

# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 3.—No. 16.—WHOLE No. 68.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 2, 1871.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Rail  
Road  
Bonds.

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

THE  
**LOANERS' BANK**  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

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

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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.

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DEALERS IN

STOCKS, BONDS, GOLD AND EXCHANGE.

ORDERS EXECUTED AT THE STOCK AND  
GOLD EXCHANGES.

INTEREST ALLOWED ON DEPOSITS SUBJECT TO CHECK  
AT SIGHT.

Buy and sell at current market rates, the FIRST  
MORTGAGE EIGHT (8) PER PER CENT. GOLD  
BONDS of the ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY  
RAILROAD COMPANY.

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.,

No. 11 WALL STREET. 107

56

**BANKING HOUSE**

OF

**KOUNTZE BROTHERS,**

NEW YORK,

14 WALL STREET.

Four per cent. interest allowed on all deposits.

Collections made everywhere.

Orders for Gold, Government and other securities  
executed.

**S. J. & F. BEEBEE,**

BROKERS,

**IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS**

No. 7 NEW STREET,

NEW YORK.

59.

**\$1,000,000!!**

By authority of a special act of the Legislature of  
Kentucky of March 13, 1871, the Trustees of the Public  
Library of Kentucky will give a

**GRAND GIFT CONCERT**

AT LOUISVILLE, KY.,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1871,

Under the direction of the best Musical Talent.

100,000 TICKETS OF ADMISSION,

\$10 Each in Currency; Half Tickets, \$5; Quarter  
Tickets, \$2 50.

Each Ticket will consist of four quarters, value,  
\$2 50 each. The holder is entitled to admission to  
the Concert and to the amount of gift awarded to it  
or its fraction. Tickets number from 1 to 1,000,000.

THE CITIZENS' BANK OF KY. IS TREASURER.

All Moneys arising from the sale of Tickets will be  
deposited with the Citizens' Bank, subject only to  
the order of the President and Treasurer of the Li-  
brary, countersigned by the Business Manager.

During the Concert, the sum of

**\$550,000 IN GREENBACKS**

Will be distributed by lot to the holders of tickets in  
the following Gifts, viz:

|                                                     |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....                              | \$100,000 |
| ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....                              | 50,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 25,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 20,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 19,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 18,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 17,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 16,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 15,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 14,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 13,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 12,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 11,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 10,000    |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 9,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 8,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 7,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 6,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 5,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 4,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 3,000     |
| One Gift of.....                                    | 2,000     |
| Ten Gifts of \$1,000 each.....                      | 10,000    |
| Fifteen Gifts of \$800 each.....                    | 13,500    |
| Eighteen Gifts of \$600 each.....                   | 14,400    |
| Twenty Gifts of \$500 each.....                     | 14,000    |
| Twenty-five Gifts of \$400 each.....                | 15,000    |
| Thirty Gifts of \$300 each.....                     | 15,000    |
| Forty Gifts of \$200 each.....                      | 16,000    |
| Forty-five Gifts of \$100 each.....                 | 13,500    |
| Fifty Gifts of \$50 each.....                       | 10,000    |
| Four hundred and forty-six Gifts of \$100 each..... | 44,600    |

Seven hundred and twenty-one Gifts in all.....\$550,000

After paying the expense of the enterprise, and  
making the distribution of the gifts, the balance of  
the proceeds arising from the sale of tickets will be  
appropriated to the establishment of a

FREE LIBRARY IN LOUISVILLE,

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF KENTUCKY.

The Concert and distribution will take place under  
the immediate supervision of the Trustees named in  
the act of incorporation.

The Trustees will be assisted by well-known and  
eminent citizens of Kentucky, who have consented to  
be present at the concert, and to superintend the  
drawing and distribution of gifts.

The holders of tickets to which gifts are awarded  
will be paid on presentation of them or their fraction  
at the office in Louisville the second day after draw-  
ing, and every business day for six months thereafter,  
and may be sent direct, or through any Bank or Ex-  
press Company, for collection. All orders accom-  
panied by Drafts, Post Office Money Orders or Green-  
backs will be promptly attended to, and tickets re-  
turned by mail, registered or expressed, as desired.  
Tickets are like greenbacks—good only to the  
holder.

Buyers will note that there are only One Hundred  
Thousand Tickets, instead of Two Hundred Thou-  
sand, as in the San Francisco Gift Concert, and that  
there is \$50,000 more distributed. I sold that, and  
made the awards in four months, and paid \$48,000 to  
ticket holders from November 2d to 15th, 1870, and  
turned over \$12,000 to the Secretary due tickets not  
presented.

