASSES OF RAILROAD
BONDS AND STOCKS.TOWN, CITY AND COUNTY BONDS OF the
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Orders promptly executed and information given,
personally, by letter or by the wires. No. 9 New
street. P. O. Box No. 2,910, New York.COLBY WRINGERS! Best and Cheapest!
COMPOSED of indestructible materials!
IMPACT, simple, durable, efficient!
COMPARE it with any other machine!
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MIDLAND BONDS

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

Equal to \$40,000 per mile.

The road is built in the most thorough manner, and
at the lowest attainable cost for cash.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 \$24,510 04 per an-
num on the 147 miles of road, viz.: Main line from
Sidney to Oswego, 125 miles; New Berlin Branch, 22
miles.The road commenced to transport coal from Sidney
under a contract with the Delaware and Hudson Canal
Company in the latter part of November. The best
information 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 \$24,555 02 in excess of interest of the bonds
issued thereon.I should add that the earnings from passengers and
freight are steadily increasing, and that, too, without
any through business to New York. Yours truly,

D. C. LITTLEJOHN, President

N. Y. and O. Midland Railroad Co.

The very favorable exhibit presented in the forego-
ing letter shows that this road, when finished, with its
unequaled advantages for both local and through busi-
ness, must prove to be one of the most profitable rail-
road 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-
vestors.For sale, or exchanged for Government and other
current securities, by

GEORGE OPDYKE & CO.,

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OF

HENRY CLEWS & Co.,

No. 32 Wall Street.

Interest allowed on all daily balances of Currency
or Gold.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 ap-
proved 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-
mission.Gold Banking Accounts may be opened with us
upon the same conditions as Currency Accounts.Railroad, State, City and other Corporate Loan
negotiated.Collections made everywhere in the United States,
Canada and Europe.

Dividends and Coupons collected.

BANKING HOUSE

OF

KOUNTZE BROTHERS,

NEW YORK,

52 WALL STREET.

Four per cent. interest allowed on all deposits.
Collections made everywhere.
Orders for Gold, Government and other securities
executed.

8 Per Cent. Interest

First Mortgage Bonds!

OF THE

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
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THE ROAD.

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

Price 97½ and accrued interest.

We unhesitatingly recommend them, and will fur-
nish maps and pamphlets upon application.

W. P. CONVERSE & CO.,

54 PINE STREET,

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R. E. ROBBINS, Esq. W. R. HORTON, Esq.
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Elastic Sponge Goods.

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Mattresses, Pillows.

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Church, Chair, Car and Carriage
Cushions.

ELASTIC SPONGE

A SUBSTITUTE FOR CURLED HAIR,

For all Upholstery Purposes.

CHEAPER than Feathers or Hair, and
FAR SUPERIOR.It is the Healthiest, Lightest, Softest, most
Elastic, most Durable and BEST Material
known for

MATTRESSES, PILLOWS, CUSHIONS, &c.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Makes the most LUXURIOUS and DUR-
ABLE BEDS, MATTRESSES, PILLOWS
and CUSHIONS of any material known.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Does not PACK and become MATTED like
Curled Hair.

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is REPELLANT TO, and PROOF against,
BUGS and INSECTS.

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Is the VERY BEST ARTICLE ever dis-
covered for STEAMBOAT and RAIL CAR
UPHOLSTERY.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Is absolutely UNRIVALED for SOFA
SEATS and BACKS, and for ALL UP-
HOLSTERING PURPOSES.

ELASTIC SPONGE

Is the HEALTHIEST, SWEETEST,
PUREST, MOST ELASTIC, MOST DUR-
ABLE, and BEST MATERIAL IN USE
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OPPOSITE ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL.

NEW YORK.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH INSTITUTE.

YEAR 1870-71.

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FOR

YOUNG LADIES,

No. 15 East 24th Street, near Madison Park,
NEW YORK.PRINCIPALS—MADAME MALLARD AND MADAME
CARRIER.Madame Carrier, with whom she has associated her-
self after a co-operation of six years, is a niece of the
late Sir David Brewster. From her early training and
a thorough education, received in Scotland, together
with several years' experience in tuition, she is in
every respect qualified to take charge of the English
Department of the Institute.The Principals hope, by devotion to the mental,
moral and physical training of their pupils, to secure
their improvement and the encouraging approbation
of parents and guardians.

