

WOODHULL & CLARLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 3.—No. 13.—WHOLE No. 65.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 12, 1871.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

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

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

WILLIAM M. TWEED, SHEPHERD F. KNAPP,
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.
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TANNER & CO.,

BANKERS,

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DEALERS IN

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Buy and sell at current market rates, the FIRST
MORTGAGE EIGHT (8) PER PER CENT. GOLD
BONDS of the ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY
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Interest, payable August and February, in New
York, London, or Frankfurt-on-the-Main, free of
United States taxes. Present market quotations, 97½
a 98½c. and interest.

TANNER & CO.,

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36 107

BANKING HOUSE

OF

KOUNTZE BROTHERS,

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14 WALL STREET.

Four per cent. interest allowed on all deposits.

Collections made everywhere.

Orders for Gold, Government and other securities
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\$330,000 IN GOLD
DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

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

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HARVEY FISK.

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BANKERS.

AND

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 Certi-
ficates 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.

BANKING HOUSE

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 collateral, 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.

S. J. & F. BEEBEE,

BROKERS,

IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS

No. 7 NEW STREET,

NEW YORK.

**JOHN J. CISCO & SON,
BANKERS,**

No. 59 Wall Street, New York.

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

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

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

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

Loans negotiated.

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

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

J. OSBORN.

ADDISON CAMMACK

OSBORN & CAMMACK,

BANKERS,

No. 34 BROAD STREET.

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

Rail
Road
Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell
write to
CHARLES W. HASLER,
No. 7 WALL STREET,
New York. 62-65

SAM'L BARTON.

HENRY ALLEN.

BARTON & ALLEN,

BANKERS AND BROKERS,

No. 40 BROAD STREET.

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

RAILROAD IRON,

FOR SALE BY

S. W. HOPKINS & CO.,

71 BROADWAY.

Central Railroad Company

OF

IOWA

First Mortgage and Equipment

7 PER CENT.

GOLD BONDS.

FOR SALE BY

A. L. HATCH, Fiscal Agent,

61-78

32 PINE STREET.

**NEW YORK
STATE RAILROAD BONDS.**

A First-Class Home Investment.

**FIRST MORTGAGE
GOLD BONDS**

OF THE

**RONDOT & OSWEGO
RAILROAD.**

Principal & Interest Payable in
Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 400 miles of the most direct pos-
sible line, between the Great Lakes and deep water
navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of
which will be completed and in operation on or be-
fore October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to
Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any
line that can be found.

It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lum-
ber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricul-
tural bottoms of Delaware and Greene Counties, all
of which have not heretofore been reached by railroad
facilities, and from which sections, the formation of
the country prevents the construction of a competing
line.

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is
already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent
gold, on its cost of construction and equipments.
The issue of Bonds is limited to \$20,000 per mile of
COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in
this city.

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

Full particulars of the above may be had of, and
the Bonds for sale by

Edward Haight & Co.,

9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY,

Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company. 81

CALDWELL & CO.,

BANKERS,

27 Wall St., New York.

Order for Purchase and Sale of United
States Securities, Stocks, Bonds and Ameri-
can Gold promptly executed at the usual
commission.

Collections promptly made in all parts
of the United States and Canada.

Interest, 4 per cent., allowed on de-
posits, subject to sight draft.

MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

HENRY R. CONKLIN, WM. VAN NAME,
Secretary. 80-88 President.

THE NATIONAL MONITOR,

A RELIGIOUS AND FAMILY NEWSPAPER,
DEVOTED TO
CHRISTIANITY, EDUCATION, INDUSTRY AND
EQUAL RIGHTS.

THE NATIONAL MONITOR
represents directly over 250,000 of our colored citizens,
and is one of the very best mediums of communication
with them.

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RATES OF ADVERTISING:
First insertion 15 cents per line, and 10 cents per line for all subsequent insertions.
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All communications and exchanges for this paper must be addressed to

THE NATIONAL MONITOR,
Lock Box 602, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

CATAWBA WINE.

The Kelley's Island Wine Co.
Have opened a Depot for the sale of their celebrated
SPARKLING AND STILL CATAWBA WINE at
28 & 30 WEST BROADWAY.

Families wishing a good article, may rest assured
that all wine ordered directly from the Company's
Depot will be just what it purports to be—pure grape
juice.

64-67

GEO. C. HUNTINGTON.



MILD, CERTAIN, SAFE, EFFICIENT
It is far the best Cathartic remedy yet discovered,
and at once relieves and invigorates all the vital
functions, without causing injury to any of them.
The most complete success has long attended its use
in many localities, and it is now offered to the general
public with the conviction that it can never fail to
accomplish all that is claimed for it. It produces
little or no pain; leaves the organs free from irritation,
and never overtaxes or excites the nervous system.
In all diseases of the skin, blood, stomach,
bowels, liver, kidneys—of children, and in many difficulties
peculiar to women—it brings prompt relief
and certain cure. The best physicians recommend
and prescribe it; and no person who once uses this
will voluntarily return to the use of any other cathartic.

Sent by mail on receipt of price and postage.
1 box, \$0 25.....Postage 6 cents.
5 boxes, 1 00....." 18 "
12 " 2 25....." 39 "
It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
TURNER & CO., Proprietors,
120 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

THE BALTIMORE & OHIO R. R.

Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington
to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's
Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washington
and Baltimore to Cincinnati without change.

Louisville in 2 1/2 hours.
Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have
choice of routes, either via Columbus or Parkersburg.

From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati
Short Line Railroad.
Avoid all dangerous ferry transfers by crossing the
great Ohio River Suspension Bridge, and reach Louisville
hours in advance of all other lines. Save many
miles in going to Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga,
Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans.

The only line running four daily trains from Cincinnati
to Louisville.

Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splendid
Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day
trains.

Remember! lower fare by no other route.
To secure the advantages offered by this great
through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low
Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville
and Cincinnati Short Line R. R.
Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington street, Boston;
No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of
Cortlandt street, New York; Continental Hotel, 888
Chestnut street, 44 South Fifth street, and at the depot
corner Broad and Prime streets, Philadelphia; S. E.
corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden
Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington,
D. C.; and at all the principal railroad offices in the East.

SAM. GILL,
General Supt., Louisville, Ky.
HENRY STEFFE,
Gen. Ticket Agent, Louisville, Ky.
SIDNEY B. JONES,
Gen. Pass. Agent, Louisville, Ky.

AGENTS WANTED

to canvass for Liberal Books and Papers. Apply to
P. M. KELSEY, 319 West Twenty-sixth street, New
York.

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NOISELESS,

LINK-MOTION,

LOCK-STITCH



Sewing Machine

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

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623 BROADWAY, New York.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE BILLIARD ROOMS.

Seven first-class Phelan Tables.

69 & 71 BROADWAY,
(Nearly opposite Wall St.)

Open from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M., exclusively for the
Stock and Gold Boards and Bankers.

The Finest Qualities of Imported Wines,
Brandies and Cigars.

Wholesale Store—71 BROADWAY.
JOHN GAULT.

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PIANOS!

CABINET ORGANS

AND

MELODEONS,

AT

MERRELL'S,

[Late Cummings.]

Piano Warerooms, No. 8 Union
Square.

A large stock, including Pianos of the best Makers,
for sale cheap for cash, or to rent. Money paid
for rent applied to purchase. Repairing done well
and promptly. Call and examine before deciding
elsewhere.

M. M. MERRELL,

LATE CUMMINGS,

No. 8 Union Square.

GUNERIUS GABRIELSON,
FLORIST,
821 BROADWAY,
CORNER OF TWELFTH STREET,
NEW YORK.

Choice Flowers always on Hand.



RECOMMENDED BY PHYSICIANS.

BEST SALVE IN USE.

Sold by all Druggists at 25 cents.

JOHN F. HENRY,
Sole Proprietor, No. 8 College Place,
NEW YORK.

ERIE RAILWAY.—TRAINS LEAVE
Depots foot of Chambers st. and foot of 23d
st., as follows:

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

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

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

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

For Suffern and Way, 5 and 6 p. m. (23d st. at 4:45
and 5:45 p. m.) Theatre Train, 11:30 p. m. (23d st. at
11:15 p. m.)

For Paterson and Way, from 23d st. depot, at 6:45,
9:45 and 11:45 a. m.; 3:45, 5:15 and 6:45 p. m.
From Chambers st. Depot, at 6:45, 10 a. m.; 12 m.;
1:45, 4, 5, 5:15 and 6:45 p. m.

For Hackensack and Hillsdale, from 23d st. Depot,
at 8:45 a. m., and 12:45, 3:45, 5:15, 5:45 and 7:45 p. m.
From Chambers st. Depot, 9 a. m., and 1, 4, 5:15, 6
and 7:45 p. m.

For Piermont, Nyack, Tallmans and Way, from 23d
st. Depot, at 9:15 a. m.; 1:15, 3:15, 4:15, 5:15 and 6:15
p. m., and Saturdays only, 11:45 p. m. From Chambers
st. Depot, at 9:30 a. m.; 1:30, 3:30, 4:15, 4:30, 5:15
and 6:30 p. m.; and Saturdays only, 11:2 midnight.

Tickets for Passage and for Apartments in Drawing-
room and Sleeping Coaches can be obtained, and
orders for the checking and transfer of baggage, may
be left at the Company's offices, 241, 529 and 957
Broadway; 205 Chambers st.; 33 Greenwich st.; cor.
125th st. and Third ave., Harlem; 338 Fulton st.,
Brooklyn. Depots foot of Chambers st. and foot of
23d st., New York; No. 3 Exchange place, and Long
Dock Depot, Jersey City, and of the Agents at the
principal hotels.

L. D. RUCKER, Gen'l Supt.
WM. R. BARR, Gen'l Pass'r Agt.

Dec. 22, 1870.
Daily. For Hackensack only. For Piermont
and Nyack only.

CENTRAL RAILROAD OF NEW JERSEY.—Passenger and Freight Depot in New York,
foot of Liberty street; connects at Hampton Junction
with the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad,
and at Easton with the Lehigh Valley Railroad and its
connections, forming a direct line to Pittsburgh and
the West without change of cars.

ALLENTOWN LINE TO THE WEST.
Sixty miles and three hours saved by this line to Chicago,
Cincinnati, St. Louis, etc., with but one change
of cars.

Silver Palace cars through from New York to Chicago.
SPRING ARRANGEMENT.

Commencing May 10, 1870—Leave New York as follows:

5:30 A. M.—For Plainfield.
6:00 A. M.—For Easton, Bethlehem, Mauch Chunk,
Williamsport, Wilkesbarre, Mahanoy City, Tunkhannock,
Towanda, Waverly, etc.

7:30 A. M.—For Easton.
12 M.—For Flemington, Easton, Allentown, Mauch
Chunk, Wilkesbarre, Reading, Columbia, Lancaster,
Ephrata, Litz, Pottsville, Scranton, Harrisburg, etc.

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

4:30 P. M.—For Somerville and Flemington.
5:15 P. M.—For Somerville.
6 P. M.—For Easton.
7 P. M.—For Somerville.
7:45 P. M.—For Easton.
9 P. M.—For Plainfield.

12 P. M.—For Plainfield on Sundays only.
Trains leave for Elizabeth at 5:30, 6:00, 6:30, 7:30, 8:30,
9:00, 9:30, 10:30, 11:40 A. M., 12:00 M., 1:00, 2:00, 2:15, 3:15,
3:30, 4:00, 4:30, 4:45, 5:15, 5:45, 6:00, 6:30, 7:00, 7:45, 9:00,
10:45, 12:00 P. M.

FOR THE WEST.
9 A. M.—WESTERN EXPRESS, daily (except Sundays)
—For Easton, Allentown, Harrisburg and the West,
without change of cars to Cincinnati or Chicago, and
but one change to St. Louis. Connects at Harrisburg
for Erie and the Old Regions. Connects at Somerville
for Flemington. Connects at Junction for Stroudsburg,
Water Gap, Scranton, etc. Connects at Phillipsburg
for Mauch Chunk, Wilkesbarre, etc.

5:00 P. M.—CINCINNATI EXPRESS, daily, for Easton,
Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Harrisburg, Pitts-
burgh, Chicago and Cincinnati. Sleeping cars to Pitts-
burgh and Chicago. Connects at Junction with D. L.
and W. R. R. for Scranton.

Sleeping Cars through from Jersey City to Pitts-
burgh every evening.

Tickets for the West can be obtained at the office of
the Central Railroad of New Jersey, foot of Liberty
street, N. Y., at No. 1 Astor House; Nos. 254, 271, 529
Broadway, at No. 10 Greenwich street, and at the principal
hotels.

R. E. RICKER, Superintendent.
H. P. BALDWIN, Gen. Pass. Agent.

PROGNOSTIC ASTRONOMY:
ASTRO-PHRENOLOGY,
as practiced by Dr. L. D. and Mrs. S. D. BOUGHTON,
491 Broome street, New York City.

To know by signs, to judge the turns of fate,
Is greater than to fill the seats of State;
The ruling stars above, by secret laws,
Determine Fortune in her second cause.

These are a book wherein we all may read,
And all should know who would in life succeed,
What correspondent signs in man display
His future actions—point his devious way;—
Thus, in the heavens, his future fate to learn,
The present, past and future to discern.
Correct his steps, improve the hours of life,
And, shunning error, live devoid of strife.

Any five questions in letter, enclosing two dollars,
promptly attended to. Terms of consultation from
\$1 to \$5, according to importance. Nativities written
from \$5 upward. Phrenological examinations, verbal
\$1; with chart, \$2.

JUST PUBLISHED.—The Primary Synopsis of
UNIVERSOLOGY and ALWATO (pronounced Ahl-
wah-to.) The new Scientific Universal Language,
by STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, member of the
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the
American Ethnological Society, etc.; author of
"The Science of Society," "Discoveries in Chi-
nese," "The Basis Outline of UniversoLOGY," etc.
New York, DION THOMAS, 141 Fulton street.
(1871.) Price, \$1.50.

PATENT

STOCKING SUPPORTER

AND

LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE
DEFORMED LIMBS.

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

The trade supplied at a discount.

No. 63 Clarendon Street,
BOSTON.

OR MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,

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SYPPER & CO.,

(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1826.



A BEAUTIFUL

SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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

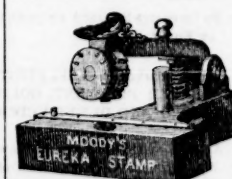
G. W. WARD & CO.

GENERAL AGENTS FOR

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY

FOR THE PACIFIC COAST.

No. 12 MONTGOMERY STREET,
San Francisco, Cal.



MOODY'S

EUREKA STAMP

for perforating into
Checks, Drafts, &c.,
the amount for which
they are drawn to
prevent alteration.
The check is moved
forward by the up-
ward action of the
lever of the machine.
The points are inked
and penetrate the fibre of the paper. They cannot be
taken out by chemicals. Price \$20.

J. G. MOODY, No. 68 Trinity Building,

P. O. Box 6028, N. Y.

Send for a Circular.

WM. DIBBLEE,

LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

HARABA ZEIN,

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

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL and TENNIE C. CLAFLIN,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

One copy for one year	\$3 00
One copy for six months	1 00
Single copies	5

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTION.

CAN BE MADE TO THE AGENCY OF THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY,
LONDON ENGLAND.

One copy for one year	\$3 00
One copy for six months	1 50

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Per line (according to location) - From \$1 00 to 2 50

Time, column and page advertisements by special contract.

Special place in advertising columns cannot be permanently given.

Advertiser's bills will be collected from the office of the paper, and must, in all cases, bear the signature of WOODHULL, CLAFLIN & Co.

Specimen copies sent free.

News-dealers supplied by the American News Company, No. 121 Nassau street, New York.

All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

44 Broad Street, New York City.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—All communications intended for publication must be written on one side only. The editors will not be accountable for manuscript not accepted.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL and TENNIE C. CLAFLIN will speak in Carrington's Opera House, Providence, R. I., on Tuesday evening, August 15, 1871, at 8 o'clock, on

THE GREAT POLITICAL ISSUE.

GERMAN MASS MEETING

Will be held at Irving Hall, August 11, 1871, to ratify the nomination of Tennie C. Claflin as Representative to Congress from the Eighth Congressional District. Governors Ashley and Solomon will preside. Miss Claflin will deliver an address in German, and several eminent Germans and Americans will also address the meeting.

Victoria C. Woodhull, by special request, will address the "Umbrella Girls' Association," in convention, at Cooper Institute, on

"THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF WOMEN CITIZENS."

We are under obligation to Herbert Thomas, Esq., 2 Great George street, Bristol, England, for files of late English journals, documents, etc.

OUR NEW WESTERN AGENCY.—Mr. A. J. Boyer, formerly of the "Nineteenth Century," has become our General Western Agent, with office at 165 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., where subscription may be made to the WEEKLY and advertisements will be taken. The rapid growth of the WEEKLY in Western favor has induced us to establish this branch office, and we are happy to be able to announce the engagement of one so favorably known to Reform as Mr. Boyer, with whom we trust all our friends will join in the endeavor to introduce the WEEKLY into every city, village and hamlet in the great West.

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The eighth National Convention will meet in Troy, N. Y., on Tuesday, the 12th day of September, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and continue in session three days.

Each active local society, and each Progressive Lyceum of any State, Territory or Province, which has no General Association, shall be entitled to one delegate for each fractional fifty members.

These Associations and Lyceums are respectfully invited to appoint delegates to attend this meeting and participate in the proceedings thereof.

Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, President,

137½ Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

H. T. Child, M. D., Secretary,

634 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SUPERINTENDENT KELSO is anxious about the morality of the city. He wishes, about election time, to show a record of good works. After clearing out a lot of wretched women in Greenwich street, and parading them through the public streets by daylight to the edification of vice in broadcloth, he goes for the keno dens and the policy shops. In the matter of playing policy, it would seem that the astute managers of those beneficent institutions have played upon the simple Superintendent, and used him to clear out defaulting tenants. If our city government keeps up this terrible respect for morals and outward show of decency, we shall get Pharisaical and Bostonian. Happily the good Superintendent does not lift his hand against the dwellers in palaces. Our respectable vices will be spared to us.

THE FIRST CANDIDATE FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENCY.

THE LETTER OF NOMINATION.

New York, July 4, 1871.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:

Madam—A number of your fellow-citizens, both men and women, have formed themselves into a working committee, borrowing its title from your name, and calling itself THE VICTORIA LEAGUE.

Our object is to form a new national political organization, composed of the progressive elements in the existing Republican and Democratic parties, together with the Women of the Republic, who have been hitherto disfranchised, but to whom the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution, properly interpreted, guarantee, equally with men, the right of suffrage.

This new political organization will be called THE EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY, and its platform will consist solely and only of a declaration of the equal civil and political rights of all American citizens, without distinction of sex.

We shall ask Congress at its next session to pass an act, founded on this interpretation of the Constitution, protecting women in the immediate exercise of the elective franchise in all parts of the United States, subject only to the same restrictions and regulations which are imposed by local laws on other classes of citizens.

We shall urge all women who possess the political qualifications of other citizens, in the respective States in which they reside, to assume and exercise the right of suffrage without further hesitation or delay.

We ask you to become the standard-bearer of this idea before the people, and for this purpose nominate you as our candidate for President of the United States, to be voted for in 1872 by the combined suffrages of both sexes.

If our plans merit your approval, and our nomination meet your acceptance, we trust that you will take occasion, in your reply to this letter, to express your views in full concerning the political rights of women under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Offering to you, Madam, the assurance of our great esteem, and harboring in our minds the cheerful prescience of victory which your name inspires, we remain,

Cordially yours,

THE VICTORIA LEAGUE.

THE LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

New York, July 20, 1871.

Fellow Citizens of the Victoria League:

I beg you not to regard my delay in replying to your flattering invitation to become the candidate of the Equal Rights party for the Presidency as evincing indifference on my part. The delay has, in fact, been occasioned by just the opposite cause; the state of mingled emotion, anxiety and reflection into which the serious proposition from a responsible source that I should accept such a nomination has thrown me. It is true that I have, now nearly a year ago, announced myself as a candidate for the high office in question, but that was rather for the mere purpose of lifting a banner, of provoking agitation and for giving emphasis to an opinion, and a rallying point for the great unorganized party of progress.

But the case is now different. Things have progressed to an astonishing degree during this year past. I may have been qualified to raise an excitement, to inaugurate a definite movement, to seize an outpost, and even, perhaps, to project a programme. But does it follow that I am the proper person to become the permanent "standard bearer," as you phrase it, of a great political party, and actually to guide the State.

Little as the public think it, a woman who is now nominated may be elected next year. Less change of opinion than has occurred already, in the same direction, will place her in the White House. The American people are generous and noble, and when their hearts are touched they are susceptible of a grand enthusiasm. They are also—the *mon* of the nation I mean now—capable of a gallantry toward my sex, which would rival the devotion of the age of chivalry. They are also essentially just; and when the thought shall really come home to them, with the cogency of conviction, that they have, through thoughtlessness, been all along acting unjustly to their mothers and wives and daughters, by depriving them of political rights, it may happen that there will come up a great swelling-tide of reactionary sentiment which will make a sudden revolution.

I feel that I *know* that just the right woman to touch the right chord of the public sympathy and confidence—if the right woman could be found—would arouse such a tempest of popularity as the country has never seen, and as a consequence should ride triumphantly on the tide of a joyous popular tumult to the supreme political position.

Just at this moment, also, the two great political parties of the past are positively without any issue. General Washington's popularity extinguished for the moment all partisan opposition, and made of the whole nation one grand fraternizing party. The advent of the first woman to the Presidential chair may be the occasion of the next great national fraternization—of the jubilee of the whole people; and

this grand event may be, and, to say more, to my prophetic vision, is, at this very moment, actually impending.

It is possible, therefore, that if I am your candidate, I may be elected. And the question recurs, am I the woman, among all the noble women of the land, who can either touch the true chord of sympathy in the national heart to secure the first result, or to manifest that high grade of feminine wisdom which should characterize the first Woman President of the United States?

It is this momentous question which gives me pause, and, after even this long delay, I find it no easy matter calmly to assume the responsibilities to which you invite me.

But there has been another cause of delay. You ask me to state the argument in full for the political rights of women, under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and I have tried to comply with your request. I have returned repeatedly to the task. But, gentlemen and ladies, *I have lost all inspiration for that work.* "Let the dead bury their dead." *I made my argument on that subject, last winter, before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, —aided by those noble auxiliaries, Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Hooker. I had the good fortune, also, to call out from that committee that unanswerable minority report signed by Benjamin F. Butler and Judge William Loughbridge—an instrument which constitutes a Gibraltar of woman's political rights against which all opposition is vain, and which has already grown to be the settled constitutional law in both the judicial and the popular opinion on that whole subject.

A very distinguished lawyer of this city said the other day, and the same fact is repeated almost daily, that no man of high legal position would now dare to risk his reputation by denying the conclusiveness of that argument and report.

The only shadow of an adverse argument which survives is based on the assumption that the amendments did not explicitly contemplate the case of women. The framers and adopters of these provisions did not intend, it is said, to confer rights on us, but only on the negro. That perhaps may be true; but it is equally true that they just as little intended to *exclude* or *except* women. The probable truth is that these law-makers did not at the time so much as think of the existence of women—so completely has woman been unconsciously ignored, until the last winter, at Washington, by these male politicians, as being in any way entitled to political rights.