It will be particularly noticed that it is a matter of  
impossibility for any one to know what numbers  
draw gifts, as it is not known what the gift of any  
number drawn from the first wheel will be, until the  
sealed box, with amount of the gift plainly printed,  
is taken from the other wheel and opened in full view  
of the audience, therefore the larger gifts may not  
come out until toward the last, or in the middle of  
the drawing. The \$100,000 gift in the San Francisco  
Gift Concert, under the management of C. R. Peters,  
was the 200th number drawn, and was awarded and  
paid to a gentleman in New Orleans.

The Numbers and Gifts are drawn by Blind  
Children from 8 to 14 years of age.

The Drawing will be extensively published, and  
parties ordering Tickets will have printed lists sent  
them. Parties forming Clubs and desiring informa-  
tion will please address this office.

11 Tickets for \$100; 28 Tickets, \$25; 56 Tickets, \$500;  
113 Tickets, \$1,000.

The undersigned, late principal business manager  
of the very successful Mercantile Library Gift Con-

cert at San Francisco, California, has been appointed  
agent and manager of the Gift Concert in aid of the  
Public Library of Kentucky.

The drawing will take place in public, and every-  
thing will be done to satisfy buyers of tickets that  
their interests will be as well protected as if they per-  
sonally superintended the entire affair.

MANNER OF DRAWING.

There will be two glass wheels. One wheel will  
contain 100,000 numbers, plainly printed on leather  
tags. The other wheel will contain 721 boxes, each  
containing a gift. One tag or number will be drawn  
from the 100,000 wheel, and the first box drawn from  
the second or 721 box wheel will contain a gift, neatly  
printed and sealed up, and the gift so drawn from the  
second wheel will be the gift of the tag first drawn,  
whether \$100, \$1,000 or \$100,000, as announced.

**14,364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.**

To insure ticket holders, the public are assured  
that if only 25,000 tickets are sold, only 25,000 num-  
bers go in the large wheel, the 721 gifts awarded, but  
diminished pro rata. In case 50,000 tickets only are  
sold, only numbers 1 to 50,000 go in the large wheel,  
and the 721 gifts diminished one-half; and in case  
only 85,000 tickets are sold, the entire 721 gifts will be  
paid in full, it being intended that unsold tickets shall  
participate.

The Manager has already paid into the Citizens'  
Bank \$50,000 toward defraying the expenses, and  
does not depend on sales of tickets to pay his ex-  
penses of printing, advertising, etc. The public are  
invited to the utmost scrutiny as to the reliability of  
the entire affair.

Persons desirous of acting as Agents for the sale of  
our tickets in any city of the United States and Can-  
adas, address

**CHARLES R. PETERS,** Manager, Louisville, Ky.,  
Office, 120 Main street, Johnson's Block.

**R. T. DURETT,** President.

**W. N. HALDEMAN,** Vice-President.

**M. W. GLUSKY,** Secretary.

**CITIZENS' BANK,** Treasurer.

For Tickets and Information.

**BANKING HOUSE**

OF

**HENRY CLEWS & Co.,**

No. 32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Letters of Credit for travelers, also Commercial

Credits issued, available throughout the world.

Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Bank of London,

National Bank of Scotland, Provincial Bank of Ire-

land, and all their branches.

Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers on Europe, San

Francisco, the West Indies and all parts of the United

States.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or

Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through

the Clearing-House as if drawn upon any city bank;

4 per cent. interest allowed on all daily balances;

Certificates of Deposit issued; Notes, Drafts and

Coupons collected; advances made on approved col-

laterals and against merchandise consigned to our

care.

Orders executed for Investment Securities and

Railroad Iron.

CLEWS, HARICHT & Co., 11 Old Broad street,

London.

**Central Railroad Company**

OF

**IOWA**

**First Mortgage and Equipment**

**7 PER CENT.**

**GOLD BONDS.**

FOR SALE BY

**A. L. HATCH,** Fiscal Agent,

64-76

32 PINE STREET

**NEW YORK  
STATE RAILROAD BONDS.**

**A First-Class Home Investment.**

**FIRST MORTGAGE  
GOLD BONDS**

OF THE

**RODOUT & OSWEGO  
RAILROAD.**

**Principal & Interest Payable in  
Gold.**

**Seven per-Cent. Semi-Annually.**

This Road covers 100 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

56

**FOUR MONTHS FOR ONE DOLLAR.**

—

**"POOR MISS FINCH,"**

a new and beautifully illustrated serial story, by

**WILKIE COLLINS,**

author of "The Woman in White," "The Moon-

stone," etc., will be commenced next week in

**HARPER'S WEEKLY.**

New Subscribers will be supplied with the WEEKLY

from September 2, in which Number this story will

begin, to the close of the year, four months, for

ONE DOLLAR.