For particulars, send for Circular.

HOME

INSURANCE COMPANY

OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE, No. 135 BROADWAY.

Cash Capital	\$2,500,000 00
Assets	4,578,008 02
Liabilities	190,668 71

A dividend of FIVE per cent., payable on demand,
free from Government tax, was declared by the Board
of Directors this day.

J. H. WASHBURN, Secretary.

"THE BEST IS THE CHEAPEST."

STANDARD
AMERICAN BILLIARD TABLESBeing constructed with regard to scientific accuracy,
are used in all tests of skill by the best players in the
country, and in all first-class clubs and hotels. Illus-
trated catalogue of everything relating to billiards
sent by mail.

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THE LAW OF MARRIAGE,

AN

EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT
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E. D. SPEAR, M. D.,

Office, 713 Washington St.,
BOSTON, MASS.The medical record of Dr. E. D. SPEAR, as a suc-
cessful physician in the treatment of chronic diseases,
is without a parallel. Many are suffered to die who
might be saved. Dr. Spear makes a direct appeal to
the substantial, intelligent and cultivated citizens of
our country, and asks that his claims as a physician of
extraordinary powers may be investigated. If you
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charge, upon ALL diseases. Those who have failed to
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M., 12 night. For Philadelphia via Camden, 7 A. M.,
1 and 4 P. M. For Baltimore and Washington and
the West, via Baltimore, 8:30 A. M., 12:30 and 9:20*
P. M. For the south and southwest, 8:30 A. M., 9:20*
P. M. Silver Palace cars are attached to the 9:20 P.
M. train daily, and run through to Lynchburg without
change. For the West, via Pennsylvania Railroad—
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tached to the 9:30 A. M., and run through from New
York to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chi-
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to the 7* P. M. daily, and run through to Pittsburgh,
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Dodd's Express, 944 Broadway. (*Daily.)
F. W. JACKSON, Gen. Supt.

November 1, 1870.

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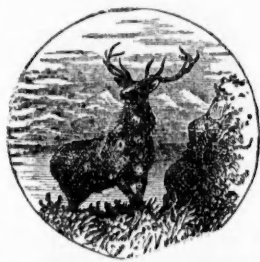
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when relief is at hand? And remember that a cure is
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Price, \$2 per bottle.

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26, 28, & 30 VESEY STREET,

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Supply families with absolutely PURE
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Corner of Thirty-first street, New York.

(Opposite Grand Hotel and Clifford House.)

BOYS' AND YOUTHS'

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A SPECIALTY.

TO THE HOLDERS OF THE CAPITAL STOCK AND CONSOLIDATED CERTIFICATES,

OF THE

New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company.

OFFICE OF BARTON & ALLEN,
No. 40 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, Jan. 9, 1871.

A printed handbill, entitled "Rufus Hatch's Circular, No. 1—Frauds in Railroad Management and their Remedies—New York Central and Hudson River," having been widely distributed and copied throughout the country; and tending, as it does, if unanswered and unexplained, to weaken public confidence in railway property of all kinds, and especially in the stock and consolidation certificates of the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R. Co., the undersigned begs to present a few facts, figures and arguments in response thereto.

The motive of Mr. Hatch's publication is so apparent on its face, that any reply would seem to be unnecessary; nevertheless, some of the assertions therein are so gravely made and seem to be so well backed up by figures, that some explanation will be desired by the friends and owners of the property. I have no desire to enter the lists against the writer of Mr. Hatch's Circular, as a composer of billingsgate, and therefore will not attempt to reply in kind to his slanderous personal attacks upon Mr. Vanderbilt; to an unbiased reader, their mere perusal is their best refutation.

Mr. Vanderbilt commenced his career as a Railroad Manager by investing in the common stock of the Harlem Railroad Company at a time when the then managers of the company were obliged to borrow money to pay the interest on its bonded debt. Having obtained control of the road, he stamped upon its management his own characteristics—economy, energy and genius; and the results are apparent in the regular eight per cent. dividends upon both classes of stock, which have been paid for several years past, and the steady increase in the market price of the stock to about 135. This result, too, has been brought about without any indulgence in Mr. Hatch's bugbear of "watering."