How, then, does the matter stand? Why, just in this way. That, the legislators having had no intention whatsoever, for or against, in respect to this application of the law, the intention of the legislators, apart from the words used, cannot be appealed to on either side; and we are driven to fall back on the naked interpretation of the words themselves, and to gather all that we have any right to presume of *intention*, from the strict legal interpretation of the language employed.

If we have got the concession of our rights from the mere fact that those who were in the exercise of power had so little respect for or so little thought even of our rights that they forgot to take steps to defraud us out of them, shall we be called upon to carry courtesy so far as to decline to take advantage of their forgetfulness? Some may think we ought to do that way; but we propose to do otherwise, and to avail ourselves of all which the indifference or the unconscious contempt of men in power may carelessly have thrown in our way. If they have left down the bars, we shall quietly walk in; especially as it is only coming home to our own pasture.

I propose to *rendezvous*, again, at Washington the coming winter. No Representative or Senator will be more punctual than I. But I do not go there to *argue* the question of our rights. The argument is concluded. I shall go, accompanied by a corps of the representative women of the land, to *insist* on the *practical recognition* of rights which are already, by the public verdict, *theoretically established* and conceded. We shall demand that that be made existent *de facto* which already exists *de jure*. We shall claim the passage of a Declaratory Act, merely the signing of the judgment on the basis of the verdict already rendered in our favor; and we to the political trickster or pettifogger who shall dare to hinder our rights by any motion in arrest of judgment or otherwise for delay.

I expect to succeed. I do not expect that the women will leave Washington this very winter until after such Declaratory Act shall form part of the statutes of the country. It is simply scandalous that a nation whose very existence rose out of the axiom, *no taxation without representation*, and who fought for that principle to the death, should persist for a single year, after the subject is fairly broached, to impose on us taxation and to refuse us representation; or that a people whose fundamental political idea is opposition to all class-legislation should disfranchise, by the act of a minority, the very largest class of its citizens.

The early coming of female participation in the business of legislation is inevitable; and from now on, destruction will await the politician who does not heed the rising tide. The action of every public man on this question is noted, and the Nemesis of political destiny will overtake every recreant to the true principles of a real republic, which involves the equality of woman. Republicanism *shall have* its fair trial, which it never has had hitherto. If female suffrage is an experiment, so was republicanism itself; and this is the next ex-

* Instead of making the argument in question a part of this reply as requested by you, I enclose it here with as a separate document.

periment to be tried in the order of governmental evolution. And as it absolutely has to be tried, those who would prolong the crisis of its inauguration are mere obstructionists, and enemies of the public peace. In many a revolution the real disturbers are, when the matter is looked at deeply, those who oppose it. If a thing is in accordance with the spirit of the age, it cannot be successfully resisted; and who does not know that the spirit of this age is unbounded emancipation?

It is the merest waste of time, therefore, to fight any longer over this dead issue. Let both the old effete and dying-out political parties be wise at once. Let them "accept the situation," and inaugurate from now the still greater "new departure." Slavery has been abolished. The world waits for this other and more hidden, but no less real, slavery of restrictions on woman to be, likewise, hustled out of existence and relegated to the limbo of the dead past.

My countrymen, do not regard this concession as a defeat! But noble, gallant and loving men do not shrink from defeat even at the hands of a woman. They sometimes say that they *love to be conquered*. How noble the vanquishment, which will be only the surrender to your sisters and lovers of rights which have been unjustly—but thoughtlessly, on our part as much as on yours—withheld.

Moreover, do not fear the nature of woman! Let it be your glory and your choice to make her free to the uttermost—to expand into her most glorious possible womanhood. Do not think that you must prescribe the law of her being. Perhaps even now you are *needing something* in your own culture, something for the development of your own higher manhood, which can only be derived from the environment of a truly enfranchised womanhood, such as the world has never yet seen. Among the Quakers or Friends women, though not wholly free, have, for more than a century stood, in many respects, side by side with and as the equal helpers of men; and no such disaster has resulted to the characters of either men or women as is feared from the admission of women into politics; but quite the reverse.

My brothers! we are not, and cannot be, your enemies. It is among you, on the contrary, that we look to find our lovers and dearest friends—our protectors and our chosen co-operators in the responsible business of life. We have no interests which are not intimately linked with your interests and with the interests of your children. We want nothing which is not right, and as right for you and for them as for us.

We know, too, that this strife between woman and men, this partial alienation of the two hemispheres of humanity in this age, is working most deleterious results, and especially upon the characters of the next immediate generation. Children have no fathers and no mothers while men and women distrust and repel each other, even in that mild sense which this struggle implies. And yet the struggle cannot end, because it *ought not to end*—and because we cannot consent that it *should end*—until our perfectly equal rights and freedom, socially and politically, are completely established.

Whoever obstructs or hinders the earliest possible concession of what we ask is therefore, either ignorantly or intentionally, perverse.

So far from wishing to degrade you, my brothers, we would be so glad that we would rejoice with exceeding great joy if we could find you manly and god-like enough to command our worship. The greatest misfortune of women is that there are so few great and truly noble men; and it is the greatest misfortune of men, and perhaps, as yet, a greater misfortune on their part—for women have been hitherto cramped and degraded—that there are so few great and truly noble women. I am saddened when I think of the weary waste of commonplace and inferior natures.

We need, my brothers and sisters, all our conjoint exertions to found and rear the grand edifice of future society. Every day used in simply removing restrictions and obstructions, and still worse, in maintaining them, is a day lost from the nobler occupation. This bondage of woman is the last withe that binds us to the dead past. Sever it, and we rise into the freedom of a new future.

Perhaps I should also mention in this connection the oppressive weight which capital, in its greedy ignorance, still lays upon labor. The freedom of woman and the freedom of the laborer are conjointly the cause of humanity. Industry, finance and the home must all be rightly adjusted, as transitional to the higher order. Democrats and Republicans must make haste to take up these great new issues, or the fusion of the women and the workingmen and the Internationalists will render their further existence, as parties, unnecessary. The National Labor Union, just now convening at St. Louis, has, for the first time, invited women upon equal terms to that convention. It is, of course, noticed that neither Republicans nor Democrats have, with some exceptions in Massachusetts, invited us yet into their political assemblages.

It may be thought that my demands are too urgent, and my expectations too immediate and too large. But that has been thought before now; and yet the realization has exceeded the hope.

At the last meeting of Congress my Memorial set forth that since the adoption of the Fifteenth Article of the Amendments to the Constitution, no State or Territory either has abridged, or has the right to abridge, the right of the citizens to vote; and that the *status* of women as citizens is completely established. At that time it was only a small but bold wing of either party that dared to express sympathy with this new announcement. At this day, however,

only eight or nine months later, the real leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties stand squarely upon this platform of doctrine, and are lending their influence to mold the action of their parties in that direction. The names of SUMNER, WADE, MORTON, TRUMBULL, WILSON, CARPENTER, SPRAGUE, NYE, POMEROY, STEARNS, HARRIS, ARNELL, MAYNARD, BANKS, JULIAN, BURDETT, LYNCH, WOODWARD, ELA, MORRILL, VALLANDIGHAM, KERR, CHASE, and BLACK, with a host of others that might be mentioned, fill the list of great politicians—and there are none greater—who have given in their allegiance to woman's suffrage.

Indeed, I stand almost appalled at the success of what has been already attempted. And it is not alone the statesmen. The public press also is already virtually converted. It is everywhere admitted that it is only a question of time. Why not then shorten the time to the utmost? The work of a single day in Congress may end the agitation and quietly begin the new regime. The change will be far less than has occurred within the twelvemonth. Revolutions are often completed at the time from which chronology dates their commencement; and this revolution has, in fact, definitively ended. Nobody sneers now at woman's suffrage. Everybody has already "in thought accepted the new situation;" and the real revolution is always that which takes place in the thoughts of the people. All else is merely the recording of the verdict and the incidentals of the execution.

I cannot speak of pride, for that is not the feeling; but I cannot repress a sense of solemn joy and lofty exultation—something like that, perhaps, of Miriam upon the shore of the Red Sea, celebrating the rescue of her people under the guidance of the marvelous cloud by day and pillar of fire by night—when I reflect on what the spirits in heaven, aided by devoted spirits in the flesh, are so rapidly and so marvelously accomplishing for the complete enfranchisement of my sex, and, through them, of all humanity.

If, fellow-citizens, with these views, with this faith and this hope, under God, and with such powers as I have, dedicated to their service, you still think that I am the fitting woman to represent this movement—to be, as you say, its "standard bearer"—I cannot and will not decline such nomination as you may see fit to make of me to the public.

Perhaps I ought not to pass unnoticed your courteous and graceful allusion to what you deem the favoring omen of my name. It is true that a Victoria rules the great rival nation opposite to us on the other shore of the Atlantic, and it might grace the amity just sealed between the two nations, and be a new security of peace, if a twin sisterhood of Victorias were to preside over the two nations. It is true, also, that in its mere etymology the name signifies *Victory*; and the victory for the right is what we are bent on securing. It is again true, also, that to some minds there is a consonant harmony between the idea and the word, so that its euphonious utterance seems to their imaginations to be itself a genius of success. However this may be, I have sometimes thought, myself, that there is, perhaps, something providential and prophetic in the fact that my parents were prompted to confer on me a name which forbids the very thought of failure; and, as the great Napoleon believed the star of his destiny, you will at least excuse me, and charge it to the credulity of the woman, if I believe also in fatality of triumph as somehow inhering in my name.

With profound esteem, your obedient servant,
VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD COMPANY.

Among all the gigantic corporations of the present day, and the still more stupendous schemes whose embryonic buds are as yet unfolded to the public gaze, it would be impossible to select a more thoroughly representative one than the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

Created, originally, for the purpose of facilitating intercourse between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, it completed one of the most thoroughly built and well-equipped railroads to be found in this country. Having its termini located on the navigable waters of the Delaware and Ohio, it opened the traffic of the West and Southwest to the city which brought it into life. Not satisfied with the natural prosperity, its managers, yielding to their instincts for personal advantage, have stretched out to control other railroads, unlimited by State boundaries, to every quarter from whence tribute could be derived to feed their thirst for gain, under their armed excuse of "support" to the trunk line. By this policy the company draws sustenance through the leased or nominally purchased control of roads reaching to the great internal seas of the North, and, unstayed by the "Father of Waters," which they tap at several points, this inflated company now controls the way to Omaha.

In the South, it is endeavoring to effect connections to secure the carrying trade from the vast Southern cotton-fields. In opposition to the wishes of its own and the shareholders of the New Jersey Railroad, it seeks practically to absorb the entire railroad franchise of New Jersey, that it may have a terminus north and east of Philadelphia at New York.

From the farther West comes the news that it is arranging to control, by purchase or otherwise, the Central and the Union Pacific Railroads. Thus, a railroad company with chartered authority only to own less than four hundred miles of railway, under a quarter of a century in age, through the reckless adventures of its managers, blinded by present success to future ruinous consequences, controls, operates

and renders tributary to itself, or seeks to do so, other roads extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Northern Lakes to the Southern Gulf. Nor is this influence limited to simple railway transportation. It seeks to create steamships out of Philadelphia subscriptions to build up its eastern terminus opposite New York. Its voice is potent in State Legislatures, and exerts no minor power in the National Council. By intrigue and its combined powers it is asserted that it has succeeded in placing two additional judges in the highest tribunal of the country, and at its behest a former decision adverse to its interests has been reversed. This almost regal sway, opposed to free institutions and to constitutional law, has only been obtained through a lavish expenditure of money, and the creation of indebtedness by division of almost baseless shares and bonds; nor can it be retained except by a continued control and use of similar means and resources to those by which it was acquired.

An examination of the annual reports for a series of years casts much light on the present and prospective pecuniary strength of this corporation, and may enlighten the public, as well as its blinded shareholders, on its future value. During the last decade, owing to the excitement of a fearful civil war, the great increase of paper money and the consequent unsettling of previously conceived financial ideas, there has not been that careful scrutiny of reports once considered essential in this company. The declaration of a dividend has been accepted without examination, as proof that it was earned, not provided for through new debt.

A careful examination of these reports since 1862 shows the following results:

	Liability.	Profits.
1862	\$35,324,214	\$4,942,953
1863	38,295,668	5,081,196
1864	43,320,336	4,020,019
1865	45,856,796	3,819,654
1866	44,251,599	3,578,741
1867	46,100,425	3,905,054
1868	54,143,745	5,289,339
1869	65,030,302	5,022,825
1870	73,097,215	6,012,991

As there has been a failure in last report to deduct the thirty per cent. of gross earnings due the Philadelphia and Erie Railroads from the profits, as has been the former practice and as is required by the law, it is just to deduct this amount, \$953,213, less the apparent gift of \$566,316 from the declared net earnings. As the company report it, \$566,316 is the net profits of Erie Railroad; but this is not true, since they ignore the thirty per cent. due to the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad. This makes a loss of \$386,899 on the lease, in place of a profit of \$566,316. As the amount styled profits is, according to annual reports, stated to be "the profits on all operations of the company," it is evident that no pecuniary benefit has accrued from the numerous other roads operated by and for the account and risk of the Pennsylvania Company.

It is presumed the managers have sufficient reasons for this withholding of details concerning transactions which have swollen from \$35,000,000 in 1862 to \$73,000,000 in 1870, and with the recent increase of stock to \$80,000,000 at the present time. If this, its own statement of figures, is correct, then the indebtedness of the company to its shareholders and loaners is \$153,000,000.

As the construction account was \$29,888,551 in 1862, and only \$33,806,907 in 1870, it is clear that only a very small percentage of this vast increase of debt was used in developing the road against which these mortgages are held, and which mortgages have increased from about \$17,000,000 to \$33,000,000 in the same time.

The last report informs us that "other assets" to the amount of \$39,290,308 are held by the Company, but as each succeeding report to that which set forth "other assets" fails to herald any benefit arising from them, they have been of no value to the stockholders, however much they may have aided in accounting at the annual meetings for the increase of liabilities. If they are valuable, why conceal from creditors the full details of cost, or fail to record the accruing interest thereon? Light, clear and distinct, should be permitted to enter upon these details of book keeping, that all who have trusted the business capacity, the honor, the integrity of the managers should be able to refute those who do not hesitate in the usual gatherings to affirm the insolvency of the corporation.

If the "construction account" and "mortgage debt" represent, as they should, the total cost of this road and its complete equipment in every respect (and there is little doubt that they really exceed it), then, taking the sum of the original amounts in 1862, construction account and mortgage account, as the *true cost*, namely, \$46,888,551, it will be shown that \$106,111,449 have disappeared, and whither have they gone?

"Where the woodbine twineth" or to some other "account," understood possibly only in such financial language as is used in companies like the Erie and the Pennsylvania Central, and which, properly interpreted, may mean one of the strands in a rope of sand, whose strength, if looked at from a distance, would appear prodigious, but which will not bear the test of a touch.

Such, it is feared, will be the fate of this Pennsylvania company. It is asserted that it has been stretched to its ultimate tension, and the belief is widespread that the almost desperate efforts to get control of the earnings of other roads and other properties are similar to the struggles of a drowning man catching at even a straw to save himself from sinking.

HONESTY IN JOURNALISM AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Whatever the merits or demerits of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, our heartiest opponents will concede that we write as we think. Indeed, it is one of their charges that we practice no concealments, talk right out in meeting, and say what we have to say without fear or favor. Sermons on lying newspapers, or attacks on the press for its party subversion, its manufactured news or its venality do not touch us. Our withers are unwrung. We persistently urge on the press to do their duty as instructors of the people rather than to be the mere chaffers of news scraps and on dits. A sensational rumor is more precious to a news monger than the most profound philosophies. Truth itself is only valuable as it may be sensational and stimulating. A smart lie is better than a dull fact; while the iteration of worn-out scandal or perverse misrepresentation take the place of argumentative refutation, and come to be regarded as exquisite humor. "Would you have men believe a lie, keep on repeating it," like the legend of Mr. Greeley's cowhide boots and slovenly appearance. Wendell Phillips brings his powerful pen to bear on the immorality of the press, and thus sacrifices them for their audacious disregard of truth in matters personal.

Here is one of the leading New York dailies. During the last four or five years that journal has made four or five times the same gross misstatement regarding me, in articles reported to be written by its editor-in-chief—written for a malignant and party purpose—the incorrectness of which its own columns testify. If I were to complain, my letter would not probably be printed. But such sentence of it as could be most plausibly misrepresented would be copied and made the text for more vituperation, while the chance mistake of some other journal in any trifle is flooded with every scornful epithet in the dictionary.

In matters political he instances the recent "enterprise" of the *Tribune* in the matter of the treaty:

But in the case of the premature printing of the Treaty. The press ridiculed and defied the Senate. The Senate quailed. Some one had bribed an official to deceive and break his promise or oath. The press applauded the breach of trust, offered to pay the pimp who provoked it double salary, and made his judges its laughing-stock week after week. When the five million readers risted, after a month spent in laughing at the laborious wit got up for that occasion, what are we to suppose was the moral effect of the whole event? Plainly this: every tenth man said, "Ah! I understand; get money—honestly if you can—but, any how, get money." That is the new gospel. Keeping your promise; pocketing only what you have earned is played out. If you can, live in a brown stone front—no matter how you get there.

Again, the same scathing tells us:

There is tyranny in Party—the tyranny of capital is cruel, and I am not sure that the tyranny of labor will not be more cruel still. But the most cruel, cowardly, selfish and demoralizing of all tyrants is the American editor. Call the pulpit a "coward's castle!" The editorial chair is ten times as much so; and it is a thieves' receiving house besides. It hides thirty thousand Swiss who uphold each other in getting their bread untettered by any of the obligations usually considered binding by honest men.

When the *Times* gibbets the city administration for their flagrant dishonesty, its contemporaries, in favor with Tammany, to break the effect of the "fall" charge that the motive for the exposure is equally as reprehensible as the theft charged upon officials. Instead of joining in that cry, we would say: Thank Heaven for the motive, let it be what it may, and that it was strong enough to bring to light the system by which trusting tax-payers have been from year to year robbed of one-half they have contributed to maintain the city government. That such things have gone on so long is a disgrace to every citizen who has any interest in society. If all the different accounts when overhauled, as they surely must be, show the same extent of thieving rascality as those that have been exposed, which we have every reason to believe they will show, it will be very easy to account for the necessity of the enormous rates of taxation to which citizens have gracefully submitted. There is no dodging the issue now upon Tammany. They have got to face the music and make a clean showing of their hands, else they will be shown for them, and that, too, most relentlessly. Responsibility must rest somewhere, and the people will never "let up" until it is carried home, and the stolen gains disgorged. It has long been a source of wonder how such vast sums of money could be made way with, but the people have been hoodwinked by the reply of "great improvements." We now have the explanation, and it is just what everybody expected would come some day. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and mad indeed are a set of officials who systematically "raise" accounts from hundreds to thousands of dollars, amounting in the aggregate for a year to an increase from thousands to millions. It is doubtful if robbery upon so grand a scale was ever before attempted, even if we were to admit as true the rumors regarding the Treasury Department of the United States under the present regime, which hints at millions of uncollected revenue, held by consent of high authority. All of these things, gradually developing only the more certainly, prophesy the change which is to come over this country when women shall stand fresh and strong, as the newly recognized conservators of the public interests. There is an imperative demand in present conditions for a purifying heaven to prevent the "lump" of humanity being precipitated into utter chaos and confusion. In woman alone can this heaven be found. Her native purity, so transcendent over men, can alone save us from an anarchy worse than was that of the dark ages.

WHO SHALL SIT IN THE CHAIR OF THE BAY STATE?

We go for General Butler as the next Governor of Massachusetts. Our preference is hearty, and we shall stand by it. He is a candidate by his own wish and consent, and his friends ought to rally to his support. He has been honest and frank enough to say that he wants the place, and we hope his fellow-citizens will nominate and elect him to it.

What is the ground of our judgment in this case? It is easily stated. General Butler is a man of ideas—a disciple of progress—a believer in the nineteenth century—a discernor of the signs of the times. Bred in the Democratic party, he broke with it on the negro question, and became one of the staunchest supporters of emancipation. Since the claim of woman for the elective franchise has challenged the attention of statesmen, he has not hesitated to lend it the weight of his name, and has even gone so far as to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution as of themselves sufficient, without the aid of a sixteenth, to secure woman's right to the ballot. If he was tardy in coming into the anti-slavery cause, he has been alert in joining the woman suffrage movement.

It is a fashion to denounce General Butler as a political adventurer. He is called a man without convictions. Many believe him to be a moral charlatan. We are of no such opinion. Knowing the man with a tolerable degree of intimacy, we believe that he will be morally faithful to any trust which his fellow-citizens may repose in him. His intellectual abilities nobody questions. As a member of the House of Representatives, he is the only sitter in that body who ever makes us think that Thaddeus Stevens has had any successor. In the Governor's chair of Massachusetts, he would be splendidly equal to the most critical of occasions, and would earn a statue in the State House yard.

The politics of Massachusetts for the last two or three years have been a perplexity to the outside world. The Democrats have had a candidate; the Republicans have had a candidate; the Labor Reformers have had a candidate; the Prohibitionists have had a candidate; but the Woman Suffragists have had no candidate.

In renominating Gov. Claflin for a third term, the Republican party, including its woman suffrage members, knew that they had a candidate favorable to woman suffrage. Gov. Claflin now declines a farther renomination, and his voluntary retirement from the field has excited the ambition of Mr. Harvey Jewell, Speaker of the Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature. Mr. Jewell was formerly an opponent of the negro's freedom, and is now an opponent of woman's enfranchisement. Such a man ought not to be Gov. Claflin's successor. He ought not to be named on the same day with Gen. Butler. No. Gen. Butler is the right man for the place. The nomination of a man who is at once so pronounced a Republican and so pronounced a woman suffragist, would keep the woman suffragists of Massachusetts from bolting the Republican party. On the other hand, the proposed nomination of such a man as Mr. Jewell has already excited the indignation of the woman suffragists. Mr. H. B. Blackwell, in the last *Woman's Journal*, pointedly says, "Mr. Jewell has wronged the women of Massachusetts by word and action more than any other public man in the State. He has deliberately devoted himself to the perpetuation of the unjust disabilities of sex. He has placed himself at the head of the opposition of the Woman Suffrage movement. He has depreciated the motives and slandered the characters of its advocates. He is personally responsible for the defeat of the Woman Suffrage resolutions in the Republican State Convention last September. And when afterward, through a mistaken policy of magnanimity, the woman suffragists allowed him to be re-elected Speaker of the House of Representatives without opposition, and even aided him with their votes, Mr. Jewell took advantage of our forbearance to give his casting vote against the proposed woman suffrage amendment of the State Constitution."

The above indictment of Mr. Jewell ought to be sufficient to array the woman suffragists of Massachusetts (and they form a large section of the Republican party) against his nomination, and to give General Butler, with his clear record in favor of woman suffrage, the good will and practical support of the great body of the Radicals of the State.