—

**HARPER'S WEEKLY,**

\$4 a year; 10 cents a number.

67-68 HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

**MARKET SAVINGS BANK,**

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.

**Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.**

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

**HENRY R. CONKLIN,** Secretary.

**WM. VAN NAME,** President.

60-86



**INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD,**

Late United States Consul to the Kingdom of Hanover. Author of "Transatlantic Souvenirs." Translator of Renan's "St. Paul," etc.

1. "COUNT BISMARCK, THE GREAT PRUSSIAN PREMIER." 2. "NATIONALITY AND NOBILITY." 3. "WOMEN'S FACES." 4. "BRAINS." (New Lecture.)

Although one of the youngest in the lecture-field, Mr. Lockwood's success has been most flattering, and press-notices, indorsing his rare abilities, have been received from all places where he has lectured. The following is a sample:

Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old), and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day. [Evening Mail.]...The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful recollection in the subject, and presents an array of curious facts. Though exhausting the subject, he did not exhaust the audience, which listened to it with pleasurable delight. [N. Y. Herald.]...The lecture delivered last evening, before the Young Men's Association, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck," was a very fine effort indeed. [Troy Express.]...A good audience was in attendance at Twiddle Hall, last evening, to listen to Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, on Count Bismarck. Mr. Lockwood is a distinct, clear and powerful speaker, and showed throughout a perfect familiarity with his subject. His presentation of the facts of the Count's life, and estimate of his character, were so well done as to make his lecture full of interest and profit. [Albany Journal.]...Brilliant and masterly. [S. Journal, White Plains.]...An excellent lecturer. An eloquent description of the life and character of the great Prussian Premier. [S. S. Republican.]...Mr. Lockwood's oratorical powers are well known. [Home Journal.]

Terms, \$100, with modifications.

**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, 40 cts. Postage 6 cts.  
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 24 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, 828 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.

**PROGRESS of DENTISTRY.**

DR. SIGESMOND, Surgeon Dentist to the Woman's Hospital, is the inventor of Artificial Teeth without plates or clasps. Can be inserted permanently without extracting any roots. Warranted twenty years. The most painful decayed teeth or stumps restored by filling or building up to natural shape and color without pain, at 63 East Ninth street, near Broadway, late of Union Square. 68-120.

**"THE BLEES."**

NOISELESS,

LINK-MOTION,

LOCK-STITCH

**Sewing Machine**

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

MANUFACTURED BY

**BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,**  
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.**

**PIANOS!****PIANOS!****CABINET ORGANS**

AND

**MELODEONS,**

AT

**MERRELL'S,**

[Late Cummings.]

**Piano Warerooms, No. 8 Union Square.**

A large stock, including Pianos of the best Make,

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.

**TRUE CIVILIZATION.**

PART I.

(Formerly entitled "Equitable Commerce.")  
Fourth Edition. 117 12mo pages. Price, post-paid, 50 cents.

Address, J. WARREN,  
Cliftondale, Mass.

**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.

C. J. OSBORN.

ADDISON CAMMACK.

OSBORN & CAMMACK,

**BANKERS,**

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SAM'L BARTON.

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Socks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.

**RAILROAD IRON,**

FOR SALE BY

S. W. HOPKINS & CO.,

71 BROADWAY.

HARVEY FISK.

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OFFICE OF

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AND

DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

No. 5 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bankers, Corporations and others, subject to check at sight, and allow interest on balances.

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

We make collections on all points in the United States and Canada, and issue Certificates of Deposit available in all parts of the 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 commission, for cash.

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

FISK & HATCH.

**ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.**

**\$330,000 IN GOLD**  
DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

Prizes cashed and information furnished. Orders solicited and promptly filled.

The highest rates paid for Doubloons and all kinds of Gold and Silver and Government Securities.

TAYLOR & CO., BANKERS,

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**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,

821 Broadway, New York.

SYMPHER & CO.,

(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

**Furniture, Bronzes,**

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 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 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 upward 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.