Mr. Vanderbilt's experience in the Hudson River and New York Central Railroads was similar. His accession to the control of both of these roads was marked by an immediate and characteristic change in their management. Expenditures were reduced, sinecures abolished, speculations of all kinds, direct and indirect, in places high and low, were detected, and their future recurrence provided against; and last, though by no means the least, the whole system of free passes, which had gradually grown to be an enormous burden and fraud upon the stockholders, was abolished! What was the result? Dividends, which had previously been irregular in amount and time of payment, were immediately and regularly resumed at the rate of eight per cent. per annum; and the surplus earnings, which, under the increased economy of administration, soon reached enormous figures, were all expended upon the property, in laying additional tracks, replacing iron rails with steel, adding largely to the equipment and rolling stock of the road, and increasing the real estate and depot facilities, thus adding largely to the permanent value of the property, and at the same time enormously increasing its capacity to earn dividends. These gigantic results have been accomplished, not by any artificial means—not by increasing the charges of transportation—not by Government subsidies, State aid or Wall street manipulations—but by the mere introduction of Mr. Vanderbilt into the management of the property entrusted to his charge of the same rigid economy, untiring energy, resistless determination and unerring foresight, which had characterized all of his individual undertakings. Merely this, and nothing more.

Mr. Vanderbilt stands to-day before the world universally recognized as the man who has done more to improve and develop railroad property in this country than any other living man. The stockholders of the roads which he manages have had no cause to find fault with his management, or to desire a change. Not so, however, the "Bears" of the stock exchange! These panic mongers, who rely for a living upon systematic attempts to depreciate the value of other people's property, hold Mr. Vanderbilt up to the public as "the greatest offender against public morality as well as the public welfare." They do not seem to consider it immoral or contrary to the public good to circulate false statements for the

purpose of breaking down the price of stocks and securities which do not belong to them. They cannot see the criminality and injustice of locking up money in a time of stringency and distrust, with the avowed purpose of bringing disaster and ruin upon the whole business community. They cannot even conceal the satisfaction with which they would regard the death of the man who has done so much to thwart them in their wicked designs. And when they fail to accomplish their objects by circulating reports of his being struck by apoplexy, they get out circulars which are equally false. Such are the efforts of this unscrupulous clique; and this manifesto of Mr. Hatch's is only a portion of their set programme to force the holders of stocks to sell them at a sacrifice. Yet these are the men who arraign Mr. Vanderbilt as an offender against public morality, and a criminal of the deepest dye. But let us examine some of the assertions contained in this remarkable circular. First, as to the alleged refusal to pay the Government tax. The Consolidated certificates declare upon their face that they are payable out of the "future earnings" of the Company. Meanwhile, they carry dividends at the same rates and times as the Capital Stock. Upon these dividends the Internal Revenue Tax has been paid; but upon the amount of Certificates themselves the tax has not been paid, inasmuch as they represent a mere property *in futuro*, and cannot be considered as a dividend until they are paid off by the Company.

It is more than probable that the Internal Revenue Department will coincide with this view of the case. And now, in response to Mr. Hatch's array of figures and facts (?), I beg to call attention to the following comparative statements of the years 1859 and 1869. Mr. Hatch asserts that the increase, or the watering of the capital of the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R. Co., amounts to \$110,145 per mile. Let us see whether this is so.

In 1859, the capital stock, debt and mileage of the two roads were as follows:

Capital stock, N. Y. C.	\$24,000,000	N. Y. C. miles of main line . . .	556.00
Bonded debt, "	14,333,771	" " Second track and sidings . . .	242.00
Capital stock, H. R. R.	4,400,000	H. R. R. miles of main line . . .	144.00
Bonded debt, "	8,841,000	" " Second track and sidings . . .	112.50
Total	\$51,175,771	Total miles single track . . .	1,054.50

Cost per mile of single track in 1859, \$48,530.

In 1869 the capital stock, bonded debt and mileage of the consolidated company were as follows:

Capital stock	\$45,000,000	Miles of road, main line . . .	737.75
Cons. Certificates	45,000,000	" " Second track and sidings . . .	640.64
Bonds, H. R. R.	2,082,000		
" N. Y. C.	11,398,426		
Total	\$103,480,426	Total miles single track . . .	1,378.39

Cost per mile of single track in 1869, \$75,073.