There is always a right and a wrong time for molding a moral reform into a political issue. Generally, such questions have been pressed into party politics too soon. But if Mr. Jewell is nominated by those Republicans who are willing to see the cause of woman retarded, we counsel the woman suffragists to nominate a candidate of their own. And if the woman suffrage party should declare itself in advance in favor of General Butler, this alone would defeat General Butler's rival. So far as we have any voice to be heard or heeded by the Republicans and the woman suffragists of Massachusetts, we shall urge General Butler for the Governorship of a State which (as he lately told us) will probably decree woman suffrage within the next five years.

[The above, from the *Golden Age*, we fully indorse, with the hope that the suffragists of Massachusetts will see the good policy of declaring for General Butler.]

DEATH OF PHEBE CARY.

It is only a few months since, on one of the bleakest of March days, that a company of mourners gathered in Commodore Vanderbilt's "Church of the Strangers" to take a last look at the dead face of Alice Cary. The chief weeper, the heart most broken, the one pre-eminent sufferer on that occasion, was her sister Phoebe. She sat in the front pew, clad in funeral black, and bathed in comfortless tears. As we caught a glimpse of her sorrow-stricken face, we pitied her in our heart of hearts.

Phoebe has now followed her sister "into the silent land." The news will excite surprise. Very few of her friends and acquaintances had heard of her illness. She was known among them as so vigorous and well that wherever she went she was pointed out as a picture of health. She is struck down by death in the very prime of life—in the very hardihood of strength.

A few weeks ago she left her New York home for a visit to a friend's cottage in Newport. She thought the sea air would reinvigorate her tired nerves. Much prostrated by her sister's death, and by the aching void which that event created in the pleasant Twentieth street house, she sought refreshment of spirit by a change of scene. But the sea breezes failed of their magic. The sick woman, half unwilling to get well, languished during a few weeks, and on Monday night last died.

She held a kindly place in all our hearts. True, honest and sincere, she made those who knew her at all honor her highly. Her home was a hospitable place. The Sunday evenings which her literary and other friends used to spend in her parlor, in the years before Alice died, will not be forgotten by her guests. Mr. Greeley was the most habitual and most eminent of these. Alice and Phoebe Cary were sisters to this benign and good old man. No friend whom they have left behind them will miss them from the world more keenly than he.

It is only a few weeks since Phoebe's long and elaborate article about her sister appeared in the *Lady's Repository*—the periodical in which they first earned a literary recognition. Who will follow that graceful tribute with another to the dead writer of it? We hope that whosoever undertakes it will fitly recognize not only her gay and blithe wit, for which she was distinguished in her evening sociables, and which enabled her to sparkle like a diamond, but also the high and rare spiritual experiences in which her heart was most at home, and which pervade her best writings, like the perfume that dwells on the rose. Up and down the land, like a wandering bird of a sweet song, goes a little poem of hers beginning

"One sweetly solemn thought
Comes to me o'er and o'er;
I'm nearer my home to-day
Than I've ever been before;
Nearer my journey's end,
Where I lay my burden down;
Nearer losing the cross,
Nearer wearing the crown;
Nearer my father's house,
Where the heavenly mansions be;
Nearer the great white Throne;
Nearer the Jasper sea."

In the haste of this present writing (in the last moments before going to press) we have quoted the above lines from memory, and have probably miscalled some of the phrases. The song, if we could put our hands on it at this moment, and transcribe it in full, would fully represent yearnings of the song singer fulfilled at last. Her "sweetly solemn thought" that came to her, "o'er and o'er," has been suddenly realized. Lifted by God's helping hand, she has stepped upward into her Father's house. With moist eyes we look after her, and, with sisterly affection, say farewell.

A VOICE FROM ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO, July 25, 1871.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:

Dear Madam—Thanks for your letter and for the notice of the meeting of the "American Association" of Spiritualists, to be held at Troy, N. Y.

"You would like to attend the convention and speak f—"

For myself I shall be glad, as president, to present you to the congregation. We who have been excommunicated from the Christian world because of our faith in the angel world, are not the ones to cringe and cower when a new prophet rises, like the dead Samuel, with living words for souls dead in sin.

You desire to be known by me. I do know a little of you; I have seen you, like a blazing comet, dashing along the social and political heavens. And it does one's heart good to see the "lesser lights" wince at your approach. These frightened mortals are either afraid of being lost sight of in this grand march, or they fear that all truth will not be given to the waiting world by self-anointed hands.

How small and poor and mean your traducers look beside the queenly Mrs. Stanton and Paulina W. Davis, the sainted Lucretia Mott, and the steadfast Susan B. Anthony. But, then, we expect much of these full-grown, sun-crowned women. They have fought the good fight, and have gone to their reward—not to their rest.

But all of trust, faith, zeal, courage, do not belong to women. Several men stand boldly at Truth's fair shrine, ready to accept whatever seems sweet and good, without even asking in whose name the "bread bearers" come.

When I give God thanks for his ministering spirits, Theodore Tilton rises for recognition. I well believe that he is the prophet of the To-Be. In the words of another:

"In the ripe, full-blown season of his soul,
He shall go forward in his spirit's strength,
And grapple with the questions of all time,
And wring from them their meanings. As King Saul
Called up the buried prophet from his grave
To speak his doom, so shall this Poet-king
Call up the dead Past from its awful grave
To tell him of our future."

You may be outlawed for social heresies, but while great souls who are loyal to truth and honor uphold you, you are rich indeed.

With love and will, I am ever and ever your friend,

H. F. M. BROWN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A FRAGMENT OF THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The construction of society, and its regulation by civil and traditional statutes, is such, that to be born a woman is generally a great misfortune. Women have been always treated, as a whole, like an inferior class of beings as compared to men; as though, in fact, they had but few rights which men were bound to respect, until, at last, women have learned to think and believe that they really had but few rights, and deserved but few. This subservience, or rather acceptance of this unnatural condition of things, is simply the result of an education which commences with their very existence, and the central idea of which is inferiority.

Ages of compelled inferiority, combined with a universal training in its belief, has placed woman in that position, where she to-day has no proper mental, moral or physical status. No one is able, or can be, to tell where in the scale of thought and intelligence she would have stood to-day had she, in the generations past, been treated in the same way men has. Her present condition is no criterion upon which to base an opinion as to her possibilities of development, and all the charges brought against her rest on no reasonable grounds, and are the legitimate results of the degrading teachings of the past and the monomania of the present.

Why accuse woman of what a contemptible barbarism has rendered inevitable? Why point to a weakness which is only a virtue crippled by your neglect and abuse? Why charge her with dependence when you have taught her to consider it the highest possible perfection? Why ridicule her for intrigue and "sharp practice" when you have instilled into her nature the belief that marriage was all she was good for? Why censure her for extravagance and folly when you are "upset" by paint, flounces, false curls and chignons? Why assail her for idleness when you are so "taken" with white hands, delicate cheeks and "rouge"? Why cry out against her virtue when your dressing-case contains copalms and cubes? Why rail at prostitution when you lie in wait for the abandoned by the hour at street corners and public resorts? Why indict her for faults which lie at your doors and on your conscience, which you have fostered, nourished and perpetuated? Why arraign her for being bought and sold when by your statute books you have made her only a chattel and a piece of merchandise? Why find fault with her lack of ambition and independence, when by the force of public opinion and your civil code she is compelled to dwarf her energies in the nursery and kitchen? Why complain of her physical debility when it is known to be largely the result of monstrous and unspeakable outrages, which are perpetrated by you according to law, and from which she has no appeal.

In the face of these facts men cry out that women are inferior. The great wonder of the world is, that this cry is not true; that after centuries of degrading servility this charge should not be a fact. In spite of what might reasonably be expected, where do we find woman to-day? Is she inferior to man? If she is, we would ask in God's name in what? Who are the drunkards, the loafers, the swearers, the burglars, the murderers, the villains, the seducers, the rascals, the "grinders of the poor," the instigators of earth's horrors? Men. Who support licentiousness, houses of "ill-fame," low dance halls and city hells? Men. Who prey on communities like vampires, corrupt public and private morals, inaugurate selfish and unjust legislation, devastate the land by gigantic frauds and barefaced robberies? Men.

Women inferior to men! Who feeds on infamy and buys Humboldt's Buchu? Who waste nights and days in drunken orgies, and then in the full tide of bestiality inflict the most atrocious cruelty on defenceless women who have no escape nor redress? Men. Who are the vagabonds, the parasites, the scum, the offal, the filth of society, the defamers of chastity, purity and sacred honor? Men. Who are the betrayers of innocence, the perpetrators of fiendish outrages, which make humanity blush for shame, the committers of crimes and the populators of penitentiaries? Men.

Women inferior to men! Who are the bulk of church members, Sabbath-school teachers, charitable societies, the educators of children, the framers of characters, and the preservers of the sanctity of the family? Women. Who are the sworn enemies of intemperance, debauchery, villainy and vice? Women. Who are the defenders of chastity, virtue, charity, benevolence, honesty, and whatever else is necessary to preserve the integrity and honor of communities? Women. Who as a class, by an instinctive perception of right and wrong, of which men know but little, are always on the side of right and against the wrong, standing up as bulwarks against the floods of corruption which beset society from all directions? Women. Who are the friends of religion, intelligence, sobriety, kindness, manners, good order, refinement, respectability and decency? Women.

In spite of the slavery of the past, the degradation and disability of the present, woman stands superior to man in all that belongs to the welfare of society and the salvation of the race. It is time that men understood that women are their superiors in all that beautifies and adorns humanity, and that before God and the intelligent universe she stands the last but the best creation.

PENNYSYLVANIAN.

IGNORANCE, COWARDICE AND THE RULE OF MONEY.

Some time since the New York Nation said that there was not a political economist in Congress. In a technical sense, perhaps the statement is too sweeping, but in any practical point of view there can be no doubt of its correctness.

How true the old words are! "Blind leaders of the blind," will they not all stumble into "hell" together, *a la Paris*.

Is it not clear that our rulers are ignorant of that very subject with which they should be most familiar? Are they not cowards as well? The cause of this condition of things can easily be given.

The bondholders have manufactured a public sentiment which permeates all classes of society, to the end that their so-called dollars shall not be taxed to support the government; and the present incumbents being dependent upon the public whim for office in the future, they very naturally permit no opportunity to pass unimproved to spread before the people the fact that they do not believe in repudiation. The meaning of the term "repudiation" here is that the government shall use and recognize as legal tender, money of the same quality only; and that the tax on industry shall not be doubled for the benefit of gold-gamblers and other professional thieves.

Our law-makers are ignorant of the first principles of human justice, and they dare not maintain their own best conceptions of right because of the rule of "money."

The church is in the hands of rich men to such an extent that the clergy have no power to preach the New Testament doctrines, but they have elevated the "Golden Calf" instead, and the money-changers hold prominent positions in the Temple.

The lecture platform which was free before the war is now no longer untampered, but except the most gifted orators all must make their very gracious bow to legalized rascality, else no speech on that rostrum.

Even Wendell Phillips seems to be a victim to this prevailing mania, for he says, in substance, "tis all a mystery."

This is a most humiliating fact for a labor reformer to consider. Why, just to think, that Wendell Phillips, our great apostle, and the teacher of the Republican party, after years of hard work, and running for office he did not want, and giving instruction to the people and telling them how to do it, now comes out before the world and owns up that he don't know what the matter is.

Mystery! that's the same old song which we have always heard from the tyrants and their sycophants. Mystery!

A song most damnable in all its characteristics and results.

If Mr. Phillips intends to say that it is a mystery to him, very well. Let him dry up and retire; we have had too much of him already. If he means to convey the idea that no one can tell the cause of the inequalities in life as regards opportunities to work, and the inequalities of compensation, or why money has such a power over labor, he is mistaken. He does not speak the truth, but the very opposite of the truth.

It can be expressed on general principles and in detail just so soon as the people obtain freedom of speech. Ignorance of the people, on one hand, and the rule of "mammon" on the other, embrace the great considerations which make it impossible at the present time for the "working-men to groan out from under their burdens truths that Adam Smith and Stuart Mill never saw." Philosophy has no sight for a hearing to-day, while high-sounding sophistry rules the hour.

Mr. Phillips is an excellent illustration of this fact. He speaks many truths in a forcible manner, gives apt illustrations with telling effect, will talk well for an hour; but, then, in the next five minutes he sells it all for "dividends." Now, the most unfortunate fact connected with this view of the matter is, the people don't know the difference between a pretty noise and a logical discourse. In addressing an average audience manner is more than matter. The masses have been educated to feel, but not to think.

If the rights of labor are radically presented, that presentation is sure to hit some organization which has its base in animalism and brutality. In order to construct a new and better system of finance, the power of those institutions which support the old must be reduced; for it will be noticed that this process of destruction and reconstruction has been in operation from time immemorial, and can be traced all adown the historic page.

I say finance, for all governmental and political reforms are at the bottom financial, and whosoever overlooks this fact might as well be blind to all other considerations of the functions of government.

It is generally supposed that the people of Massachusetts enjoy perfect freedom of speech. It is not so.

The rule of money is supreme!

"Here is a great wrong; it must be righted, or it will right itself in a way that will please nobody." B. S.

ST. ANTHONY, Minn., July 10, 1871.

It is remarkably strange how tenaciously narrow minds will cling to fossil ideas, and seem incapable of learning from the past history of the world. The adherents of the

Mosaic dispensation could not divest themselves of the rites and ceremonies of their priest ridden and unreasonable mode of worship.

They looked upon the new dispensation and teachings of Christ as an abominable heresy that should be crushed out, no matter what means might be employed to accomplish their ends. The great and good teacher was duly removed from the sphere of his usefulness; but his career, though short, was productive of more advanced ideas, and the very power that attempted to blot out his doctrines fell before the brighter halo of intelligence that dawned on the benighted minds of an idolatrous and bloodthirsty people. The Jews, in their intolerance, had exterminated the inhabitants of Palestine, and the record of rapine, murder and cruelty, as recorded in the Old Testament, is so revolting that its recital makes the heart sick and staggers the imagination to contemplate that such inhuman acts were done in God's name. The same acts of blood have also been perpetrated by those calling themselves Christians; and a darker and more revolting record cannot be found than the history of the Church. But it is to be hoped that ignorance and intolerance will soon receive their deathblow from a wider field of intellectual expansion.

What a spectacle of intolerance and bigotry is presented by the head of that infallible Church which has been rapidly dying out for the last century? In the very agonies of death, the poor old Pope, with no arm to save, fulminates his bulls and sends forth his anathemas, which fall as harmlessly on the world as a tiny flake of snow; yet blind devotion still clings to the heart, and millions are faithfully waiting to see the restoration of the infallible head of their tottering Church.

Like the Jews, they cannot read the signs of the times, and continue to hope against hope; but still the progressive march of intellectual greatness is rapidly revolutionizing the world; and a greater and brighter future has already begun to dawn. The old thread-worn cry of "infidel," "heretic," etc., etc., has lost its force, and all classes have a right to exercise their own judgment in worshipping as they choose, without fear of the stake, gag or inquisition.

This progress is not confined to religion alone, but is also in everything that has a tendency to elevate, expand and make free the human mind. The fossils of the past are forced to admit and accept the death of human slavery, and shortly all will hail the demise of mental slavery, and glory in the universal equality of humanity, without reference to sex. This great revolution is upon us; its results upon the world will do more for the advancement of mankind than any other that has ever taken place. The narrow-minded, the intolerant and priest-ridden devotees of the fossil past may retard the wheels of progress all they can, but they might as well attempt to stay the waters of Niagara with a sheet of tissue paper. The Republican party are stationary, living on past dead issues, and must advance with the times or fall into oblivion. The Democracy has found out that the war was not a failure, and now accept the situation, negroes and all; but this discovery comes too late to resuscitate them; and, unless they go farther in their "New Departure," they must fall to rise no more. Whatever party adopts "woman suffrage" as one of its planks at the next Presidential election, will be certain to succeed; and, had the Democracy done so, it would to-day present to the people of these United States the strongest ties that ever bound a people together. Such a course would insure success, and its friends would marshal their cohorts on the solid foundation of justice, equality and universal freedom, and present to the world a phalanx as invulnerable as the hosts of heaven. Will not the brighter minds of both parties unite in this new and great departure, and place their platform before the people at the approaching campaign of 1872? It is not too late yet, and if it were once inaugurated, the result would astonish the world.

Yours respectfully,

F. E. M.

TRANSMUTATION.

(From the National Standard.)

If thou hast read a nobly uttered thought,
And would its greatness share with some free soul
That dares to think, but such are far away,
Must thou, unwilling, hoard the priceless gem?
It sparkles not save in the light that shines
From mind to mind, a sudden glory struck
From out the dark of solitary thought.
Oh! lonely, fruitless, is the unshared thought,
And if repressed, thy breast becomes a tomb,
And life a funeral. Dost thou then despair?
The apple and the rose are thoughts of God,
Expressed in forms all joyfully accept.
Even so the thoughts divine which nurture thee,
Transmuted into human virtues sweet,
May win the unconscious worship of all hearts,
Pity that yearns toward every suffering one,
In sympathy of brotherhood so deep.
Though mortal life should bear no other fruit,
This would atone for all; hope which includes
Within its starry cope all that has been,
And is, and will be, bound by no regrets;
Trust, patience, gentleness—In such dear guise
Thy loftiest, purest thoughts may entrance win
To prisoned souls, and then no more needst grieve
To read aloud some nobly uttered thought. M. R. W.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

NO. VI.

The National Banking System is another element of power which is too powerful to be ignored. Its representatives even now assume to dictate to Congress upon measures of finance. 'Tis true this system was inaugurated in an hour of national peril and necessity. It looked well, it worked well, and all was serene with the public, for plenty of money meant quick transit, rapid sales and facilities in exchange. But the public now begin to understand that the bankers are too happy over their privileges, which permit a double means of obtaining the people's money. They obtain interest from the people on deposits of Government bonds, and also from the people triple interest on their circulation which they obtain by means of their bonds. It was a good day for the bankers, and at that time it was the best thing the government could do. Every one was happy then. The times, however, are changed. Everybody is not happy now. The people are not happy over the payment every year of thirty millions of dollars to these banks, in consideration for their having stepped forward to the assistance of the government in its time of need. The people remember that they too stepped forward and offered their lives without consideration. The banks have been well paid, and should retire from their unequal privileges satisfied with their gains, and be no longer permitted to remain patented charges upon the industries of the country. The yearly profit of these banks, which they make from the use of a currency for which the people are in a measure responsible, is sufficient to pay the entire expenses of our National Government. Thus we have two distinct monopolies, each of whose profits are equal to all the expenses of the Federal Government. Please think of that!

The interests of all monopolies are mutual. To attack one is to put them all on the defense. Should the bank and railroad interests of the country combine—and there is an effort now being made to that end—what would not they be able to do? This is a matter of the most serious import, which tends to a despotism more intolerable than that exercised by any of the monarchies of the old world.

The inquiry comes up: How shall this danger be averted or controlled? Experience teaches that there can be no legislation limiting their privileges that cannot be rendered impotent or be evaded by them. We may not hope for relief from this source. There is but one resort left. Since they will trespass upon the welfare of the entire people to their own aggrandizement, paying no attention and giving no thought to their rights, they must be dispossessed of their power. Primarily they were permitted for the public good. They were constructed and the public welfare was subserved. The public welfare now demands that they shall not become hereditary drains upon the vitality of the country.

But, says one, government has no right to take the railroads away from these thieving corporations. The government of the United States has the Constitutional right to do anything which the public welfare demands, and the human rights of the people demand that they shall not be made to pay twenty dollars to be transported from New York to Chicago, when the cost is but five, the other fifteen going to promote the interests of a would-be despotism, which is endeavoring to fasten itself upon the country.

The same results which have followed the inauguration of our postal system for the transportation of the people's letters would also follow a like system extended to the transportation of their merchandise and themselves. If government had the right to take the former from private hands, so also has it the power to take the latter, and the exigency is a thousand times more formidable and urgent.

Under a proper civil service the railroads of the United States would be managed with all the regularity which pertains to the mails, and with the official integrity which, as a rule, characterizes our postal, military and naval service.

We lay it down as a general proposition that all legislation of the special order kind, which grants rights or privileges to individuals or corporations, to do what they could not without such grant, is a monopoly to be sustained at the expense of the industrial or productive classes.

All special legislation, of whatever kind or grade, or what interest it is to protect or maintain, is a direct blow at the wealth-producing people, for in the end the entire benefit which accrues to such interest comes home to their doors and is by them paid. Equality which the Constitution presupposes among the people, and which it was framed to maintain, is an impossibility under any such practices, and it is for this reason that we have entered our protest against everything of the kind which is in our present governmental systems.

We call the system of protective tariff a huge fallacy, gotten up by the money interests to compel labor to maintain pursuits which it is assumed could not otherwise exist. The results of this system tersely stated are these: It interferes with the natural demand and supply—the natural ebb and flow—of the products of the world, by imposing upon certain of them such tribute that it is impracticable for them to get to the locality of natural demand, so that a special few who inhabit that locality are enabled to produce the same by a greatly increased cost, which the consumer must pay in order to obtain them.

It does not matter how much this plain statement may be twisted and bent by the alluring sophistries and glittering

generalities of the protected, it can never be robbed of its force as a statement, and can never be gainsaid. If it be any general benefit for a thousand people to pay one person fifty per cent. more for a desired article than it could be obtained for from a foreign producer, simply because it is of home production, we should be most happy to hear the demonstration. The argument used is, that the one man being protected in the manufacture of this article can give employment to a certain number of laborers, who in turn become the consumers of the products of these thousand people. But to make this position tenable it must be proved that laborers thus employed would not be able to apply themselves to any other labor than the production of the article in question. This investigation leads to such an intricacy of cause and effect, and of reactionary benefit, that those who attempt to make it prefer to accept the declaration that protection is a good thing to have, rather than acknowledge themselves lost in the fog and obscurity which they are asked to explore to determine the fact of the case.

But, says the protectionist, pretending to speak in the interests of the laborer, when it is his own which are in jeopardy, would you place the laboring classes of this country in competition with the pauper labor of Europe. Not by any means. But we will tell you, Mr. Protectionist, what you are doing. You are putting the laboring classes of this country in a position which will very soon reduce them to the condition which you call pauper labor of other countries, for your practice tends to build up monopolies to which labor becomes every year more and more subservient.

The same results will follow in this country which have obtained in England, which, of all countries of the world, has most thoroughly tested this matter—because the greatest manufacturing country of the world—and her experience is literally conclusive. Let us glance at this beautiful system as practiced there. Its history gives some reliable data more instructive than all the essays of a thousand political economists, with all their theories of what might, could, would or should be, if something were to occur which has not and never can. It is no doubt one of the most self-satisfactory things in the world to figure national prosperity, compelling the figures to fit the ends desired, and forgetting to-day the facts of yesterday.

Mons. Guizot, speaking in the French Corps Legislatif in 1846, said that the free trade policy of England had three results.

- 1st. It maintained and augmented the amount of labor.
- 2d. It lowered the prices of the necessities of life of the laboring classes.
- 3d. It diminishes the terrible oscillations to which those prices were exposed.