60-62

**WM. DIBBLEE,**

**LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,**

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

HARABA ZEIN,

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

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



DIRECT LEGISLATION BY THE PEOPLE  
VERSUS  
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

A pamphlet with the above title, translated from the original Swiss by Eugene Oswald, was sent to me in January, 1870, with a written request to procure its publication in the journals of the United States. It was mislaid, lost or stolen, and has only recently turned up under circumstances which cannot be explained, because they are inexplicable. It affords me great pleasure, however, now to be able to present it to the readers of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN. It will be seen that European Internationalists clearly apprehended the great truth that social evils have political causes which can only be removed by such a revision, modification or transformation of forms of government that LA COMMUNE, based on THE REFERENDUM, may become a living verity.

WILLIAM WEST.

The experience of the last twenty years has entirely cured the working classes of Europe of the idea that Imperial Democracy and Imperial Socialism, that is, the dictatorship of a single person, are capable or even willing to do anything for the social education of the working masses. There have been merely apparent reforms, dust thrown in the eyes of the people, while in reality the workman is more than ever a victim of taxation and food for powder. Since the *coup d'état* of Bonaparte, the belief has, with great astuteness, been spread among the working classes that political or state reforms had nothing to do with social reforms, and that therefore the working man should not occupy his attention with politics, but solely with the improvement of his social position. The ruling classes know only too well by experience what a great advantage they derive from political forms favorable to themselves, and that so long as the working population allows itself to be led without volition in political matters, and has no direct influence upon legislation, it will not devise a form of government favorable to the interests of labor. Socialism, even of the most radical kind, is a mere bugbear, without any danger, because the political fulcrum is wanting to its social lever, wherewith it may lift from off its hinges the old form of society, with its poverty of the masses and its individual wealth. Social reform is condemned to remain in a state of theory until the right means are found to put it into practice, and these means can be no other than, above all, to bring about a governmental reform of such a nature that the laws shall henceforth be made by the voice of all the citizens, and no longer according to the wishes of the privileged few.

French workmen are thoroughly wearied of the so-called Imperial Democracy of Napoleon; they wish for a social democratic republic. The workmen of Northern Germany are so satiated with the imperialism, the cavalier dictatorship of Von Schweitzer, that they turn aside with disgust from this misleader of the people, and go over with bag and baggage to the camp of the International Working Men's Association, where waves the banner of the right of self-government, of social democracy, of a Confederate Republic of Europe, and round which the workmen of Southern Germany, of Austria, of Italy, and of Spain begin likewise to rally in ever-increasing numbers.

But how is this socially democratic State to be organized? This is the all-important question for the workman. The International Working Men's Union should be perfectly clear and united upon the point as to which kind of republic it prefers, so that in the event of the breaking out of a revolution the working-classes may everywhere know what to do.

The political movement in Switzerland during the last two years, chiefly in the canton of Zurich, is perhaps only a symptom, a prelude to the great and deeply penetrating movement which is about to agitate European politics. The bourgeois republic, or representative democracy, is on the point of dying out in Switzerland, for it has been found insufficient to combat the injurious influences of the Jesuitism, as it were, of the great capital. It has neither the strength nor the will to solve the social question, and pure democracy now steps forward, by which the people take a direct part in the legislation, and can therefore transform it in accordance with their social requirements.

The idea of direct legislation through the people must be largely spread among the working multitudes of Europe, in order that at the forthcoming crisis of monarchy it shall pass into flesh and blood, and shall create on a large scale, throughout the whole of Europe, political institutions of the same kind as those which already exist in Switzerland.

Representative government is everywhere the same. The workmen of Paris remember only too well how in the days of June, 1848, those middle-class representatives endeavored to solve the social problem with grapeshot; and, quite recently, the miners in Belgium have found out that their constitutionalists, too, know of no other means than powder and shot. Nay, even in the representative democracy of Zurich, there existed for more than twenty years severe laws against the coalition of workmen, and against the social and democratic press. So long as the workmen allow the laws of the State to be manufactured and forced upon them by those who live by using up the workmen, so long will the laws be unfavorable to the toiling masses, and favorable to the masters only. When did a monarch ever make laws in the interest of his people, and against the interest of his dynasty? First comes himself, his interest, his dynasty, and the welfare of the tools who support him in working the commonwealth for his own benefit; and it is only at last, when all these worthies have had their fill, that the much-squeezed people are thought of at all, and then too often stones are offered to them instead of bread. There are, indeed, so-called Christian monarchs, who, like good-natured riders, stroke or pat the neck of the creature panting under their weight; but that the heavily-burdened animals, ridden to soreness, would be helped if the master and all his train would dismount, is a thing which never occurs to the one above until the one below throws him.