In this connection, the following comparative statement of the rolling stock for the same two years is interesting:

1859.		1869.	
Locomotives, H. R. R.	57	Locomotives, H. R. R.	86
" N. Y. C.	211	" " N. Y. C.	292
Total	268	Total	378
Cars of all kinds, H. R. R. . . .	648	Cars of all kinds, H. R. R. . . .	1,264
" N. Y. C.	3,408	" " N. Y. C.	6,633
Total	4,056	Total	7,897

The actual increase of cost, therefore, or, as Mr. Hatch calls it, the "watering," is \$26,543 per mile, instead of \$110,145, as he asserts in his circular. From this amount, however, should be deducted the increased rolling stock, which, from the foregoing statement, will be seen to have been nearly doubled; also, the increased cash value per mile of the road, by reason of the introduction of steel rails and other improvements; also, the St. John's Park Depot, which cost \$3,000,000, and is worth double that sum to the Company. Also, the innumerable additions and improvements to the real and personal property of the Company.—The sum total of these additions to the value of the property was accurately estimated at the time of the consolidation, and was the basis upon which the issues of stocks and certificates were made. In reality, therefore, this much-talked of "watering" was no watering at all. It was a mere

capitalization of the accumulated surplus of the Company for the benefit of the stockholders, who were entitled to it.

And now let us look at the comparative earnings of the two roads for the same two years, this being a branch of the subject upon which the writer of Mr. Hatch's Circular was judiciously silent:

STATEMENT OF EARNINGS IN 1859.			
	Gross Earnings	Operating Expenses	Net Earnings
H. R. R.	\$1,882,086	\$1,078,460	\$803,626
N. Y. C.	6,290,166	3,349,429	2,940,737
Total	\$8,172,252	\$4,427,889	\$3,744,363
			Earnings per Mile.
H. R. R.			\$12,450.00
N. Y. C.			9,582.91
Total			10,965.00
STATEMENT OF EARNINGS IN 1869.			
	Gross Earnings	Operating Expenses	Net Earnings
H. R. R.	\$2,484,437.94	\$1,770,967.81	\$713,470.13
N. Y. C.	15,386,016.07	9,053,483.00	6,332,533.07
Total	\$17,870,453.94	\$10,824,450.81	\$7,046,003.13
			Earnings per Mile.
H. R. R.			\$15,100.79
N. Y. C.			10,965.00
Total			13,033.89

Here, then, we have an increase of net earnings, in 1869, as compared with 1859, of \$5,639,798.43, or 10.93 per cent. on \$52,304,655, which was the amount of the increase of stock and debt during the same period. Or, to put the matter still more plainly, the percentage of net earnings upon the whole amount of the stock and debt of the Company has increased from 7.06 per cent. in 1859 to 8.93 per cent. in 1869. And this result has been attained in the face of the increased cost of labor and materials of all kinds since the war, and in spite of a large reduction in the rates of transportation both for passengers and freight. How utterly false and senseless, therefore, is the following assertion of Mr. Hatch: "In all these waterings not a dollar of their amount has gone into the roads, nor has their capacity to earn been increased a single penny. On the contrary, the cost of transportation must have been largely increased in consequence, as the *morale* essential to economical management can never be preserved on works whose managers are rolling in wealth from ill-gotten and illegitimate gains." And what must be thought of a man who, for merely selfish purposes, will boldly and openly make such statements, *knowing them to be false!*

But enough of Mr. Hatch and his Circular! I only desire, in conclusion, to disclaim any intention, in writing this communication, other than to warn the investment holders of the Capital Stock and Consolidation Certificates of the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. Co. against this and all similar attempts of interested parties to weaken public confidence in these securities, and to force timid holders into selling them at a sacrifice. If, with the foregoing facts and figures before them, they still allow themselves to be imposed upon by Mr. Hatch or any of his companion "bears," the sooner they sell their property to some one who can appreciate its value, the better—purchasers will probably be found for all the stock thus thrown upon the market.

SAMUEL BARTON.