In the following year, in consequence of the free trade protectionist excitement, certain statistics were laid before the English House of Commons, more particularly as to plate glass, the manufacturers of which had loudly declared that free trade would ruin them, asserting that the continued existence of their business had only been insured by protection. The statistics were as follows:

In the year 1819 the duty was 98s. per cwt., the price per foot was 25s. with weekly sales of 3,000ft. In 1829 the duty was reduced to 60s.; the price fell to 12s. per foot, with weekly sales of 5,000ft. In 1849 the duty was removed; the price fell to 5s. per foot, with weekly sales of 10,000ft. In 1836, when the duty was 60s. per foot, there were 2,500 hands employed and £250,000 invested in the manufacture. In 1849, when there was no duty, there were 12,000 hands employed and £1,000,000 invested in its manufacture.

There was no English plate-glass exported to the United States in 1846, while in 1847 more was so exported than to all the rest of the world in 1846.

Comment on the above figures seems altogether superfluous, for the reason that nothing that can be said can present a stronger case in favor of free trade. We may, however, point out that from 1819 to 1827, under a protective tariff, lowering the duty 30 per cent. reduced the price of the article 52 per cent., and increased its weekly sales 66 per cent. We deduce from this a consumption of 66 per cent. more under the 60s. per cwt. duty than the 98s. per cwt. duty, and that there were 66 per cent. more laborers engaged in manufacture under the lesser tariff than under the greater.

Pursuing still further the official figures, we find that in the year 1847, when all the duty was taken off, the amount of labor engaged in the manufacture increased 480 per cent., as compared with the year 1836, when the duty was 60s. per cwt.

It is also notable that the increase in consumption and productiveness followed exactly in the wake of the reduction in the tariff.

We will now turn to the repeal of the corn laws in England, which was made a test case as to the merits of free trade, the conflict lasting from 1842 to 1846. In 1842 there was a sliding scale of duties in force—that is to say, the duty varied according to the price of corn; the average amount of the duty was, however, 16s. per qr. This scale of duties lasted until 1846, when it was lowered to an average of 4s. per qr.; the average amount of duty collected under the first-named tariff being £372,500 per annum, while in 1849, under a nominal tariff, the duty collected was £615,814 per annum.

The commencement of the free trade agitation found Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Gladstone protectionists. In 1846, Sir Robert Peel, speaking in favor of a

reduction of the tariff on corn, renounced his protectionist ideas, and became a free trader. In his speech he said he claimed the principle of yielding both to the force of argument and conviction, and of acting on the results of enlarged experience; and that "he was about to review the duties which applied to many articles the produce and manufacture of other States; that for the last three years, since the policy of acting on the principle of, repealing and reducing certain duties had been acknowledged, there had been increased productiveness of revenue, increased demand for labor, increased commerce, as well as comfort, contentment and peace in the country, and he was about to proceed on the assumption that the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective tariffs is in itself a wise principle."

In 1846, Lord Russell said, "He believed it would have been better for the English farmers if the duty on imported corn had been reduced still lower in 1842."

And the Duke of Wellington voted for the reduction of the duty on corn. In 1815 Mr. Bennett (member of Parliament for Wiltshire) said that "farmers could not grow wheat under a less protective duty than 96s. a quarter, yet he had since supported a minister who proposed to levy 56s. a quarter."

Mr. Gladstone, who, in 1842, opposed Lord Morpeth's free trade measures, has since become one of the most prominent of free trade champions.

The Earl of Derby, who had been a strenuous opposer of free trade, said, in the House of Commons in 1852, "that after the decision of the country in the recent elections, in favor of free trade, he was prepared to bow to its decisions." And in the same year the Queen in her speech congratulated Parliament on the beneficial results of free trade legislation.

We thus gather that free trade has not only given satisfaction to the people wherever it has been practiced, but has absolutely convinced its very opponents. In the matter of corn, at the very commencement of the free-trade agitation, the duty was 96s. per quarter; at the close and triumph of free trade it was 1s. a quarter, the results of each reduction only paving the way for a still greater one; had the opponents of free trade been able to show injurious effects from any one reduction of the tariff, the downward movement would have ceased, and probably a reaction have set in.

[To be continued.]

A NILSSON SCANDAL.—There are various stories regarding the amiability of Nilsson. Perhaps it is none of the public's business whether she is amiable or otherwise; but it is pleasant to know something about these little matters. There is a moral lesson to be gained from them occasionally, and the moral lesson cannot be sneezed at with any propriety. "Miss Nilsson," we read, "has shipped her lover and her traveling companion, Mrs. Richards, back to Europe together, and has gone off (with only her maid) with Judge Stoughton and wife to their country home in Vermont. From there she goes to Newport with them, tarry having taken the old Governor Gibbs' house for the summer. The story is, that Mrs. Richards has been gotten rid of for the reason that she is the person who made the match between mademoiselle and the young Frenchman who has recently been here, and whom mademoiselle does not now intend to marry. So Madame Richards and the lover were despatched together, and Nilsson is going to manage affairs herself now, according to the approved American plan." The lesson is, that a woman may not be a public favorite and at the same time the choicest woman of any particular man. Miss Nilsson has wealth and fame; but she is spoiled for home purposes.

We take the above from the Rochester Democrat. Its substance has been going the rounds. It may or it may not be true. It's none of our funeral. We insert it as an experiment to see whether the virtuous press will howl at "those women" as in the Jenny Lind scandal.

A SUN ROMANCER tells how a full-faced, handsome woman, about thirty years old, registered in police annals as "Ellen Melville, pickpocket," known as Casey, alias Coffey, and so forth, got a broken leg by a musket ball in the late riot, which leg had to be amputated. She was a pickpocket, dressed well, lived well and occupied fashionable apartments. She took her lost leg with resignation. She had been in the crowd for business, and had done business, and when she gets out again will get an assistant and will carry on her own profession, expecting to take a trick or two yet. All this is not of much interest to us. The point of Ellen Melville's story is that she has two children whom she educates well and brings up carefully. Is there one male pickpocket who does the same? Our friends need not go and assert that pocket-picking is to be a part of the woman's rights movement. Male presidents and politicians do occasionally provide for their families and kindred out of the public pocket, but it is without labor or risk. This woman beats them hollow, inasmuch as she does it by the work of her own hands and at the risk of her own liberty. Excelsior!

At a convention of school-teachers a speaker, adverting to the state of education in England, told his auditors that head-masters got from \$10,000 to \$30,000 salary, and contrasted such munificent endowments with the miserable pay and low social position of our American teachers. He forgot to say a word, however, on the intellectual endowments of the two classes of workers. He forgot also to say that such low rates of pay for intellectual labor is a legitimate consequence of building school committees with rum-sellers and ward politicians.

UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION.

"THE GOOD TIME COMING"

Never did the millennium seem so near as when the writer read in the *Tribune* of July 5 the following report of an oration delivered by Gen. HORACE B. SARGENT, in Music Hall, Boston, Mass., on the anniversary of the "Glorious Fourth." This gentleman was the orator invited by the city authorities for the occasion, and so well did he acquit himself that for the time being Music Hall became, as it were, a section of the "New Democracy," or of the International, "Rejoice and be exceeding glad." N. W.

"No rule of contentment is so perfect as this. A little more money than one wants, and a little less time than one needs." Contentment, honesty and chastity, are suffering, not for want of time to be chaste, honest and contented, but because labor has not yet felt its just proportion of the impetus that the standard has given to values. A host of anxious women is taking the place of the happy mothers of the people. Enforced misery of miseries is sapping the Republic at its very source of life. A mob of honest, discontented men, armed with votes, crowd the steps, and press upon the throne that our fathers established. These men must be converted or repelled.

Precepts and exhortations will not avail. We may preach charity till we faint. Even the great charter of our liberties, the Federal Constitution, is only a bundle of inoperative, but excellent principles. We give them effect by legislation. Society is only held together by statutes. Life and virtue should be protected against the slow approaches of necessity, as well as against the more sudden assault. The degradation of the future mothers of the people is a horror so monstrous that, as the wages of a sailor cling to the last plank of a ship, the salvation of women ought to be made the first duty of the State. Either we should provide employment for women, at sufficient compensation, so that they can be fit, pure mothers of the people; or we should drown the female children, as they do in China, which originates the proverb, "Be happy, and you will be virtuous." God knows it would be less cruel.

I hear the angry cry of those who think that virtue and vice and happiness and misery should be left to the natural laws of demand and supply: "Manufacturers will be ruined if wages are to be increased." Perhaps they may be; and capital may have to seek more lucrative occupation, as labor is advised to do, under the natural laws of demand and supply. But something must be done to remedy a fatal disease of the Republic. The exhortations of charity are unavailing. But the State—God bless her!—has the power of enforcing charity by taxation. The citizens are taxed for public schools to prevent ignorance. Why should they not be taxed for public factories to prevent theft and prostitution? The State and the poor may well be partners in a grand co-operative system. Why should not the government, which has factories of ships and cannon, establish factories to create the cheap defense of nations? The expense of police, of penitentiaries, of civil wars, of a republic lost, is a more serious item than the whole cost of State normal factories. The protection of feeble girls, of broken-down women, the comfortable and virtuous rearing of the mothers of the people, is founded on the bare, selfish, common sense that makes the farmer house his ewes from winter storms, and save the heifers from the plow. The co-operative system should be initiated by legislative charity based on the power of inexhaustible taxation. The taxes of civil war are heavier. It is better for the State to weave cotton at a loss than to make the social warp and woof so rotten that luxury and misery, tugging at the Republic, can rend it. It is better for the rich to eat into accumulated capital than for the poor, the armed majority, to become Catlines in the fever of accumulating debt. We must make the laborer conservative, or reduce him to a very low, servile, defenseless state, which Calhoun thought essential to the condition of service in a republic of equals. A commission to prepare a tabular statement of the purchase power of gold, as compared with a period twenty years ago, would confer signal service on the country. It would demonstrate the justice or injustice of the present discontent.

After arguing in favor of the abolition of all unpaid offices, and alluding to the duty of citizens to accept adequately paid office, he said:

As the legislation of Prussia, with intent to create an invincible army of citizens, has compelled every man to be a trained soldier; as there, no learning, wealth or refinement exempts gentle or noble from military service; as there, no sluggishness of the well-conditioned, no selfishness of private business, no sneers of caste, which are often the tremors of cowardice, are permitted to detain one vitalizing drop of blood from the national heart and arm; as there, in the transcendent Prussia of to-day, the worthy may never devolve their muskets on the base; so we, who think the ballot supercedes the bayonet, and would not see it turned against society by the vicious, improvident and dangerous classes who have no interest of property or character to protect, should, under the severest pains and penalties, compel every citizen to vote. Election days should be the roll-call of the nation. The citizen has no more right to withhold his unit from the sum of law and order than has the soldier to desert a field where his musket may decide the combat. If we are a government, the governing power must not desert itself.

To counteract the much-lauded but undoubted and irrevocable evil of unqualified suffrage, the support of the republic by the most educated, refined, opulent and influential citizens is to be especially desired. The machinery to compel their attendance is simple. The absence of a checking mark against a name, after the polls were closed, would be *prima facie* evidence of delinquency, subject, of course, to rebutting testimony. A fine, based on some percentage of the delinquent's next tax-bill, to be added thereto and collected with the tax, would insure the anxious attendance of the largest holders in the great joint-stock concern, society. Non-voting, contemptuous grumblers would become earnest debaters at primary meetings. Nominees who are not party hacks would come before the people; for between high-headed contempt for all parties and compelled action in support of either, there is a wide difference. The rich candidates for office are not necessarily more corrupt than the poor, and the pockets able to tempt the rich by a sufficient bribe are comparatively few. The lancy that all nominees must be well known to the electors is dissipated by a single fact. The most and least intelligent blindly follow a ballot born of rank corruption.

By making the exercise of suffrage compulsory, we should

learn how many of our fair sisters desire to be forced to do an act which, if not backed by armed force, is only a tender appeal to the courtesy of law-breakers. In a composite government like ours an illusory manifestation of popular will may involve a State in impotent hostility to other States, or to the Federal authority. Washington, the soldier, intended to found a strong government. Contempt for shams and blank cartridge lies at the base of power.

However just it may be that women with property should be allowed a voice in making the laws; however true it may be that some male voters are an exception to the general rule of bearing arms; however difficult it may be for the sexes so to arrange their union that almost every child-bearing woman shall merge her life in the protection of her intended mate, some arm-bearing man, and make with him one political individual—there would seem to be no safety to society in impotent suffrage, and no profit in arraying the women of one section against the women of another—except to the milliners. The loftiest sigh of aspiration, the purest ballot, would not have deterred Jefferson Davis from his mad career. That politician is unworthy who can be made, by a gentle white-gloved pressure, or a smile, to surrender from the gauntleted hand of strength the iron sceptre of a universally-voting and arm-bearing nation, until those sweet millennial days when every woman is a shepherdess and every man—a sheep. What would Miles Standish have thought of it?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "RACE."

There has been more objection, perhaps, to our argument that the Fifteenth Amendment, in the use of the word "race," not only forbids the denial of the right of citizens of the United States to the negro race, but also forbids its denial to all races than to any other proposition involved in our interpretation of constitutions. To all such objectors we call attention to the condition in South Carolina.

Since suffrage cannot be denied to negro citizens, all negroes in South Carolina may vote; and their number exceeds the number of white voters. Admitting, as this class of objectors claim, that the control of voting is still in the States, these majority of voters may pass laws or amend the Constitution, excluding all races except the negro race from suffrage. Now it must be admitted either that the Fifteenth Amendment in the use of the word race means, specifically, the African race, or that all races are included in the prohibition. If the former, to what future danger is not the constitutional door left open? If the latter, what portion of humanity is excluded, since if no power shall deny the right to vote to any race, to whom may it be denied? Will objectors answer?

ONE NAME.

Upon the silver shining sand,
A maiden wrote, with loving hand,
One name—no more.
The waves crept up with steady aim,
And washed away the little name,
Far from the shore.

Then, with a pen of finer art,
She wrote again deep in her heart
One name—no more.
But fear, and doubt, and wounded pride,
Soon drowned within the crimson tide
The word she bore.

"Yet," said the maid, "through grief and pain,
Still will I write on living brain
One name—no more."
But want, and care, and added years,
Buried in depths of bitter tears
The sign she wore.

Then cried the maid in wild despair,
"Is there no safe place anywhere,
By sea or shore,
In brain or heart?" The answer came,
God keepeth safe thy true love's name
Forevermore.

ABBY HUTCHINSON PATTEN.

THE Putnam murder is the subject of a communication, in which the writer deprecates the hanging of Foster on the ground, so far as we can understand the writer, that Foster was but the instrument of a higher power; and that had Putnam been at home attending to his domestic duties and waiting on his wife, instead of having been abroad in waiting upon some other woman, he would not have met his fate. About the hanging, we are of opinion that better use can be made even of Foster than hanging him—and that he is entitled to the consideration which should be extended to every criminal in estimating the force of circumstances, the vice of early impressions and the imperfections of society. But what a distorted vision must that observer have who sees that Foster kills providentially, yet cannot see that Putnam dies providentially. As for the assumption that Mr. Putnam would have been better in his own home than abroad, this is such monstrous pretense to "I am holier than thou" purism that it excites unqualified disgust. When will men understand that the scheme of the universe is conducted "without variableness or shadow of turning." How, in the face of all the evidence of immutable law, can beings believe that the great events of existence hinge upon the petty accidents and shifting caprices of individual passion or inclination? We know not whether most to admire our correspondent's audacious illiberalism in judging another man's liberty, or the self-complacency with which, in purblind obtuseness, he pierces the veil and mystery of the Divine will.

THEODORE TILTON'S VIEWS

CONCERNING MEN AND WOMEN, POLITICS AND RELIGION,
ART AND SOCIETY.

In pursuance of the newspaper custom of worming out the opinions of public men by personal interviews, and armed and equipped with a note of introduction by Colonel Blood, of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, I called one evening last week on Theodore Tilton, at his cozy cottage in Brooklyn, and told him frankly that I wished to make him the victim of a reportorial inquisition—which he, being a journalist himself, and once a reporter, could not with any grace refuse.

"I am out of patience," said Mr. Tilton, "with the whole tribe of interviewers, but from my friendship for the originator of the system of interviewing, I will give you half an hour of a busy man's time."

"Who," I inquired first, "was the originator of the system?"

"It was Mr. James Redpath, of Boston," said he; and he then paid a compliment to Mr. Redpath's versatility as a journalist, adding that no subsequent interviews had been more readably written than Mr. Redpath's original models in the Boston Post.

"What do you think," I asked, "of the New York riots?"

"I think," said he, "that the Orangemen had a right to parade, and having this right, they ought to have been sustained in it, even if it took half the army of the United States to protect them in their march."

"What, in your opinion, is the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on our republican institutions?"

"Not half so great," he answered, "as the influence of our republican institutions on the Roman Catholic Church."

"Do you think that the Roman Catholic religion is consistent with a republican form of government?"

"Romanism," he replied, "is not in itself republican, but despotic. It is a hierarchy, with a religious czar at its head. But, on the other hand, republicanism, and particularly republicanism in America, must accord equal rights to all religions, including the Pope's. Our government has no right to erect a barrier against the free course of any type of religion in this country—not even Paganism or idolatry."

"Do you not believe that Protestantism, rather than Romanism, is the conservator of popular education and civil order?"

"I have never seen," he answered, "greater narrowness, bigotry and tyranny than in those very Protestant churches which you think are citadels of liberty and progress."

"Has not the spirit of the Christian religion been more fostered by the Protestant than by the Catholic Church?"

"I think that individual Romanists and individual Protestants are oftentimes found to be noble, true and Christian souls. But no great hierarchy, whether Popish or Lutheran, can be said to foster a Christian spirit. The proverb is true of churches as of other corporations, that they have 'no souls.' For proof, I point you to the fact that the Protestant Church in this country was, for fifty years, according to the testimony of the Rev. Albert Barnes, the chief bulwark of American slavery. And the Catholic Church throughout the world denies the right of private judgment, and imposes on all its members the dogma of one man's infallibility."

"Mr. Tilton, what is your religion?"

"My religion is neither Romanist nor Protestant, but consists in the absolute freedom of the individual soul—responsible to no church on earth, and acknowledging no spiritual authority save God in heaven."

Turning from religion to politics, I then asked Mr. Tilton what he thought of the late Mr. Vallandigham's "New Departure?"

"I think well of it. He is to be honored for having initiated it. I have no sympathy with those Republican journals or politicians who never give their opponents credit when they do a right thing. It is a great good to the whole country to have both the Democratic and Republican parties united in a common policy of negro enfranchisement. The *World* newspaper did as good a thing in attempting to bring its party to this position as the *Times* is doing in exposing the frauds of the Tammany Ring."

"What of President Grant's administration?"

"It is neither bad nor good; that is, it is not bad enough to groan under, nor good enough to be wished for a second time."

"You are opposed, then, to President Grant's renomination?"

"I certainly am; and, furthermore, I was opposed to his original nomination."

"Do you dislike him personally?"

"No; on the contrary, I believe him to be a staunch, honest and true-hearted man, but very little of a President, and nothing at all of a statesman."

"When you nominated Mr. Greeley for the next Presidency, had you any hope that his nomination would receive such a general response as it has already elicited from the press and the people?"

"Yes, for of all the living men who have labored during the past and present generation, Mr. Greeley has been the one who has excelled the rest in usefulness to his country; and, as a consequence, his countrymen, who know his great services, freely reward him with their kindly regard."

"What do you think would be accomplished by Mr. Greeley's election?"

"I think that his fraternal spirit would unite the North and the South in relations of good-will. Both the business and the moral interests of the nation equally require the restoration of amity and concord—I might say of sweet-mindedness—between the sections. Mr. Greeley is a man of a sweet mind. His election would be an oblivion of the war. I think that war should be conducted on war principles—peace on peace principles. The war being past, peace should reign in its place. Let us have a man, not of war, but of peace."

"But suppose, Mr. Tilton, that Woman Suffrage should become the issue of the next Presidential campaign, what would you then do with Mr. Greeley?"

"In that case I would go for Woman Suffrage, and leave Mr. Greeley to attend to his farm and fish-pond at Chappaqua."

"What do you think are the prospects of woman suffrage?"

"There never," said he, "was a great reform which advanced so rapidly in public favor as this is doing. At the beginning it had to encounter a universal prejudice; it now gets a universal hearing; and by-and-by it will meet with universal acceptance."

"How long do you mean in saying 'by-and-by'?"

"I cannot tell. But here and there a State—perhaps Iowa or Massachusetts first, and then others afterward—will adopt it, and then sooner or later the whole sisterhood of States will listen to reason and fall into line."

"What is your view of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as giving to women the right of suffrage already?"

"I think that an ingenious argument may be made for and against the proposition. A free construction of the Constitution, following the intent of the framers and amenders, basing itself on the bad precedents of our existing legislation, would go against the new interpretation. But a close and technical reading, seizing upon the best possible meanings of the various doubtful expressions, such as Gen. Butler adroitly and bravely gave in his minority report on the Woodhull Memorial, yields the argument over triumphantly into the hands of the women. If I were a woman, I would claim my right to suffrage under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. And I hope that the women who are making this claim will not bate a jot or tittle of it."

"Do you think that a woman will ever be President of the United States?"

"Yes, and not only that. Let me tell you that our American institutions, to be made consistent with our republican ideas, must ignore all political distinctions founded on color or sex. To this end this nation will one day have a President who will represent, in the same one person, the triumph over both these distinctions. In other words, the President whom I most wish to see chosen before I die will represent, at one and the same time, the negro race and the female sex. I mean a negress. Do you understand me?"

"Yes," said I, smiling at the logical energy and courage of Mr. Tilton's mind.

"I once conversed," said he, "on this subject with my friend, the Rev. Gilbert Haven, of Boston, the editor of *Zion's Herald*. 'Gilbert,' said I, 'I will go so far as to say that one of the future Presidents of the United States will be a black woman.' To which he replied that he would not be satisfied even with that, unless she were married to a white man!"

This anecdote, and the piquant way in which Mr. Tilton related it, shook us both with laughter.

"What do you think," I asked, "of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull as a candidate?"

"O," said he, "there is one insuperable objection to her candidacy."

"What is that?"

"Why," he retorted, "she ought logically to have been born black, instead of which she was genealogically born white. And that spoils the ideal beauty of the situation."

"What are your views on marriage and divorce?"

"I think that when a couple are married happily, they should thank God, and keep together; but when they are mismatched and miserable, they have a natural right to a divorce, if they want it."

"How would you change, for instance, the divorce laws of the State of New York?"

"I would make them more like the laws on the same subject in New England."

"Why have you been so much criticised for your views on social questions?"

"These criticisms," said he, "arose from what I said in the McFarland trial—a remark, a single sentence, occurring in an article which I wrote in *The Independent*, and which, though timid people were afraid of it, was the most truthful of truths."

"What sentence was it?"

"I cannot quote it from memory, but it has been republished since in almost every book or pamphlet or essay which I have seen on the subject of divorce."

The remark to which Mr. Tilton referred was in a few moments afterward found by him in a pamphlet lying on his table, and I here transcribe it as follows:

"The McFarland case is a new illustration of the folly and wickedness of that semi-superstitious sentiment which,

in the name of maintaining the sanctity of marriage, outrageously perverts the very idea of marriage by compelling the life-long union of two persons, either of whom finds such a union to be loathsome, degrading and unholy. There is no divorce, and there ought to be no human law to compel the continuance of any marriage which, so long as it continues, is nothing better than legalized prostitution. 'Whom God hath joined together'—that, and that only, is the divine idea of marriage. Anything short of that is abomination. To chain two human beings fast to each other's side against the perpetual protest of galled and wounded human nature, is an offense at which angels weep. The great indifferent public have no right to say, either on the basis of any statute law, or on the deeper basis of any popular sentiment, or on the still deeper basis of our supposed religious level, that any two individuals, man and woman, shall live together as husband and wife against the inward protest of their own individual souls. Derived from whatever source, based on whatever foundation, sanctioned by whatever tradition, such a legalized tyranny is unworthy of a Christian civilization, shamefully perverts the fundamental teachings of Christianity, and destroys the sacred claim of religion to the reverence of mankind."

After reading the above sentence, Mr. Tilton said he had written many words which, dying, he would wish to blot, but that he would never blot these.

I asked, "What is your idea of proper legislation on divorce?"

"The less statute law," he said, "and the more personal liberty, the better. Human hearts, with their loves and griefs, were never meant by God to be the bond slaves of a statute-book. In this country religion cannot be tampered with by law. We have achieved our religious freedom, but our social freedom we have yet to conquer."

"What do you think of free-love?"

"It is a beautiful phrase to designate a revolting thing."

"What idea do you think the phrase expresses?"

"Words," said he, "belong to the people. They are the common property of the mob. You must go to the multitude to find out the general acceptance. Now, the common use of the term 'free-love' is as a synonym for promiscuity. In other words, it is the opposite of that monogamic affection which is nature's ideal of love and marriage."

"What would you do with Mormonism?"

"I would do nothing with it save to let it alone."

"But you interfered with slavery, and why not with polygamy?"

"The slave's relation to his master was an enforced one. The State had a right—yes, had a duty—to interfere in behalf of the oppressed. But if two women in Salt Lake City choose voluntarily to love and live with one man, the State would be acting tyrannously to step in as an outside party to interfere. I don't believe in Mormonism on the one hand, nor in despotism on the other; and I would rather that the people of Utah were polygamists by their own consent than monogamists by compulsion."

Noticing on the mantel a photograph of an old man with an apostolic head, I inquired:

"Who is that?"

"That," said he, "is William Page, the artist."

This led us into a diversion concerning pictures, particularly engravings, of which Mr. Tilton has a good many, and culminated in a lively discussion on Page's Head of Christ, a work which Mr. Tilton owns, and which he gave the artist the commission to paint three or four years ago. He said he was greatly amused and interested by the contrariety of criticism which this singular work had evoked. He thought it had been more blamed by the many, and more praised by the few, than any other work that had ever appeared in the National Academy of Design.

"What do you think of the new organization called 'The Victoria League'?"

He answered:

"I know next to nothing about it. Can you tell me something? Do you really believe that its President is Commodore Vanderbilt?"

I replied that I came to interview, and not to be interviewed, and, moreover, that just at that time I had no warrant for telling either the little that I knew or that I did not know concerning a club of which I might or might not be a member.

"Besides," said I, "the half hour's time which you assigned me is more than past, and I will not prolong it, except to ask one more question."

"Well, ask it," said he.

Whereupon I said:

"Mr. Tilton, what is your age?"

"It is *The Golden Age*," he retorted, with a twinkle in his eye.

I was happy to learn from him of the prosperity of his new journal, which, it seems, has paid its expenses from the start. This is unusual in the history of newspapers. Ordinarily they have to struggle hard during the first or second year of their existence, and to sink a small fortune before they are able to bear their own weight.

I concluded my interview by cordially congratulating him on the success of the *Golden Age*, and said I hoped it would continue to "win golden opinions from all sorts of people."

As Mr. Tilton accompanied me to the front door, his handsome sister Anna, whom he calls Kit, and who is associated with him in the management of his journal, entered and passed up the stairway with a bouquet in her hand.

Looking up at this ascending Proserpine, I discovered, on an arch over the doorway, what I had not detected on entering, namely, a gilt inscription on a walnut ground, in these words:

"And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say 'Peace be unto this house.'"

I went away thinking that a man might be a good deal of a heretic, and still have a good deal of religion after all.

MR. GREELEY'S COURSE ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.

If anybody supposes that we are wanting in respect for Mr. Horace Greeley, he knows little of the more than common affection and reverence which we have for years entertained for this honest and noble man.

When, therefore, we say, as we frankly do, that the course of the *Tribune* on the woman question seems to us a daily gravitation farther and faster toward the darkness of the middle ages, we are not making a willing but an unwilling criticism on a journal which, instead of being the chief hindrance, ought to be the best help to the cause of woman's enfranchisement.

Outside of the Roman Catholic Church, we do not know a man so backward in his views on all that pertains to the status of woman as Mr. Greeley. He holds, for instance, that there ought to be no divorce at all—not for any crime, even the worst. If his ideas on this subject were molded into the legislation of the land, they would require the reconstruction of the statute book of every State of the Union, save South Carolina. He holds, too, that if a man marries and his wife dies, there should be no second marriage—on the ground that such a union would complicate the marital relations of the original parties in the other world—although a wiser man than Mr. Greeley has taught us that "In heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage."

Mr. Greeley's unreasonable tenets on these points, if they were enforced by civil statute or by public opinion, would bear like a galling despotism on millions of human hearts.

It is these views which underlie all the criticisms that the *Tribune* so ruthlessly and rudely makes on woman suffrage, and on all the social questions connected therewith. A bitter fountain cannot give forth sweet waters. People who imagine that Mr. Greeley will one day veer round toward woman suffrage do not understand that he must first change his fundamental convictions of the proper moral relations which should subsist between husband and wife, not only in this world, but also in the next.

Mr. Greeley's notion of no divorce for any cause, not even for adultery or any other crime, and his twin notion of no second marriage after the first is dissolved by death, are a brace of theories which, on account of their absurdity and folly, deserve to have no place in the liberal thought of an enlightened age; but which, nevertheless, have lent to the latter years of the *Tribune* a baleful conservatism which makes us sometimes think that its editor may yet be tempted to end his life in a monastery.

Mr. Greeley is a man of so much catholicity that we are impatient at seeing in him any taint of narrowness. His proper place is at the head of the progressive thought of the present age. But on the woman question he is more hopelessly wrong than any of its opponents whom we have ever met. Our esteem for him is so warm and deep that we would rather these words had to be spoken of almost any other man. But he is a dangerous enemy to a cause which needs faithful friends, and we have no excuse for not striking him a blow of criticism which he deserves.—*The Golden Age*.

THE VOICE OF A POPE.—The following was written on the promulgation of Superintendent Kelso's order prohibiting the Orange parade:

THE BOYNE AVENGED!

Down with the Orange, and up with the Green!
No heretic rag in the town shall be seen.
Room for His Holiness! Driven from Rome,
Loyal New York shall be henceforth his home.
Open the gates of the City Hall wide:
There shall he dwell in fresh power and pride,
While Plus with Abraham plons heads tells,
Roll, drums! again ring quarter-century bells!
Blessing the King—of eternal rule sign—
Shorn priest and unkempt politician combine!

King James and King William are long in their graves,
But o'er them in triumph the green ribbon waves!
E'er so through the ages Time's whirligig brings
Revenge to the Church for all buffets and stings.
Though William's Dutch founded this Protestant town,
James's Kelts bid her before Rome bow down!
The Democrat now is the Church's true son,
AND THE DAY KING JAMES LOST GOTHAM'S MAYOR HAS WON!
J. K. H. WILLCOX.

ALEXANDER DUMAS, Jr., has come out with a card. He charges the downfall of the French empire and the unparalleled calamities of France to the worse than Babylonian profligacy which had existed in France ever since Louis Napoleon and Caesarism has been the form of government. Profligacy of courts and courtiers, nobles and financiers, has been a French social evil from all time. Other nations have had an occasional monarch who observed the decencies. France boasts but one—Louis XVI.—and his head was taken off for being weakly good. But M. Dumas, Jr., is competent authority on both cause and consequence. He and his respected parent have done more to break down opinion and to make reckless profligacy and uncompromising selfishness entertaining than any other literary men of the day. But it would seem that the people are opening their eyes and that the moral dodge pays in politics and literature. In like manner, some of our own *literati*, when Rings fail, appeal to the people and shriek "Stop thief."

UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION.

"THE GOOD TIME COMING"

Néver did the millennium seem so near as when the writer read in the *Tribune* of July 5 the following report of an oration delivered by Gen. HORACE B. SARGENT, in Music Hall, Boston, Mass., on the anniversary of the "Glorious Fourth." This gentleman was the orator invited by the city authorities for the occasion, and so well did he acquit himself that for the time being Music Hall became, as it were, a section of the "New Democracy," or of the International, "Rejoice and be exceeding glad." N. W.

"No rule of contentment is so perfect as this. A little more money than one wants, and a little less time than one needs." Contentment, honesty and chastity, are suffering, not for want of time to be chaste, honest and contented, but because labor has not yet felt its just proportion of the impetus that the standard has given to values. A host of anxious women is taking the place of the happy mothers of the people. Enforced misery of miseries is sapping the Republic at its very source of life. A mob of honest, discontented men, armed with votes, crowd the steps, and press upon the throne that our fathers established. These men must be converted or repelled.

Precepts and exhortations will not avail. We may preach charity till we faint. Even the great charter of our liberties, the Federal Constitution, is only a bundle of inoperative, but excellent principles. We give them effect by legislation. Society is only held together by statutes. Life and virtue should be protected against the slow approaches of necessity, as well as against the more sudden assault. The degradation of the future mothers of the people is a horror so monstrous that, as the wages of a sailor cling to the last plank of a ship, the salvation of women ought to be made the first duty of the State. Either we should provide employment for women, at sufficient compensation, so that they can be fit, pure mothers of the people; or we should drown the female children, as they do in China, which originates the proverb, "Be happy, and you will be virtuous." God knows it would be less cruel.

I hear the angry cry of those who think that virtue and vice and happiness and misery should be left to the natural laws of demand and supply. "Manufacturers will be ruined if wages are to be increased." Perhaps they may be; and capital may have to seek more lucrative occupation, as labor is advised to do, under the natural laws of demand and supply. But something must be done to remedy a fatal disease of the Republic. The exhortations of charity are unavailing. But the State—God bless her!—has the power of enforcing charity by taxation. The citizens are taxed for public schools to prevent ignorance. Why should they not be taxed for public factories to prevent theft and prostitution? The State and the poor may well be partners in a grand co-operative system. Why should not the government, which has factories of ships and cannon, establish factories to create the cheap defense of nations? The expense of police, of penitentiaries, of civil wars, of a republic lost, is a more serious item than the whole cost of State normal factories. The protection of feeble girls, of broken-down women, the comfortable and virtuous rearing of the mothers of the people, is founded on the bare, selfish, common sense that makes the farmer house his ewes from winter storms, and save the heirs from the plow. The co-operative system should be initiated by legislative charity based on the power of inexhaustible taxation. The taxes of civil war are heavier. It is better for the State to weave cotton at a loss than to make the social warp and woof so rotten that luxury and misery, tugging at the Republic, can rend it. It is better for the rich to eat into accumulated capital than for the poor, the armed majority, to become Catilines in the fever of accumulating debt. We must make the laborer conservative, or reduce him to a very low, servile, defenseless state, which Calhoun thought essential to the condition of service in a republic of equals. A commission to prepare a tabular statement of the purchase power of gold, as compared with a period twenty years ago, would confer signal service on the country. It would demonstrate the justice or injustice of the present discontent.

After arguing in favor of the abolition of all unpaid officers, and alluding to the duty of citizens to accept adequately paid office, he said:

As the legislation of Prussia, with intent to create an invincible army of citizens, has compelled every man to be a trained soldier; as there, no learning, wealth or refinement exempts gentle or noble from military service; as there, no sluggishness of the well-conditioned, no selfishness of private business, no sneers of caste, which are often the tremors of cowardice, are permitted to detain one vitalizing drop of blood from the national heart and arm; as there, in the transcendent Prussia of to-day, the worthy may never devolve their muskets on the base; so we, who think the ballot supersedes the bayonet, and would not see it turned against society by the vicious, improvident and dangerous classes who have no interest of property or character to protect, should, under the severest pains and penalties, compel every citizen to vote. Election days should be the roll-call of the nation. The citizen has no more right to withhold his unit from the sum of law and order than has the soldier to desert a field where his musket may decide the combat. If we are a government, the governing power must not desert itself.

To counteract the much-lauded but undoubted and irrevocable evil of unqualified suffrage, the support of the republic by the most educated, refined, opulent and influential citizens is to be especially desired. The machinery to compel their attendance is simple. The absence of a checking mark against a name, after the polls were closed, would be *prima facie* evidence of delinquency, subject, of course, to rebutting testimony. A fine, based on some percentage of the delinquent's next tax-bill, to be added thereto and collected with the tax, would insure the anxious attendance of the largest holders in the great joint-stock concern, society. Non-voting, contemptuous grumblers would become earnest debaters at primary meetings. Nominees who are not party hacks would come before the people; for between high-headed contempt for all parties and compelled action in support of either, there is a wide difference. The rich candidates for office are not necessarily more corrupt than the poor, and the pockets able to tempt the rich by a sufficient bribe are comparatively few. The fancy that all nominees must be well known to the electors is dissipated by a single fact. The most and least intelligent blindly follow a ballot born of rank corruption.

By making the exercise of suffrage compulsory, we should

learn how many of our fair sisters desire to be forced to do an act which, if not backed by armed force, is only a tender appeal to the courtesy of law-breakers. In a composite government like ours an illusory manifestation of popular will may involve a State in impotent hostility to other States, or to the Federal authority. Washington, the soldier, intended to found a strong government. Contempt for shams and blank cartridge lies at the base of power.

However just it may be that women with property should be allowed a voice in making the laws; however true it may be that some male voters are an exception to the general rule of bearing arms; however difficult it may be for the sexes so to arrange their union that almost every child-bearing woman shall merge her life in the protection of her intended mate, some arm-bearing man, and make with him one political individual—there would seem to be no safety to society in impotent suffrage, and no profit in arraying the women of one section against the women of another—except to the milliners. The loftiest sigh of aspiration, the purest ballot, would not have deterred Jefferson Davis from his mad career. That politician is unworthy who can be made, by a gentle white-gloved pressure, or a smile, to surrender from the gauntleted hand of strength the iron sceptre of a universally-voting and arm-bearing nation, until those sweet millennial days when every woman is a shepherdess and every man—a sheep. What would Miles Standish have thought of it?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "RACE."

There has been more objection, perhaps, to our argument that the Fifteenth Amendment, in the use of the word "race," not only forbids the denial of the right of citizens of the United States to the negro race, but also forbids its denial to all races than to any other proposition involved in our interpretation of constitutions. To all such objectors we call attention to the condition in South Carolina.

Since suffrage cannot be denied to negro citizens, all negroes in South Carolina may vote; and their number exceeds the number of white voters. Admitting, as this class of objectors claim, that the control of voting is still in the States, these majority of voters may pass laws or amend the Constitution, excluding all races except the negro race from suffrage. Now it must be admitted either that the Fifteenth Amendment in the use of the word race means, specifically, the African race, or that all races are included in the prohibition. If the former, to what future danger is not the constitutional door left open? If the latter, what portion of humanity is excluded, since if no power shall deny the right to vote to any race, to whom may it be denied? Will objectors answer?

ONE NAME.

Upon the silver shining sand,
A maiden wrote, with loving hand,
One name—no more.
The waves crept up with steady aim,
And washed away the little name,
Far from the shore.

Then, with a pen of finer art,
She wrote again deep in her heart
One name—no more.
But fear, and doubt, and wounded pride,
Soon drowned within the crimson tide
The word she bore.

"Yet," said the maid, "through grief and pain,
Still will I write on living brain
One name—no more."
But want, and care, and added years,
Buried in depths of bitter tears
The sign she wore.

Then cried the maid in wild despair,
"Is there no safe place anywhere,
By sea or shore,
In brain or heart?" The answer came,
God keepeth safe thy true love's name
Forevermore.

ABBY HUTCHINSON PATTEN.

THE Putnam murder is the subject of a communication, in which the writer deprecates the hanging of Foster on the ground, so far as we can understand the writer, that Foster was but the instrument of a higher power; and that had Putnam been at home attending to his domestic duties and waiting on his wife, instead of having been abroad in waiting upon some other woman, he would not have met his fate. About the hanging, we are of opinion that better use can be made even of Foster than hanging him—and that he is entitled to the consideration which should be extended to every criminal in estimating the force of circumstances, the vice of early impressions and the imperfections of society. But what a distorted vision must that observer have who sees that Foster kills providentially, yet cannot see that Putnam dies providentially. As for the assumption that Mr. Putnam would have been better in his own home than abroad, this is such monstrous pretense to "I am holier than thou" purism that it excites unqualified disgust. When will men understand that the scheme of the universe is conducted "without variableness or shadow of turning." How, in the face of all the evidence of immutable law, can beings believe that the great events of existence hinge upon the petty accidents and shifting caprices of individual passion or inclination? We know not whether most to admire our correspondent's audacious illiberalism in judging another man's liberty, or the self-complacency with which, in purblind obtuseness, he pierces the veil and mystery of the Divine will.

THEODORE TILTON'S VIEWS

CONCERNING MEN AND WOMEN, POLITICS AND RELIGION,
ART AND SOCIETY.

In pursuance of the newspaper custom of worming out the opinions of public men by personal interviews, and armed and equipped with a note of introduction by Colonel Blood, of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, I called one evening last week on Theodore Tilton, at his cozy cottage in Brooklyn, and told him frankly that I wished to make him the victim of a reportorial inquisition—which he, being a journalist himself, and once a reporter, could not with any grace refuse.

"I am out of patience," said Mr. Tilton, "with the whole tribe of interviewers, but from my friendship for the originator of the system of interviewing, I will give you half an hour of a busy man's time."

"Who," I inquired first, "was the originator of the system?"

"It was Mr. James Redpath, of Boston," said he; and he then paid a compliment to Mr. Redpath's versatility as a journalist, adding that no subsequent interviews had been more readably written than Mr. Redpath's original models in the Boston *Post*.

"What do you think," I asked, "of the New York riots?" "I think," said he, "that the Orangemen had a right to parade, and having this right, they ought to have been sustained in it, even if it took half the army of the United States to protect them in their march."

"What, in your opinion, is the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on our republican institutions?"

"Not half so great," he answered, "as the influence of our republican institutions on the Roman Catholic Church."

"Do you think that the Roman Catholic religion is consistent with a republican form of government?"

"Romanism," he replied, "is not in itself republican, but despotic. It is a hierarchy, with a religious czar at its head. But, on the other hand, republicanism, and particularly republicanism in America, must accord equal rights to all religions, including the Pope's. Our government has no right to erect a barrier against the free course of any type of religion in this country—not even Paganism or idolatry."

"Do you not believe that Protestantism, rather than Romanism, is the conservator of popular education and civil order?"

"I have never seen," he answered, "greater narrowness, bigotry and tyranny than in those very Protestant churches which you think are citadels of liberty and progress."

"Has not the spirit of the Christian religion been more fostered by the Protestant than by the Catholic Church?"

"I think that individual Romanists and individual Protestants are oftentimes found to be noble, true and Christian souls. But no great hierarchy, whether Popish or Lutheran, can be said to foster a Christian spirit. The proverb is true of churches as of other corporations, that they have 'no souls.' For proof, I point you to the fact that the Protestant Church in this country was, for fifty years, according to the testimony of the Rev. Albert Barnes, the chief bulwark of American slavery. And the Catholic Church throughout the world denies the right of private judgment, and imposes on all its members the dogma of one man's infallibility."

"Mr. Tilton, what is your religion?"

"My religion is neither Romanist nor Protestant, but consists in the absolute freedom of the individual soul—responsible to no church on earth, and acknowledging no spiritual authority save God in heaven."

Turning from religion to politics, I then asked Mr. Tilton what he thought of the late Mr. Vallandigham's "New Departure?"

"I think well of it. He is to be honored for having initiated it. I have no sympathy with those Republican journals or politicians who never give their opponents credit when they do a right thing. It is a great good to the whole country to have both the Democratic and Republican parties united in a common policy of negro enfranchisement. The *World* newspaper did as good a thing in attempting to bring its party to this position as the *Times* is doing in exposing the frauds of the Tammany Ring."

"What of President Grant's administration?"

"It is neither bad nor good; that is, it is not bad enough to groan under, nor good enough to be wished for a second time."

"You are opposed, then, to President Grant's re-nomination?"

"I certainly am; and, furthermore, I was opposed to his original nomination."

"Do you dislike him personally?"

"No; on the contrary, I believe him to be a staunch, honest and true-hearted man, but very little of a President, and nothing at all of a statesman."

"When you nominated Mr. Greeley for the next Presidency, had you any hope that his nomination would receive such a general response as it has already elicited from the press and the people?"

"Yes, for of all the living men who have labored during the past and present generation, Mr. Greeley has been the one who has excelled the rest in usefulness to his country; and, as a consequence, his countrymen, who know his great services, freely reward him with their kindly regard."

"What do you think would be accomplished by Mr. Greeley's election?"

"I think that his fraternal spirit would unite the North and the South in relations of good-will. Both the business and the moral interests of the nation equally require the restoration of amity and concord—I might say of sweet-mindedness—between the sections. Mr. Greeley is a man of a sweet mind. His election would be an oblivion of the war. I think that war should be conducted on war principles—peace on peace principles. The war being past, peace should reign in its place. Let us have a man, not of war, but of peace."

"But suppose, Mr. Tilton, that Woman Suffrage should become the issue of the next Presidential campaign, what would you then do with Mr. Greeley?"

"In that case I would go for Woman Suffrage, and leave Mr. Greeley to attend to his farm and fish-pond at Chappaqua."

"What do you think are the prospects of woman suffrage?"

"There never," said he, "was a great reform which advanced so rapidly in public favor as this is doing. At the beginning it had to encounter a universal prejudice; it now gets a universal hearing; and by-and-by it will meet with universal acceptance."

"How long do you mean in saying 'by-and-by'?"

"I cannot tell. But here and there a State—perhaps Iowa or Massachusetts first, and then others afterward—will adopt it, and then sooner or later the whole sisterhood of States will listen to reason and fall into line."

"What is your view of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as giving to women the right of suffrage already?"

"I think that an ingenious argument may be made for and against the proposition. A free construction of the Constitution, following the intent of the framers and amenders, basing itself on the bad precedents of our existing legislation, would go against the new interpretation. But a close and technical reading, seizing upon the best possible meanings of the various doubtful expressions, such as Gen. Butler adroitly and bravely gave in his minority report on the Woodhull Memorial, yields the argument over triumphantly into the hands of the women. If I were a woman, I would claim my right to suffrage under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. And I hope that the women who are making this claim will not bate a jot or tittle of it."

"Do you think that a woman will ever be President of the United States?"

"Yes, and not only that. Let me tell you that our American institutions, to be made consistent with our republican ideas, must ignore all political distinctions founded on color or sex. To this end this nation will one day have a President who will represent, in the same one person, the triumph over both these distinctions. In other words, the President whom I most wish to see chosen before I die will represent, at one and the same time, the negro race and the female sex. I mean a negress. Do you understand me?"

"Yes," said I, smiling at the logical energy and courage of Mr. Tilton's mind.

"I once conversed," said he, "on this subject with my friend, the Rev. Gilbert Haven, of Boston, the editor of *Zion's Herald*. 'Gilbert,' said I, 'I will go so far as to say that one of the future Presidents of the United States will be a black woman.' To which he replied that he would not be satisfied even with that, unless she were married to a white man!"

This anecdote, and the piquant way in which Mr. Tilton related it, shook us both with laughter.

"What do you think," I asked, "of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull as a candidate?"

"O," said he, "there is one insuperable objection to her candidacy."

"What is that?"

"Why," he retorted, "she ought logically to have been born black, instead of which she was genealogically born white. And that spoils the ideal beauty of the situation."

"What are your views on marriage and divorce?"

"I think that when a couple are married happily, they should thank God, and keep together; but when they are mismatched and miserable, they have a natural right to a divorce, if they want it."

"How would you change, for instance, the divorce laws of the State of New York?"

"I would make them more like the laws on the same subject in New England."

"Why have you been so much criticised for your views on social questions?"

"These criticisms," said he, "arose from what I said in the McFarland trial—a remark, a single sentence, occurring in an article which I wrote in *The Independent*, and which, though timid people were afraid of it, was the most truthful of truths."

"What sentence was it?"

"I cannot quote it from memory, but it has been republished since in almost every book or pamphlet or essay which I have seen on the subject of divorce."

The remark to which Mr. Tilton referred was in a few moments afterward found by him in a pamphlet lying on his table, and I here transcribe it as follows:

"The McFarland case is a new illustration of the folly and wickedness of that semi-superstitious sentiment which,

in the name of maintaining the sanctity of marriage, outrageously perverts the very idea of marriage by compelling the life-long union of two persons, either of whom finds such a union to be loathsome, degrading and unholy. There is no divorce, and there ought to be no human law to compel the continuance of any marriage which, so long as it continues, is nothing better than legalized prostitution. 'Whom God hath joined together'—that, and that only, is the divine idea of marriage. Anything short of that is abomination. To chain two human beings fast to each other's side against the perpetual protest of galled and wounded human nature, is an offense at which angels weep. The great indifferent public have no right to say, either on the basis of any statute law, or on the deeper basis of any popular sentiment, or on the still deeper basis of our supposed religious level, that any two individuals, man and woman, shall live together as husband and wife against the inward protest of their own individual souls. Derived from whatever source, based on whatever foundation, sanctioned by whatever tradition, such a legalized tyranny is unworthy of a Christian civilization, shamefully perverts the fundamental teachings of Christianity, and destroys the sacred claim of religion to the reverence of mankind."

After reading the above sentence, Mr. Tilton said he had written many words which, dying, he would wish to blot, but that he would never blot these.

I asked, "What is your idea of proper legislation on divorce?"

"The less statute law," he said, "and the more personal liberty, the better. Human hearts, with their loves and griefs, were never meant by God to be the bond slaves of a statute-book. In this country religion cannot be tampered with by law. We have achieved our religious freedom, but our social freedom we have yet to conquer."

"What do you think of free-love?"

"It is a beautiful phrase to designate a revolting thing."

"What idea do you think the phrase expresses?"

"Words," said he, "belong to the people. They are the common property of the mob. You must go to the multitude to find out the general acceptance. Now, the common use of the term 'free-love' is as a synonym for promiscuity. In other words, it is the opposite of that monogamic affection which is nature's ideal of love and marriage."

"What would you do with Mormonism?"

"I would do nothing with it save to let it alone."

"But you interfered with slavery, and why not with polygamy?"

"The slave's relation to his master was an enforced one. The State had a right—yes, had a duty—to interfere in behalf of the oppressed. But if two women in Salt Lake City choose voluntarily to love and live with one man, the State would be acting tyrannously to step in as an outside party to interfere. I don't believe in Mormonism on the one hand, nor in despotism on the other; and I would rather that the people of Utah were polygamists by their own consent than monogamists by compulsion."

Noticing on the mantel a photograph of an old man with an apostolic head, I inquired:

"Who is that?"

"That," said he, "is William Page, the artist."

This led us into a diversion concerning pictures, particularly engravings, of which Mr. Tilton has a good many, and culminated in a lively discussion on Page's Head of Christ, a work which Mr. Tilton owns, and which he gave the artist the commission to paint three or four years ago. He said he was greatly amused and interested by the contrariety of criticism which this singular work had evoked. He thought it had been more blamed by the many, and more praised by the few, than any other work that had ever appeared in the National Academy of Design.

"What do you think of the new organization called 'The Victoria League'?"

He answered:

"I know next to nothing about it. Can you tell me something? Do you really believe that its President is Commodore Vanderbilt?"

I replied that I came to interview, and not to be interviewed, and, moreover, that just at that time I had no warrant for telling either the little that I knew or that I did not know concerning a club of which I might or might not be a member.

"Besides," said I, "the half hour's time which you assigned me is more than past, and I will not prolong it, except to ask one more question."

"Well, ask it," said he.

Whereupon I said:

"Mr. Tilton, what is your age?"

"It is *The Golden Age*," he retorted, with a twinkle in his eye.

I was happy to learn from him of the prosperity of his new journal, which, it seems, has paid its expenses from the start. This is unusual in the history of newspapers. Ordinarily they have to struggle hard during the first or second year of their existence, and to sink a small fortune before they are able to bear their own weight.

I concluded my interview by cordially congratulating him on the success of the *Golden Age*, and said I hoped it would continue to "win golden opinions from all sorts of people."

As Mr. Tilton accompanied me to the front door, his handsome sister Anna, whom he calls Kit, and who is associated with him in the management of his journal, entered and passed up the stairway with a bouquet in her hand.

Looking up at this ascending Proserpine, I discovered, on an arch over the doorway, what I had not detected on entering, namely, a gilt inscription on a walnut ground, in these words:

"And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say 'Peace be unto this house.'"

I went away thinking that a man might be a good deal of a heretic, and still have a good deal of religion after all.

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Mr. Greeley's unreasonable tenets on these points, if they were enforced by civil statute or by public opinion, would bear like a galling despotism on millions of human hearts.

It is these views which underlie all the criticisms that the *Tribune* so ruthlessly and rudely makes on woman suffrage, and on all the social questions connected therewith. A bitter fountain cannot give forth sweet waters. People who imagine that Mr. Greeley will one day veer round toward woman suffrage do not understand that he must first change his fundamental convictions of the proper moral relations which should subsist between husband and wife, not only in this world, but also in the next.

Mr. Greeley's notion of no divorce for any cause, not even for adultery or any other crime, and his twin notion of no second marriage after the first is dissolved by death, are a brace of theories which, on account of their absurdity and folly, deserve to have no place in the liberal thought of an enlightened age; but which, nevertheless, have lent to the latter years of the *Tribune* a baleful conservatism which makes us sometimes think that its editor may yet be tempted to end his life in a monastery.

Mr. Greeley is a man of so much catholicity that we are impatient at seeing in him any taint of narrowness. His proper place is at the head of the progressive thought of the present age. But on the woman question he is more hopelessly wrong than any of its opponents whom we have ever met. Our esteem for him is so warm and deep that we would rather these words had to be spoken of almost any other man. But he is a dangerous enemy to a cause which needs faithful friends, and we have no excuse for not striking him a blow of criticism which he deserves.—*The Golden Age*.

THE VOICE OF A POPE.—The following was written on the promulgation of Superintendent Kelso's order prohibiting the Orange parade:

THE BOYNE AVENGED!

Down with the Orange, and up with the Green!
No heretic rag in the town shall be seen.
Room for His Holiness! Driven from Rome,
Loyal New York shall be henceforth his home.
Open the gates of the City Hall wide:
There shall he dwell in fresh power and pride,
While Pius with Abraham pious beads tells,
Roll, drums! again ring quarter-century bells!
Blessing the King—of eternal rule sign—
Shorn priest and unkempt politician combine!

King James and King William are long in their graves,
But o'er them in triumph the green ribbon waves!
E'er so through the ages Time's whirligig brings
Revenge to the Church for all buffets and stings.
Though William's Dutch founded this Protestant town,
James's Kelts bid her before Rome bow down!
The Democrat now is the Church's true son,
AND THE DAY KING JAMES LOST GOTHAM'S MAYOR HAS WON!
J. K. H. WILLCOX.

ALEXANDER DUMAS, JR., has come out with a card. He charges the downfall of the French empire and the unparalleled calamities of France to the worse than Babylonian profligacy which had existed in France ever since Louis Napoleon and Caesarism has been the form of government. Profligacy of courts and courtiers, nobles and financiers, has been a French social evil from all time. Other nations have had an occasional monarch who observed the decencies. France boasts but one—Louis XVI.—and his head was taken off for being weakly good. But M. Dumas, Jr., is competent authority on both cause and consequence. He and his respected parent have done more to break down opinion and to make reckless profligacy and uncompromising selfishness entertaining than any other literary men of the day. But it would seem that the people are opening their eyes and that the moral dodge pays in politics and literature. In like manner, some of our own *literati*, when Rings fall, appeal to the people and shriek "Stop thief!"

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

At an early stage of the organization of the Pantarchy, when a great variety of important documents and programmes for future operations were projected, and bearing date of January 12, 1860, the following plan of a Universal Bureau of Supply and Demand was issued. While it was formally drafted under the sanction of an extemporized committee, who consented to give it the shadow of their names, it was not at the time seriously attempted to put the plan in operation. It was simply projected or thrown out, along with other schemes, for such effects as it might subsequently have. The following is the minute made at the time of the proceeding:

At a meeting convened January 12, 1860, at the house of E. F. Underhill ("The Unitary Home"), 106 East Fourteenth street, New York, for the purpose of taking steps to organize, in this city, an institution for the interchange of information upon all subjects of public and individual interest, in aid of the intellectual and social advancement of the people, and the improvement of their material or business relations and intercourse, the following persons were selected as a Board of Directors, with instructions to draft a circular explaining, in a clear and intelligible manner, the need of such an institution, and the plan of its operation, and to solicit aid to enable them to organize and maintain it in activity until it can be rendered self-supporting. As the advantages of the institution will be shared equally by both sexes, and as appeals for aid will be made to women as well as men, these facts were regarded as a sufficient reason why a portion of the Direction selected should consist of women:

Albert Clancy, 138 West Nineteenth street.
Mary Chilton, 53 Bond street.
John Latham, 93 Greene street.
Mrs. E. B. Andrews, 102 East Fourteenth street.
Alpheus Carpenter, 70 Rivington street.
Miss A. S. Pease, 195 Bowery.
T. C. Leland, 27 Bond street.
Mrs. A. C. Latham, 93 Greene street.

The Circular below was submitted to this Committee as their Report and adopted. It was merely published in letter sheets at the time, and distributed freely in the country and abroad—attracting little attention directly, although it is impossible to say how far it may have proved a suggestion or a stimulus of the Labor Bureaus and some other institutions of a similar character, which have sprung into existence since.

The matter has remained thus in abeyance since, awaiting increase of strength in the general movement, to put it in operation with the full expansion of the original design. Recently, a wealthy woman in this city waited on me, and said that she remembers having read this document; that it made a powerful impression on her mind at the time; and that she has never wholly abandoned the idea of furnishing the capital to inaugurate such an institution. It is at her request that the document is now republished.

The hope is, however, also entertained that the readers of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY generally will find food for reflection in this scheme, which I submitted to a smaller circle of readers eleven years ago, and will sketch in their minds the existence of a great social arrangement, whereby knowledge on every conceivable subject, a trustworthy answer to every question, should be conveyed to every city, town, village, hamlet and homestead, as readily and easily as water or gas is now conveyed to our houses in this great city; by which, in other words, mental illumination shall be diffused through its appropriate pipes, with as much facility as carburetted hydrogen. Nothing short of the immediate classifying potency of Universology would be competent to distribute all the branches of human affairs and interests in a manner adequate to the fullness of this design.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

CIRCULAR,

EXPLANATORY OF THE PRINCIPLE, THE NECESSITY AND INTERNAL OPERATION OF THE

UNIVERSAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICE,

OR

BUREAU OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

It is well known to all who have thought profoundly, that all the operations of Nature are conformed to a certain great Principle of Adjustment, which is denominated the Law of Supply and Demand. In Social affairs this law is best understood in Commerce. It is known there that a sufficient supply of any commodity tends to stimulate the demand for that commodity, that an active demand tends to stimulate production and supply, and that the relative adaptation of the demand to the supply and of the supply to the demand is that which, in the highest degree, contents all parties and is productive of the greatest good. If, in all spheres, all legitimate demands could be met by their appropriate supply, and all needed supplies be brought to their point of demand, the adjustment of affairs would be perfect, and the highest happiness secured.

In Commerce, it is an axiom that Supply and Demand constantly tend to adjust themselves to each other. So much is true. It has not been so clearly perceived, however, that, conversely, the adjustment of Supply and Demand, however obtained, tends to the perfection of all operations, stimulating them to the highest practical and useful degree, thus quickening the life of society; nor that arrangements can be, so to speak, scientifically devised for creating this adjustment of the two in anticipation of the slow, blind, instinctive tendency to adjustment. It has been overlooked,

in some measure, that the same principles are equally applicable in all the other affairs of life as in the affairs of commerce.

We are not, however, entirely without institutions intended expressly for the exchange of information, and for the adjustment by that means of supply and demand, in advance of the chance operation of the natural tendency to such adjustment. The common intelligence office for domestics is a good instance of such an institution. Servants wishing places and housekeepers wishing help, are by means of this sort of intermediation brought directly into relations with each other, and by an intelligent device expressly calculated for that purpose. The natural tendency to adjustment was in operation before intelligence offices existed. Servants did get places and housekeepers did get servants, and a certain adjustment of the demand and the supply did, in this manner, take place, without the intelligence office; but it took place in the midst of obstacles and hindrances, and only therefore partially and imperfectly at best. Besides the intelligence offices, the commercial agencies, where information respecting the credit and standing of country merchants is sold as a commodity, are almost the only instituted thing for the mere exchange of knowledge bearing upon business or the affairs of life. In commerce at large, the adjustment of supply and demand, deemed the greatest of commercial principles, is only understood or thought of as a fact, or the blind struggle in the nature of things to gain an adjustment or equilibrium, unaided by science or design. The opposite or reverse action—that of arranging and providing an adjustment, as an instrument for the improvement of commerce, and of every department of social life, is what the BUREAU OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND now proposes to secure. It proposes, therefore, to apply this higher view of the principle to other than the strictly commercial sphere, and to furnish, so far as may be useful and practicable, information and advisory assistance to the whole people, upon all subjects, in relation to which a legitimate demand may exist or may be hereafter called into existence.

A servant girl can make her application for a place at an Intelligence Office and procure it at once; but where can the stonecutter, the sewing-girl or the teacher of mathematics apply for information as to the demand for labor in their own calling, or in the failure of that, for advice in relation to entering upon other branches of labor, going to the country, etc.? Where can the student or the author get ready and reliable information about the state of development, up to the latest day, of any given department of science, or a list of the works he needs to consult for a particular purpose? Where can the stranger in the great city obtain the particular information he needs in relation to localities, institutions and the methods of business? And so of the thousand other daily wants of the community for information and advice.

The object of the Bureau of Supply and Demand is to expand ultimately into a great public institution, centrally located, with branches in every neighborhood, which, like the post-office, shall be the natural resort of the whole people, and which, for a fee of a few cents, enough in the aggregate to pay the cost of management, shall communicate the information wanted by each individual; the different subjects being classified and sub-classified down to the necessary degree of minuteness, and assigned to different sub-bureaus or branches of administration. In the beginning, the Direction will confine their operations to some single branches of business, and proceed cautiously and experimentally in testing the application of the principle, guided in a great measure by the liberality of the public in supplying the means. A small house, or a few rooms will be taken so soon as the means to that extent can be procured, and two or three competent persons employed to organize and put in operation certain central branches of the final design. It is intended that the institution should finally pay all its own expenses, but that it shall not be a source of profit to any individual. All surplus earnings or donations will be strictly applied to extending the plans. The method of working being new and untried, a liberal discretion must necessarily be left to the Directors, who will act provisionally until an act of incorporation shall be deemed requisite and procured. With the growth of the enterprise, numerous persons will have to be employed, and among them a fair proportion of women, who for the same labor will be paid the same prices as men; thus incidentally a step will be taken in behalf of equitable wages for women, a reform that can be better begun by a public institution than by individuals, closely pressed as they are by the rigors of competition and the laws of trade.

Among the subjects to which, with the expansion of the institution, its uses may seem to be directed, are information on the state of the market for all commodities up to the latest advices in all the commercial centres of the world; information on the exact condition and real solvency of public institutions and incorporated companies, with the clauses and limitations of their franchises; on the laws and statutes of all countries; information on all houses and lots, ships, machinery, stocks of goods, and other property to be bought, sold or rented; on all labor wanted or to be rendered; information on all reformatory and benevolent enterprises; on scientific subjects and the arts; on the advantages and disadvantages of all sections of the country and of foreign countries for emigrants and settlers; on all organized enterprises for emigration and settlements; on all projected improvements, as railroads, etc.; on all new inventions; on routes of travel; scenery, watering-places and summer resorts; sanitary and educational establishments in city and country; arrival and departure of all public conveyances; amusements, lectures, places of worship, etc., etc. New and unthought-of uses in infinite variety will also undoubtedly be unfolded to our minds with the practical operation of the principle when it reaches the large scale.

The attention of the public at large will not be immediately drawn to this incipient movement. This circular will be placed in the hands of such individuals as, from their interest in general progress and their known liberality, can, it is hoped, be relied upon to aid in the development of what the directors and their friends believe to be an important and practical idea. From such pecuniary aid will be solicited to begin operations, and the matter be gradually brought before the great public in proportion as its practical development shall advance. As the project relates also to the whole country, and will give information by letter as well, philanthropists and reformers in the country and abroad will perhaps feel equally disposed to contribute their assistance. The rooms of the institution will serve at once as a place of resort for all such persons, and for their interchange of friendly greetings when in the city.

(1.) The scheme may be as well, or perhaps better, inaugurated as a private enterprise and for profit; or it might be taken on as a governmental cabinet affair.

[From the N. Y. World, July 19.]

UNIVERSOLOGY AND THE SCIENCES.

NOTES ON MR. JOHN FISKE'S TENTH SUPPLEMENTARY LECTURE AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

To the Editor of the World:

SIR—So much is being done by ordinary scientists toward bringing back the state of scientific theory from pure monism and physicism to the equal recognition of dualism and metaphysicism that ordinarily I find it only necessary for me to wait, and to rest assured that the ground will be completely prepared for the intervention of universology at the right time as the grand reconciliation. By monism (unism) is meant that all things in the universe have one common source or basis of being; that there is no doubleness or oppositeness, therefore, in the essential constitution of things; and by physicism (materialism) is meant the additional proposition that matter is this common source or ground of being; whence it results, finally, that mind and all so-called metaphysical entities are merely phenomena or appearances of matter.

Idealism reverses this order. It is monism still, or admits of but one ground of being, but affirms that the idea of being is that ground, and that matter is phenomenal merely—the practical outworking or realization of the idea.

Dualism (dualism theory) affirms, on the contrary, two opposite grounds of being—matter and mind—and that these two are, as it were, counter-working each other.

Physical science and scientists favor monism and physicism (or materialism), and that has been of late the popular and apparently triumphant doctrine in the scientific world—since Comte especially. Haeckel is the most recent and staunchest exponent of this phase of sciento-philosophy.

Metaphysics, including ontology, theology and psychology, have in part favored idealism pure and simple, the opposite monism, which affirms idea or spiritual entity as the sole basis or ground of being; but more have favored dualism, or the existence of two opposite grounds. Metaphysics have of late been depressed under the boastful assumptions and seeming triumphs of the physical school.

Universology affirms the rightfulness of each and all of these several views as aspects merely, or modes of looking at the subject. It affirms that the whole ground may be covered by passing from matter up to mind and making mind a mere function of matter; or inversely, by passing from mind (idea, spirit) outward and downward to matter—the twofoldness of monism; or that it may be covered by assuming the two grounds—dualism—and fastening our attention mainly on the relation and the echoing or analogous development between them. Universology assumes, therefore, that monism and dualism stand upon an equal basis of right; that each is only an aspect or mode of viewing the subject, as legitimate as the other; and that the hinging complexity of these two is a third and a new aspect, which is the larger and inclusive truth of the subject and needs its own special naming, which is trinitism, or the spirit of three; for since monism or unism is derived from one and dualism or duism from two, that which unites and reconciles them both should be derived from three.

The first and simplest opposition between these doctrines is that between physicism, the primary monism (one), and idealism, the other monism (other one—not yet two).

Comte laid the orderly foundation of physical monism. In ascending the scale of the sciences he denied the existence of the possibility even of a science of psychology or of the mind as such, or as elaborated by an introspective analysis of the mental states.

This sweeping fallacy carried with it almost the whole scientific world proper for the time, and has threatened to overwhelm and extinguish the whole idealistic and metaphysical school. It is for the return from this swing of the pendulum for which I said in the beginning of this article I was patiently waiting. It is the physicists themselves who are now swinging back.

Lewes, a disciple of Comte, first ventured to dissent from the dictum of the master, and claimed for psychology the place of a distinct branch of biology, with which Comte had indiscriminately confounded it. Spencer went an additional step, and vindicated, by clear definitions and demonstrations, the right of psychology to occupy the place of a distinct science.

Now comes Mr. Fiske, who corroborates Lewes and Spencer, and not only claims a distinct place for psychology, but vindicates the claim of such thinkers as Hobbes, Locke, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Herbert and Hartley, and especially of the elder Mill, to the rank of great scientists. He even says, "while psychology is a science clearly distinct from biology, dealing with phenomena which may be classed as supra-organic, and using introspective observation as one of its main implements of inquiry, it is more than any other an absolutely independent science;" and as he adds elsewhere that "mind seems to be the highest form of life," it results that this discarded science of the mind, "supra-organic" (a new word for supernatural), and "using introspective observation as one of its main implements of inquiry," is the highest in the rank in the hierarchy of the sciences as compared by these scientists themselves.

But Mr. Fiske has still to have his fling at metaphysics, drawing for that purpose an inaccurate line of demarcation. It is true that the term metaphysics has been vaguely and variously employed, and may have sometimes been applied to mere ontology (the inquiry into the nature and laws of being itself), but more frequently psychology, of which, again, school-logic is a branch, is only a branch itself of metaphysics, and we may also with equal propriety include mathematics in metaphysics, for, as De Quincey rightly says, the mathematics have not a leg to stand upon if you remove their foundation in logic.

Ontology, psychology, logic and mathematics are in fact mere branches of metaphysics—as that which is after or beyond the domain of the senses. All of these Mr. Fiske readily now admits as fields of science, except ontology, to which he confines his use of the term metaphysics. He and all others will have to yield the ground here also, and return to the full acceptance of metaphysics in all its senses.

It is assumed by Comte, and still by Mr. Fiske, that the whole of ontology is concerned with the one question of the very essence, or of the substance and cause of being itself. This is quite as absurd as it would be to assume that all the physical sciences are concerned with the one question of what matter is in itself—whereas that is the mere ultimate limit of either science, and of course gives negative results.

Ontology, and so metaphysics, in that limited sense which makes the two synonymous,* is, on the contrary, the whole immense science of the necessary *a priori* and universal laws of being, which, it may be added, are no more inscrutable than the laws of ordinary phenomena. Ontology has been defined as the science of the attributes and conditions of being in general, not of being in any given circumstances, not as physical, or mathematical, or psychical, but as being—that is to say, as the science of our highest abstractions and generalizations; and it is obvious that we must always have or aim at such a science. Universology is in a new and more determinate sense that science.

But exactly the avenue to the domain of this science in its higher perfection, the door through which universology enters, is momentarily thrown open by Mr. Fiske, expounding Spencer on psychology; and to point this out is the object of this article. This science is still more independent in kind and higher in rank than psychology.

These writers have now discriminated: 1. Nervous physiology, which is concerned with facts material at one extremity and mental at the other, but all the terms of which lie within the organism. "Even though the relation with which we are dealing," says Mr. Spencer, "is that between a nervous change and a feeling, it is still not a psychological relation so long as the feeling is regarded merely as connected with the nervous change, and not as connected with some existence lying outside the organism."

2. Objective psychology, which inspects the indications of mind in others, extending, as when we compare "the mental processes observed or inferred in civilized children, in adult barbarians, and in the lower animals, down to these humble organisms in which the phenomena of intelligence first become differentiated from the phenomena of organic life." Phenology, if admitted, would enter here.

3. Psychology, the science of the evolution of mind, or of the gradual unfolding of the mental faculties, in Time.

4. Psychology proper, by the aid of subjective introspection. Mr. Fiske, quoting Spencer, says: "The thing contemplated is now a totally different thing. It is not the connection between the internal phenomena, nor is it the connection between the external phenomena, but it is the connection between these two connections. A psychological proposition is necessarily compounded of two propositions, of which the one concerns the subject [the internal self], and the other concerns the object [the outer world], and cannot be expressed without the four terms which these two propositions imply. The distinction may be best displayed by symbols. Suppose that A and B are two related manifestations in the environment [the outer world], say the color and taste of a fruit; then so long as we contemplate that relation by itself, or as associated with other external phenomena, we are occupied with a portion of physical science. Now, suppose that X and Y are the sensations produced by this peculiar light which the fruit reflects and by the chemical action of the juice on the palate; then, so long as we study the action of the light on the retina and optic centres [relation of A to X], and consider how the juice sets up in the other centres a nervous change known as sweetness [relation of B to Y], we are occupied with facts belonging to [nervous] physiology. But we pass into the domain of psychology the moment we inquire how there comes to exist within the organism a relation between X and Y that in some way or other corresponds to the relation between A and B. Psychology is exclusively concerned with this connection—A B and X Y; it has to investigate its nature, its origin and its meaning."—(Spencer, Psychol. I., 132.)

I have italicized this important statement of Mr. Spencer to mark and emphasize its erroneousness. Up to this point these discriminations of the different domains of science are clear, correct and invaluable. Here, however, at the definition of [subjective] psychology, it is not psychology at all, as distinguished from ontology, which Mr. Spencer is defining, but it is ontology itself. This will appear on slight inspection.

If the relation between A and B is a portion of physical science, then that between X and Y is a portion of physical science (psychology proper as it should have been defined), or of the science of mind as such, introspectively observed; and the relation between A and X, or the other between B and Y, is a portion of the nervous physiology transitional between physical and psychical science; and, finally, the analogical relation between the relation of A and B and the relation of X and Y, or between physical and psychical relations, is not psychology any more than it is physical science, but it is exactly ontology; and, when scientifically exactified by working equally from both ends, and made into the definite science of universal relations, it is the new science of universology.

It is, in other words, the science of universal analogy, primarily that of the analogy between the relations of physical and the relations of psychical phenomena, the connection between two sets of connections, as echoing in pre-established harmony to each other.

The demonstration is complete here if we reflect that Mr. Spencer has wholly omitted in his account of the matter to find any place for the relation between X and Y.

It is true that psychology presupposes and implies corresponding sets of external or objective relations (in the outer world), and it is this circumstance which has obscured the analysis to the perception of Mr. Spencer. But those external relations enter into this study of the mind by introspection, implicitly only; and just the same is the case with the relation between that exterior set of relations and the internal set which is being directly inspected. It is also implicitly present merely, not explicitly considered. When we explicate or abstract it and make it the field of our scientific consideration, we enter upon the field of the still higher science.

Ontology is again defined to be "the science of being as being; that is, not the science of any particular being or beings, such as animals or vegetables, lines or numbers, but the science of being in its general and common attributes. There is a science of matter and there is a science of mind, but metaphysics [ontology] is the science of being as common to both." ("Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy versus Metaphysics.")

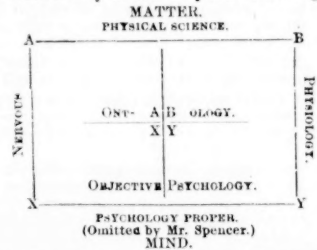
Is there in the first place anything absurd in there being such a science. Is it not in fact presumable, if not self-evident, that there must be such a science covering the common rhythmical relationship between matter and mind, and between all the different sets of phenomena in the universe.

In the next place, Mr. Spencer's definition of psychology proper, the science of mind, makes it occupy, as already stated, precisely this domain of intervention between mind

and the outer world. It is at least incongruous, if not indeed somewhat absurd to define the science of mind as the science of that which intervenes between the mind and something else.

The true realm of psychology is the relations of the phenomena of the mind itself, among themselves or with each other; not the relations of those phenomena with another and foreign set of phenomena.

The illustration may be aided by the following diagram:



It is not, however, in any sense disparaging to Mr. Spencer that he should have overlooked the additional differentiation here requisite to render his classification complete. There is a special cause just alluded to which conduces to this confusion of ideas until it is eliminated. This is that two foreign sets of phenomena are indeed involved in the phenomena of the mind. First, the phenomena of the outer or objective world, the physical science, and then the relational set which intervenes between that outer set and the set of mental phenomena as such—the ontological science domain. But while present with their influence, these two other sets of phenomena and their relations are only so by implication, and not explicitly, or as subjects then under consideration.

Precisely a similar difficulty occurs and has to be guarded against by Mr. Fiske in the course of this lecture. He says: "It is true, as the last lecture showed us, that biology also presupposes a reference to phenomena outside the organism, the very definition of life being the continual adjustment of internal relations to external relations. * * * We see here the difficulty of sharply demarcating adjacent provinces of nature. Nevertheless there is a broad distinction, though not a sharp one." etc. So here there is a broad distinction and an all-important one, if not a sharp one, between the domain of psychology proper, the science of the mind, as such, and ontology (philosophy or universology), of the science of the universal relations of phenomena in all spheres, and primarily only of the relations of the set of relations between material phenomena with those of the set of the relations between mental phenomena.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

A lady in California sent me a very sweet poem, entitled "Laureola," which I intended to publish, but by some untoward happening or other I have mislaid the poem, together with her letter and address. Will she have the goodness to remit another copy, with such further account of herself and of the poem as she may feel prompted to give.

S. P. A.

REPLY TO CRITICISM.

Dr. Edwin Leigh sends me the advance sheets of Mr. Parkhurst's *Phonetic Ploughshare*, which contains a review of my *Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato*, with the courteous request that I will examine it and make any suggestions. The review shows that Mr. Parkhurst has really studied the "Synopsis," and in a good measure mastered its details. It also shows, however, that he has not seized the profounder metaphysical meaning of the three fundamental principles upon which the new science and the new language rests.

Mr. Parkhurst has, it seems, himself entertained the idea of devising or discovering a universal language. He says:

"In 1845 I became satisfied that no existing language was fit for a scientific and universal language, and I constructed the basis of a new language, which I termed Noophony, or mind-speaking. On my way to Washington to introduce Phonography in Congressional reporting, I called on Stephen Pearl Andrews in New York, the leading phonetician in this country, and in our conversation stated to him these facts. He informed me that he was then contemplating, or engaged in constructing such a language, and I think as a part of a universal science. For more than twenty years he has been engaged upon that work, and at last has published a *Primary Synopsis of that universal science or Universology*, and of that universal language, which he terms *Alwato*, intended to introduce his *Basic Outline of Universology*. But his Introduction needs itself to be introduced; and I therefore present, in a condensed tabular form, some of its general principles."

After this, and intimating that he turned his investigations aside into other channels when he found me so engaged; and after stating and illustrating Unism, Duism, and Trinism; he questions the fundamental character of these principles, and thinks that some modifications of the philosophy will have to be made. He thinks (and rightly too) that four, five, six, etc., are also ruling numbers in certain spheres. He alludes also to what seem to him to be incongruities.

All of this misunderstanding is incidental to a mere preliminary presentation of the new science and language. I am greatly tempted to review Mr. Parkhurst and answer his objections in detail, but cannot afford the space.

I repeat, however, that Mr. Parkhurst, while an acute and even microscopic observer, an excellent phonetician, and a man of almost unparalleled industry and devotion to science, has as yet failed to get the metaphysics of these three leading principles into his thought.

It is not meant that the superficial and obvious universe is everywhere distributed in series of three terms each—nor that series do not abound measured by all the leading numbers. It is meant that the first contrast is between One and Two, and that the first reconciliation of that contrast is in Three—and that these relations underlie every other and more

complex distribution. For instance, Mr. Parkhurst instances North, South, East and West, as a cosmical distribution in which the number Four prevails. What the critic has not here perceived is that this four is a double Two, and that each of these Twos has its own Trine, which last fact is the very point which escapes attention; thus if North and South be taken as one set—if, then, we plant our thought at the north pole, for instance—that mere station or point, from from which departure is to arise, is Unismal (related to unit or point), and the South as departing or differentiated from this is Duismal—the Polar opposite of the former position (the North). Or we may reverse this order, and go first to the South, which will then be Unismal, and then the North will be Duismal (*diff* or *dis-fer-entiation*).

But having before us these two opposites (in either order), they are factors or halves, as it were, of a complex idea, the whole, which is constituted by the hinge-wisdom of these two factors or halves. This whole or hingewise idea is (still not East and West at all) but NORTH-AND-SOUTH, or the whole *Meridian*, or rather *axis*—the poles or extremities of which point diametrically away from each other out into space, and, at the same time, diametrically into each other toward the centre, at the equator—in an ideal hingewise-ness, therefore, of relationship—the more complex and often the more important idea of the three. It is this which is meant by Trinism, and it is this set of compound or hingewise ideas for which I have said existing thinking and languages have for the most part provided no words or terms; and that it is because the prevalent mentation of humanity has been hitherto *simplicistic* and not composite. There is the same difference between simple and compound thinking which there is between mere tools and machinery with its double action and its "cut-off."

It is the same with the cross-line, equatorial, from East to West. Fix your East where you will as point of departure, and it is Unismal, and the departing West is then opposite and Duismal, and the whole line with its twofoldness reconciled in a new and peculiar kind of unity is Trinismal.

But, again, if the North-and-South line (already Trinismal) be taken as a base line with which to compare the East-and-West line (already Trinismal) as crossing, diverging and differentiated from it, the base line will be Unismal and the other Duismal, and their combination into the whole quadratic arrangement (a double two, each two carried up to three) as a compound unity is the higher Trinism of this higher order of complexity. And so all things in the Universe are built up by merely new repetitions and echoings of these three Primordial Principles.

And, again, it is not merely that they are so, but that of necessity they must be so. Mr. Parkhurst and nobody else can conceive himself, or conceive that a God could conceive, of any other plan on which things could be built. Everything has to have a half, and then an opposite half, and then these two halves united in the whole.

Let us take another case. Mr. Parkhurst instances the five senses as a case in which Nature has modulated in the Number Five. True, but two of these senses are of a common character—Touch and Taste—called by Fourier concrete, really Unismal, the Unism branching into a subordinate division; and two are of another common character—Sight and Hearing—called by Fourier abstract, really Duismal—the Duism branching also; and the whole common ground of sense, reproduced in the combination of all the senses, is then Trinismal. The sense of Smell centering the others, but feeblest of all—the mere *sniff* or *breath* of a sense—is an instance of what I call Sesquism (one-and-half, a feeble, intermediative half-trinism), which is always present in some ghostly degree (as we say "the odor of sanctity") between the Unism and the Duism.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

A TEXAS WOMAN has been and roasted her husband or her lover, the name does not matter. Husbands are always lovers. The exchanges are rampant over the horrid cruelty. It was fiendish. So it was. Who changed a woman into a fiend? The unmerciful whipping she had received at the hands of the half-cooked party is a matter so much of course that it is not even considered in the light of a provocation. She should have taken it patiently and trusted to society and public sympathy. But she thought her own way more to the purpose. Building up a fire under a man's bed when he is half drunk, and then setting light to it and turning the key on him, is not certainly to be recommended as a mild alternative treatment; but it is a form of moral suasion likely to cure green-cow-hiding propensities.

THE *Globe* announces that it is filed for reference in the British Museum, London; in the Imperial Library (now Bibliothèque de la République), Paris; in the Chamber of Deputies, Madrid; and wherever else politicians and merchants most do congregate. We have used the *Globe's* list, and the curators of the several institutions also keep the WEEKLY on file, all but the Imperial Library at Berlin. Kaiser William has directed the files of the WEEKLY to be kept at the palace, under lock and key. Besides the *Globe's* list, the WEEKLY is on file at the chief mandarin's office, Peking; in the Grand Lama's library at Ladhak; and in the refreshment rooms of the Great Central of Asia Railroad, in the desert of Kobi. It is translated regularly into twelve hundred and seventeen dialects, besides Alwato.

* "There is a science of principles [laws] and causes, of the principles of being and knowing. In this view of it ontology corresponds with metaphysics."—Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy versus Ontology.

INTERVIEW WITH KARL MARX, THE HEAD OF L'INTERNATIONALE.

REVOLT OF LABOR AGAINST CAPITAL—THE TWO FACES OF L'INTERNATIONALE—TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY—ITS PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From the New York World.]

LONDON, July 3.

You have asked me to find out something about the International Association, and I have tried to do so. The enterprise is a difficult one just now. London is indisputably the headquarters of the association, but the English people have got a scare, and smell international in everything as King James smelt gunpowder after the famous plot. The consciousness of the society has naturally increased with the suspiciousness of the public; and if those who guide it have a secret to keep, they are of the stamp of men who keep a secret well. I have called on two of their leading members, have talked with one freely, and I here give you the substance of my conversation. I have satisfied myself of one thing, that it is a society of genuine workmen, but that these workmen are directed by social and political theories of another class. One man whom I saw, a leading member of the council, was sitting at his workman's bench during our interview, and left off talking to me from time to time to receive a complaint, delivered in no courteous tone, from one of the many little masters in the neighborhood who employed him. I have heard this same man make eloquent speeches in public inspired in every passage with the energy of hate toward the classes that call themselves his rulers. I understood the speeches after this glimpse at the domestic life of the orator. He must have felt that he had brains enough to have organized a working government, and yet here he was obliged to devote his life to the most revolting task work of a mechanical profession. He was proud and sensitive, and yet at every turn he had to return a bow for a grunt and a smile for a command that stood on about the same level in the scale of civility with a huntsman's call to his dog. This man helped me to a glimpse of one side of the nature of the international, the result of

LABOR AGAINST CAPITAL,

of the workman who produces against the middle-man who enjoys. Here was the hand that would smite hard when the time came, and as to the head that plans, I think I saw that too, in my interview with Dr. Karl Marx.

Dr. Karl Marx is a German doctor of philosophy, with a German breadth of knowledge derived both from observation of the living world and from books. I should conclude that he has never been a worker in the ordinary sense of the term. His surroundings and appearance are those of a well-to-do man of the middle class. The drawing-room into which I was ushered on the night of the interview would have formed very comfortable quarters for a thriving stockbroker who had made his competence and was now beginning to make his fortune. It was comfort personified, the apartment of a man of taste and of easy means, but with nothing in it peculiarly characteristic of its owner. A fine album of Rhine views on the table, however, gave a clue to his nationality. I peered cautiously into the vase on the side-table for a bomb. I sniffed for petroleum, but the smell was the smell of roses. I crept back stealthily to my seat, and moodily awaited the worst.

He has entered and greeted me cordially, and we are sitting face to face. Yes, I am tete-a-tete with the revolution incarnate, with the real founder and guiding spirit of the International Society, with the author of the address in which capital was told that it warred on labor it must expect to have its house burned down about its ears—in a word, with the

APOLOGIST FOR THE COMMUNE.

of Paris. Do you remember the bust of Socrates? the man who died rather than profess his belief in the Gods of the time—the man with the fine sweep of profile for the forehead running meanly at the end into a little snub, curled-up feature, like a bisected pothook, that formed the nose. Take this bust in your mind's eye, color the beard black, dashing it here and there with puffs of gray; clap the head thus made on a portly body of the middle height, and the Doctor is before you. Throw a veil over the upper part of the face, and you might be in the company of a born vestryman. Reveal the essential feature, the immense brow, and you know at once that you have to deal with that most formidable of all composite individual forces—a dreamer who thinks, a thinker who dreams.

I went straight to my business. The world, I said, seemed to be in the dark about the International, hating it very much, but not able to say clearly what thing it hated. Some, who professed to have peered further into the gloom than their neighbors, declared that they had made out a sort of Janus figure with a fair, honest workman's smile on one of its faces, and on the other a murderous conspirator's scowl. Would he light up the case of mystery in which the theory dwelt.

The professor laughed, chuckled a little I fancied, at the thought that we were so frightened of him. "There is no mystery to clear up, dear sir," he began, in a very polished form of the Hans Breitmann dialect, "except perhaps the mystery of human stupidity in those who perpetually ignore the fact that our association is a public one, and that the fullest reports of its proceedings are published for all who care to read them. You may buy our rules for a penny, and a shilling laid out in pamphlets will teach you almost as much about us as we know ourselves.

R.—Almost—yes, perhaps so; but will not the something I shall not know constitute the all important reservation. To be quite frank with you, and to put the case as it strikes an outside observer, this general claim of depreciation of you must mean something more than the ignorant ill-will of the multitude. And it is still pertinent to ask, even after what you have told me, what is the International Society?

Dr. M.—You have only to look at the individuals of which it is composed—workmen.

R.—Yes, but the soldier need be no exponent of the statecraft that sets him in motion. I know some of your members, and I can believe that they are not of the stuff of which conspirators are made. Besides, a secret shared by a million men would be no secret at all. But what if these were only the instruments in the hands of a bold, and, I hope you will forgive me for adding, not over scrupulous conclave.

Dr. M.—There is nothing to prove it.

R.—The last Paris insurrection?

Dr. M.—I demand firstly the proof that there was any plot at all—that anything happened that was not the legitimate effect of the circumstances of the moment; or the plot granted, I demand the proofs of the participation in it of the International Association.

R.—The presence in the communal body of so many members of the association.

Dr. M.—Then it was a plot of the Freemasons, too, for their share in the work as individuals was by no means a slight one. I should not be surprised, indeed, to find the Pope setting down the whole insurrection to their account. But try another explanation. The insurrection in Paris was made by the workmen of Paris. The ablest of the workmen must necessarily have been its leaders and administrators; but the ablest of the workmen happen also to be members of the International Association. Yet the association, as such, may be in no way responsible for their action.

R.—It will seem otherwise to the world. People talk of secret instructions from London, and even grants of money. Can it be affirmed that the alleged openness of the association's proceedings precludes all secrecy of communication?

Dr. M.—What association ever formed carried on its work without private as well as public agencies? But to talk of secret instruction from London, as of decrees in the matter of faith and morals from some centre of Papal domination and intrigue, is wholly to misconceive the nature of the International. This would imply a centralized form of government for the International, whereas the real form is designedly that which gives the greatest play to local energy and independence. In fact the International is not properly a government for the working class at all. It is a bond of union rather than a controlling force.

R.—And of union to what end?

Dr. M.—The economical emancipation of the working class by the conquest of political power. The use of that political power to the attainment of social ends. It is necessary that our aims should be thus comprehensive to include every form of working class activity. To have made them of a special character would have been to adapt them to the needs of one section—one nation of workmen alone. But how could all men be asked to unite to further the objects of a few. To have done that the association must have forfeited its title of International. The association does not dictate the form of political movements; it only requires a pledge as to their end. It is a network of affiliated societies spreading all over the world of labor. In each part of the world some special aspect of the problem presents itself, and the workmen there address themselves to its consideration in their own way. Combinations among workmen cannot be absolutely identical in detail in Newcastle and in Barcelona, in London and in Berlin. In England, for instance, the way to show political power lies open to the working class. Insurrection would be madness where peaceful agitation would more swiftly and surely do the work. In France a hundred laws of repression and a mortal antagonism between classes seem to necessitate the violent solution of social war. The choice of that solution is the affair of the working classes of that country. The International does not presume to dictate in the matter and hardly to advise. But to every movement it accords its sympathy and its aid within the limits assigned by its own laws.

R.—And what is the nature of that aid?

Dr. M.—To give an example, one of the commonest forms of the movement for emancipation is that of strikes. Formerly, when a strike took place in one country it was defeated by the importation of workmen from another. The International has nearly stopped all that. It receives information of the intended strike, it spreads that information among its members, who at once see that for them the seat of the struggle must be forbidden ground. The masters are thus left alone to reckon with their men. In most cases the men require no other aid than that. Their own subscriptions or those of the societies to which they are more immediately affiliated supply them with funds, but should the pressure upon them become too heavy and the strike be one of which the association approves, their necessities are supplied out of the common purse. By these means a strike of the cigar-makers of Barcelona was brought to a victorious issue the other day. But the society has no interest in strikes, though it supports them under certain conditions. It cannot possibly gain by them in a pecuniary point of view, but it may easily lose. Let us sum it all up in a word. The working classes remain poor amid the increase of wealth, wretched amid the increase of luxury. Their material privation dwarfs their moral as well as their physical stature. They cannot rely on others for a remedy. It has become then with them an imperative necessity to take their own case in hand. They must revise the relations between themselves and the capitalists and landlords, and that means they must transform society. This is the general end of every known workmen's organization; land and labor leagues, trade and friendly societies, co-operative stores and co-operative production are but means toward it. To establish a perfect solidarity between these organizations is the business of the International Association. Its influence is beginning to be felt everywhere. Two papers spread its views in Spain, three in Germany, the same number in Austria and in Holland, six in Belgium, and six in Switzerland. And now that I have told you what the International is you may, perhaps, be in a position to form your own opinion as to its pretended plots.

R.—And Mazzini, is he member of your body?

Dr. Marx (laughing)—Ah, no. We should have made but little progress if we had not got beyond the range of his ideas.

R.—You surprise me. I should certainly have thought that he represented most advanced views.

Dr. M.—He represents nothing better than the old idea of a middle-class republic. We seek no part with the middle class. He has fallen as far to the rear of the modern movement as the German professors, who, nevertheless, are still considered in Europe as the apostles of the cultured democrat of the future. They were so at one time—before '48, perhaps, when the German middle class, in the English sense, had scarcely attained its proper development. But now they have gone over bodily to the reaction, and the proletariat knows them no more.

R.—Some people have thought they saw signs of a positivist element in your organization.

Dr. M.—No such thing. We have positivists among us, and others not of our body who work as well. But this is not by virtue of their philosophy, which will have nothing to do with popular government, as we understand it, and which seeks only to put a new hierarchy in place of the old one.

R.—It seems to me, then, that the leaders of the new in-

ternational movement have had to form a philosophy as well as an association for themselves.

Dr. M.—Precisely. It is hardly likely, for instance, that we could hope to prosper in our war against capital if we derive our tactics, say from the political economy of Mill. He has traced one kind of relationship between labor and capital. We hope to show that it is possible to establish another.

R.—And the United States?

Dr. M.—The chief centres of our activity are for the present among the old societies of Europe. Many circumstances have hitherto tended to present the labor problem from assuming an all absorbing importance in the United States. But they are rapidly disappearing, and it is rapidly coming to the front there with the growth, as in Europe, of a laboring class distinct from the rest of the community and divorced from capital.

R.—It would seem that in this country the hoped for solution, whatever it may be, will be attained without the violent means of revolution. The English system of agitating by platform and press until minorities become converted into majorities is a hopeful sign.

Dr. M.—I am not so sanguine on that point as you. The English middle class has always shown itself willing enough to accept the verdict of the majority, so long as it enjoyed the monopoly of the voting power. But mark me, as soon as it finds itself outvoted on what it considers vital questions we shall see here a new slave-owner's war.

I have here given you as well as I can remember them the heads of my conversation with this remarkable man. I shall leave you to form your own conclusions. Whatever may be said for or against the probability of its complicity with the movement of the Commune we may be assured that in the International Association the civilized world has a new power in its midst with which it must soon come to a reckoning for good or ill.

R. LANDOR.

THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

Everybody prates of the wonders of the present age of the world, and yet it may be doubted whether any of us half estimate its really marvelous character. Every age, objects some captious reader, or some discontented pessimist, is a great age to those that live in it, just as everybody's own country is the greatest of all countries, or as every mother's baby is the finest baby that ever was born. But there are some people whose cosmopolitanism has so far outgrown their mere blind patriotism that they become very competent judges of the relative merits of different countries; and, in the name of us, have arrived where we can look at the characters of the different ages of the world with a similar kind of acquired partiality transcending any merely childish prejudice in favor of our own times.

Believing that we speak as philosophers, and from something like this sublime point of acquired indifference, or, at least, of competent impartiality, we must still regard this latter half of the nineteenth century as the most distinguished speck in the world's history. There is, we believe, a hundred times more mental activity at this time in the world at large than at any previous period; and events are progressing in a proportionately rapid ratio. It is an error to suppose that evolution in anything always takes place at the same even rate. Nature has her grand climacterics as well as the long reaches of regular progression; her births and deaths, as well as gestation and the lifetime of the individual.

And this precise age in the world is, if we are not wholly mistaken, pre-eminently an epoch, a turning point of destiny in the affairs of mankind, a grand climacteric in human society.

Physically, but in respect to man, the world is undergoing, just at this nick of time, in several respects, the greatest changes it has ever undergone or can ever undergo; the transition from the fragmentary and imperfect state to that which is integral and complete.

Notably, in physical geography we are just solving the last problems, finding the sources of the Nile, laying open the closed frontiers of China and Japan and the hidden secrets of Central Africa, and searching the North Polar Sea. Every ocean is already navigated, every continent and island familiarized to our acquaintanceship. A labor that has thus occupied the race of man for five or ten thousand years, demanding the greatest sacrifices and the most strenuous exertions, is getting itself finished up, and the books of that business enterprise of humanity are being closed up just about now. We have gone over the surface of our entire inheritance in respect to landed estate, water front, fisheries and navigation; and so to say, we have got our farm fenced in. That makes an epoch.

But we have done more. We have begun the unitary culture and administration of this human *habitat* and domicile, instead of the fragmentary and patchwork management which has prevailed through all the past ages. We have learned how to put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes, and we compass the earth's circumference with steamers as regularly as we cross a ferry; and all this has happened just now for the first time, in all the ages.

And we are talking glibly of unitary weights and measures, of a unitary currency, of a common and universal language, and finally of a Universal Government; and nobody thinks strange of, or laughs at, these stupendous propositions, which fifty years ago would have been received perhaps with a guffaw of derision. The world has been astonished so many times that it refuses to be astonished any longer. The greater enterprise or a proposition nowadays the more likely it is to be believed in. Progression has reached, or is just now reaching, the pivot-point of equilibration where in place of resistance to elevation we gain acceleration and

momentum from mere weight; when reform of all sorts, instead of struggling laboriously up hill, will be rushing down a declivity, helped by the same law which has hitherto retarded it, the mere inertia of public opinion. It is going presently to be easier to go ahead with increasing velocity than it will be to stop, or even to be still.

Who can calculate the immense revolution that such a state of things will make in every sphere and department of human affairs. If inventors, discoverers and experimenters had no difficulty whatever in commanding sympathy and capital to test at the earliest moment every project of human improvement; if money flowed all the more regularly and readily into novelties, and because merely that they were novelties; if the new dominated generally over the old, and the future over the past, there is no calculating the velocity of human progress and growth of society.

And it is because we are just at the turning point from an old foggy and conservative order of things, which has predominated through all the past periods of history, and the more so the further back we look, to just this normal and universal career of predominate progress; that indeed this progress has begun already; that we have entered on the descending grade, and so past the turning point; that we call this a wonderful and exceptional age in the world's history.

A few grand hindrances, accumulated obstructions, and formidable obstacles have hitherto hedged the tendency to this easy-going tendency to the easy and rapid progression of the race. Despotism, slavery and oppressive restrictions on women are or have been the chief barriers. Despotism still lingers on the stage in Europe, but shudders with instinct of its own early destruction or decay. Slavery has just met with its quietus. Hindrances to the freedom of woman are rapidly yielding, and will dissolve into nothing sooner than either of the other obstructions referred to, as there are a thousand causes favoring that revolution which have not favored the others, and as the accelerated movements of reform itself is now brought to bear on this new subject of thought, discussion and action.

So far, indeed, are we already under full headway in the new career of evolution that we may claim to have entered already upon the coming order of things. The rattling thunder of human events surging along at this new measure

into active combat, even but the few, tent in every department probably made an extraordinary as, we dismiss the backward of our

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A HISTORY

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year. The *Rural* is run by H. N. F. Lewis, assisted in the editing business by T. H. Glenn and one or two others. Lewis is a driving genius, and has lately established a *Young Folks' Rural* (monthly), which is thriving apace. He it was who started the ill-fated *Chicagoan*, in the hope that a literary paper would flourish; but this proving a losing speculation, he converted the *Chicagoan* into a spiritualistic, women's rights, marriage-reform organ; then changed its name to the *Universe*; then moved it to New York; then made it a monthly; and all to no purpose, so far as making the thing pay was concerned. Lewis then abandoned social reform organs (though he still wears his hair in long curls) and will stick to his right profitable *Rurals* henceforth. A peculiarity of his plan is the keeping up of branches in Ohio, in Detroit and in Kansas, where local matter and advertisements are inserted adapted to the section. The circulation of the *Western Rural* is not exceeded by that of any agricultural paper in America, excepting Orange Judd's *Agriculturist* and D. D. T. Moore's *Rural New Yorker*.

GEN. BUTLER AND THE BALLOT FOR WOMEN.

I asked, "Would you oppose the efforts of the woman suffrage party to get the ballot for woman? They propose to go into the field against Mr. Jewell if he is nominated, and they are too much in earnest to be satisfied with anything but a yes or no answer. What do you say—yes or no?"

The General replied—"Upon that subject I have no new step to take or thought to express. Considerably more than a year since one of the leading advocates of the right of woman suffrage called on me to express my views upon that subject. I said to her then that I had not sufficiently examined it to have come to a conclusion, and that a topic of such gravity ought not to be made a subject of hasty conclusion, but that whenever I had come to definite opinions I would make them known. I understood that the lady (Susan B. Anthony) complained afterward that I had not communicated my opinions, and therefore that I was to be taken to be against woman suffrage. It became my official duty, however, to examine the question fully as a member of the Judicial Committee of the House of Representatives during the Forty-first Congress, and that, too, upon the proposition whether by the Constitution of the United States the right of suffrage was not already secured to women. Upon the best examination I could give I came to the conclusion that the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all State laws whatever. The reasons by which that conclusion was sustained are set forth in the minority report of the committee, signed by Judge Loughridge and myself. Having found that women held the highest offices and were entitled to vote under the English common law, from which was derived our system of laws, and the best principles of which are supposed to be embodied in our constitution, State and national, I could have no doubt as to their right to vote, be voted for and be appointed to office under the constitution and laws of the Commonwealth."

We wonder, as we read the above from the *Herald*, if the Massachusetts branch of the suffragists will accept General Butler, since he declares that the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all State laws whatsoever. Up to the present time they have utterly ignored that proposition, and such advocates as "H. B. B." and "T. W. H.," of the *Boston Woman's Journal*, ridicule it. It is rather strange that even General Butler, as brave a man as he is, should have dared, in the face of such eminent men, to say that the Constitution gives to women the right to suffrage, instead of saying there must be a Sixteenth Amendment before that right would exist. The question is, since the Boston leaders repudiate this interpretation of the Constitution, if they will accept General Butler, who indorses it, as their candidate.

We will advise these wise Boston people, who do not believe that there is either honesty or capacity in any city except Boston, that they are very short-sighted in ignoring the right of women citizens under the present provisions of the Constitution, since they must know that there are multitudes of able jurists, both on the bench and in the halls of legislation, who will accord their rights, if already provided for, but who would strenuously oppose any and all legislation looking in that direction. We have continually reminded that "Branch" of the harm they were doing the common movement for suffrage, and it now seems they must either accept "the bitter pill" or ignore General Butler as their candidate for Governor, which they will not be likely to do, since these State laws to which Gen. Butler refers have so lately proved a thorn in their side.

Pook, an English man criminal, who had seduced a pretty servant, afterward found murdered in the public highway, was acquitted by a jury of men. The probabilities were against him, but the direct evidence was insufficient for conviction. It is but justice to say that Pook escaped by the skin of his teeth, and that the people rose against him and would have torn him to pieces but for police protection.

Mrs. Newington, a lady by education and position, had lived with Mr. Frederick Moon as man and wife. In a domestic quarrel he was stabbed, and died of the wound. They were tenderly attached to each other. It was morally impossible that she could have struck him with a deadly weapon, even in anger. She herself, in the first agony of bereavement, when grief had sway, confessed herself his slayer, but by accident and misadventure. Her confession was taken against her; the extenuations thrown aside. Yet she was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to eight years' penal servitude. As well to death! This is man's justice. If the Duchess of Sutherland had a right to recommend abolition to American women, we have a right to petition the British government for a remission of this iniquitous sentence. This woman suffers because she is a woman living in concubinage.

In our issue of June 10, there appeared an article over the signature of "A Friend to Women," in which, after introducing several references to items of general interest, occasion was taken to further introduce what is claimed, through the peculiar use that has been made of the article, to have been a purely personal and libelous matter.

In the article there were no names mentioned, but after it appeared the person who is supposed to have procured the writing of it purchased a large number of the papers and added the respective names, so as to make the article personal, and sent it to many of the friends of both parties.

We take this opportunity to express our entire disapprobation of this manner of seeking to make private difficulties public, as well as of the method adopted by the writer of the article to accomplish his purpose.

It comes out that the party to whom the reference was made denies the truth of all the allegations, and his wife and his friends, who are reliable and substantial men, confirm the truth of the denial and maintain his uniform good character.

JULY.

Sweet month of passion and of song—July!
Thou of the zoneless waist and dreamy eye;
Thy soft, voluptuous beauty weaves a spell
Round sunny hillside and lone, shadowed dell;
Thy burning beauty o'er the world hath passed;
Thy smile is beautiful, but cannot last.

Thy kisses burn the red rose's life away;
Thy light caresses on the waters play;
Thy slumberous presence fills the cool, green bowers,
And there thy lovers pass the glowing hours.
Oh, bright July! How changeable is thy mein,
Thou month of rosy hues and emerald green!

Thou'rt passing on, and bearing swift away
Thy blush and bloom—too beautiful to stay;
Bright memories round thee cling and fondly twine
A wreath for thee, thou radiant speck of time.
Farewell! Thou of the crimson lips and floating hair;
"Thy words are music and thy tongue sweet air."

D. M. H.

HON. M. C. KERR, in his recent letter to Hon. J. S. Black, says:

A million or more patriotic Republicans are deeply dissatisfied and disgusted with their leaders, and with their public conduct and measures. At the same time they sincerely concur in most of the essential principles and purposes of the Democratic party. They bitterly appreciate the necessity for honest and effective reform; for a reduction of at least 25 per cent. in the aggregate of taxation; for such a fair and equal adjustment of taxes as will secure to the Treasury what is paid by the people, and not give a large part of it as tribute to monopolists and favorites; for retrenchment, economy and vigilant integrity in the expenditures; for thorough reform in the civil service, and its release from the corrupting and fitful control of mere party discipline; for the firm and faithful maintenance of the Constitution, and of the reserved rights and jurisdiction of the States as of vital importance to the safety and perpetuity of free government; for the speediest possible restoration of peaceful, kindly and equal relations between the States and the General Government; for the immediate abandonment of the fatal policy of centralization, the withdrawal of all favoritism from monopolies, corporations or other combinations, and the indignant rebuke of all corrupt "rings," jobs and lobbyists, and for the earliest practical revival of American tonnage and commerce, by giving free trade in ships and in the materials used in their construction.

Mr. Kerr is familiar with the principles and reforms proposed by the Cosmopolitical party, as all who read the above and are familiar with our columns will at once see.

CHARLES DICKENS thus describes President Andrew Johnson:

I was very much surprised by the President's face and manner. It is, in its way, one of the most remarkable faces I have ever seen. Not imaginative, but very powerful in its firmness (or perhaps obstinacy), strength of will, and steadiness of purpose. There is a reticence in it, too, curiously at variance with that first unfortunate speech of his. A man not to be turned or trifled with. A man (I should say) who must be killed to be got out of the way. His manners are perfectly composed. We looked at one another pretty hard. There was an air of chronic anxiety upon him. But not a crease or a ruffle in his dress, and his papers were as composed as himself.

"The Thiers government has mercifully decided not to shoot the vast crowd of women arrested for incendiarism or attempts at that crime, during the late collapse of the Paris Commune. Twenty-five hundred of these wretched creatures are to be sent to the French penal settlement of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific. The population of the island is already somewhat mixed—Malays, Papuans and Jews constituting its chief elements. The addition of so great a number of French women will, probably, produce a marked and permanent effect on its inhabitants."—*New York Tribune* (a Republican journal) June 20, 1871. Let American workmen here forecast the doom of their own wives and daughters when it shall be their turn to grapple with the capitalists! And let some American woman say what should be thought of the *Tribune's* ideas of mercy.—*National Standard*.

THE actions of men are like the index of a look; they point out what is most remarkable in them.

LET your promises be sincere and within the compass of your ability.

GREAT minds have wills; others, only feeble wishes.

Mutilated column secured (Pender)

We would respectfully call the attention of our readers to the

WINTER ARRANGEMENTS

BALDWIN THE CLOTHIER,

and refer them to the August Number of the *Head Quarters* published by him.

WINTER ARRANGEMENTS

In every department of this immense Retail Clothing business, are upon a scale whose producing capacity will be at least one-third greater than we have hitherto attempted. The large and increasing demand for the clothing we offer to the consumer, compels us to increase the entire force and add largely to the capacity of every branch of the manufacturing department. It is a fact too well known to require reiteration here, that we retail from one house, more ready made clothing C. O. D. than any other establishment in America. The fact that, before we opened on this corner, no house had ever had the courage to place two hundred thousand dollars worth of clothing for Men and Boys, on sale at retail, gave us the cue to the undertaking which resulted forthwith in placing us at the head of the retail clothing trade in New York. We recognized the fact that much more than this had to be done, and we have done it with all our might.

The fall and winter arrangements now in full and successful operation, for magnitude and certainty of result, never have been and cannot be equaled in any country.

Our old patrons and the thousands of new ones, who are intending to select outfits of us the coming season, will find us amply prepared to meet their wants in every respect.

The skilled artists of this country are in our employ—no small houses could afford to pay them; and the best workmen, to whom we furnish employment for its every week.

It shall be our endeavor to secure every possible advantage known to the clothing trade; and if we work for our own interests, how can we withhold these advantages from our customers? We promise entire satisfaction to all who patronize

HEAD QUARTERS!

Pomeroy's Finger-Pad Truss.

Patented Aug. 15, 1868; Feb. 8, 1870.

The adjustable "finger" of the pad effectually closes the hernial opening, so that there can be no escape of the intestine. Very light pressure is required in the majority of cases.

This Truss has been critically examined by more than a thousand physicians and surgeons, whose names we have on record and can give as references, and who are unanimous in the opinion of its superior merits.

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A HISTORY

OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT, FOR TWENTY YEARS.

With the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at APOLLO HALL, OCTOBER 20, 1870.

From 1850 to 1870.

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT DURING THE WINTER OF 1871, IN THE NATIONAL CAPITOL.

Compiled by

PAULINA W. DAVIS.

For sale by all Booksellers.

A lucid and liberal account of the most important political movement of the day.—W. & C.'s W.

The "Editor's Drawer" of the August *Harper's* has this story about General Butler: "We have a very good story of Hon. Benjamin F. Butler that has not yet found its way into the newspapers. When a student in college it was binding on the students to attend the college church—a duty which to him was very irksome. On one occasion he heard the preacher (who was also a professor) advancing propositions like the following: 1. That the elect would alone be saved. 2. That among those who by the world were called Christians probably not more than one in a hundred belonged really and truly to the elect. 3. That the others, by reason of their Christian privileges, would suffer more hereafter than the heathen, who had never heard the Gospel at all. Mr. Butler, whose audacity was as conspicuous as his reverence, made a note of these propositions, and on the strength of them drew up a petition to the faculty, soliciting exemption from further attendance at the church, as only preparing himself for a more terrible future. For, said he, the congregation here amounts to six hundred persons, and nine of these are professors. Now, if only one in a hundred is to be saved, it follows that three even of the faculty must be damned. He (Benjamin F. Butler) being a mere student, could not expect to be saved in preference to a professor. Far, he said, be it from him to cherish such a presumptuous hope! Nothing remained for him, therefore, but perdition. In this melancholy posture of affairs he was naturally anxious to abstain from anything that might aggravate his future punishment, and as church attendance had been shown in last Sunday's sermon to have this influence on the non-elect, he trusted that the faculty would for all time coming exempt him from it! The result of this petition, written out in an imposing manner, and formally presented to the faculty, was that Butler received a public reprimand for irreverence, and but for the influence of one or two friends in the faculty, would have been expelled.

This spread of Socialistic principles seems to be gaining ground throughout Europe, and is watched with considerable interest. There are now twenty-six papers promulgating this doctrine in France; Belgium has seven weekly organs of Socialism; Holland and Germany, seven; Switzerland, four; and Spain has one, published at Barcelona.

THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

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

Every person who has the future welfare of this country at heart should make him or herself familiar with the questions treated in this book. No lengthy elucidations are entered into; its statements are fresh, terse and bold, and make direct appeal to the reasoning faculties.

It is an octavo volume of 250 pages, containing the picture of the author; is beautifully printed on the best quality of tinted paper, and is tastefully and substantially bound in extra cloth. No progressive person's house should be without this conclusive evidence of woman's capacity for self-government. Price, \$30 0; by mail, postage paid, \$3 25.

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

EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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AN EPIC OF THE PAST AND FUTURE

OF

AMERICA.

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THEME.

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

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

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

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

Lamia, however, holds temporary power over the form of Hesperia, and succeeds in throwing a spell around the maiden which she vainly imagines will prove fatal; the love of her parents and Calios rouses her spirit, and with them she withdraws into the world of souls, where, for a time, she beholds the scenes enacted under the influence of Lamia. She witnesses in Athens and Crete deeds of horror and the tortures inflicted upon the oppressed. Calios sings to her in plaintive songs of these down-trodden ones, lures her by the voice of nature, and in interludes of Love and Truth seeks to win her back to her earthly kingdom.

Long years does Lamia hold sway, and at last wakes the voice of war; when Astraea, not dead, but only withdrawn for a space, turns the sword of Lamia upon her son.

Through long suffering is Hesperia made strong and pure. She listens to the voice of nature's children, and their tortures cease; slavery and war are known no more. Astraea and Erosion are again the attendant and abiding souls of this fair land; they witness with rapture and benedictions the union of Calios and Hesperia, who rule with undivided sway over the most lovely empire of the earth.

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See card in another column.

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p. m.
For Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Southport and
Westport, 7.11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 p. m.
For Norwalk, 7.8 (Ex.), 9.11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 3
(Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 5:30, 6:30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.
For Darien, 7.9.11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 6:30
p. m.
For Stamford, 7.8 (Ex.), 9.11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.),
2:15, 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15, 8 (Ex.)
p. m.
For Greenwich and intermediate stations, 7.9.11:30
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a. m.; 12:15 p. m.
For Shore Line Railway, at 8 a. m. to Norwich and
Providence; 12:15, 3; to New London, 8 p. m.
For New Haven and Northampton Railroad, 8 a. m.;
3 p. m. to Northampton and Williamsburgh.
For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m. and 3 p. m.
For Naugatuck Railroad, 8 a. m., 3 p. m., and 4:30
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C. H. KENDRICK,
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New York, Dec. 5, 1870.

ALETIC CHINA WATER TESTIMONIAL.
195 Leffert's place, Brooklyn, June 13, 1871.

COPY OF LETTER.

CHICAGO, August 11, 1870.
Capt. A. W. Lavender.—Dear Sir,—When at Water-
town last week General Pratt informed me he had re-
ceived a letter from you in which you spoke of a
medicine you had been taking that had cured you,
and inquired for me that I might be informed of it
and try it in my case. I have been bad for fifteen
months, and nearly given up my case. All physici-
ans who have examined me declare it to be *scirrhus*
stomach, or *cancerous*. Whether it is so or not, I have
been reduced some forty pounds in flesh and am un-
able to engage in business.

I have been spending the summer in the Rocky
Mountains, and thought I was better, but find the
difficulty continues, and write for the purpose of
having you send me a dozen bottles of the Aletic
China Water.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) **MARTIN THATCHER,**
37 and 39 Randolph street, Chicago.
See advertisement in another column.