In the same manner an aristocracy can make excellent laws for themselves, but not for the people. Has the aristocracy of England, perhaps the clearest body of the kind in existence, ever done anything in the interest of the working man? No! If they have retained their position until now, it is only because they have not shown over-much obstinacy in strenuously opposing reforms that had become absolutely necessary. But, again, the legislators of the representative state, although elected by the people, are not capa-

ble of making good laws for the working classes, but yet are able to make excellent laws for their own class, the middle class. And why? Because, as experience teaches us, the majority of every representative body consists of capitalists and their creatures, and members of the middle classes, hostile to social progress. And even as the slaveholder is, by his very nature, incapable of making laws in the interest of his slaves, so the representative, being a capitalist, is incapable of ever framing laws in the interest of the workman. Representative democracy, though it be, comparatively speaking, a far better form of government than a monarchy or an aristocracy, is therefore not that political form within which the world of workers can attain its proper place and social questions can be solved. It might be more so, if workingmen, and especially the peasantry, were always to send to the national council the most intelligent of their own class only; but, unfortunately, the experience of every country shows that this is done only in exceptional cases. As a rule, the people elect only members of the so-called higher orders, because the pernicious prejudice, an outcome of monarchical periods, leads men to believe that Intellect alone can produce good laws, and consequently highly educated people are all that is wanted, while, in reality, Interest is the determinative cause in matters of legislation. Add to this that the salary of a member of a legislative body, and the traveling expenses paid to him, are systematically fixed so low that for a member of the working classes it is even economically impossible to fulfill the functions of a representative.

The experience of democracy further teaches us that a people can be far more easily misled when there is a question of persons (such as elections for national or municipal councils) than where there is a question of things (for instance, voting on laws); and this for the simple reason that it is immeasurably more difficult to probe the heart and character of a person than to go to the bottom of a thing, that is, the meaning and intention of a law; because it is far more easy to judge whether a certain law is made in the interest of the working classes, than whether a councillor will always speak and vote in the interest of the people.

Thus the touchstone by which true gold is to be distinguished from false is this. In a true, pure democracy, or popular republic, the people do not deal with persons only (elections of councillors) but also, and indeed above all, with things (laws). In false representative democracy or a middle-class republic, the people are only allowed to occupy themselves with persons (election of councillors) who proceed to make laws, and do so according to their own pleasure, profit and prejudices. What the middle-class democrats want is that they alone are to govern the people, for the benefit of the few. What the social democrats want is that the people should govern themselves, for the advantage of all, by taking legislation into their own hands and attending to it themselves, instead of allowing others to attend to it for them—that is, they want self-help to the fullest extent, and therefore in the domain of politics as well as elsewhere.

The history of the world abundantly proves that the law is only a written expression of the interest of the lawgiver. To express the matter somewhat prosaically, one may say that the spirit of the law lies in the stomach of the lawgiver; the quintessence of laws is determined by the legislator's money-bag. This is all the more true when not only an individual, but a whole class is in question; not the dominion of one man, but the dominion of a class. Never yet has the misusing class emancipated the misused one, or spontaneously issued laws favorable to the latter. Only when the misused class have become masters in the state, and have taken legislation into their own hands have the laws been made in their interest, that is, in the general interest, and then only could that class develop itself according to its social needs. But what applies to the third estate, the bourgeoisie, or middle class, is only the more sure, when there is a question of the working class, of the whole people. Like as the chemical germ, the inner impelling power of a plant requires, in order to prosper, certain physical peculiarities, that is, external circumstances, such as a favorable soil and climate, just so do the inner—and, so to speak, chemical—impulses of society, or social ideas, require, in order to unfold according to their nature, and to germinate in practical life, a peculiar physical form of political life, that is, favorable political circumstances. And these are the social and democratic laws which never could have been made by princes or clergy (who already possess Heaven here below) but can be made only by the working classes, who longingly wish for such a social transformation, an existence, worthy of man, in this world. No savior will ever redeem the people; they must redeem themselves. Thence proceeds the universal stirring of the nations of Europe toward emancipation. As a plant confined in a dark vault grows toward an air-hole, to get within reach of sunlight, so the working world of Europe struggles to escape from the close, dreary, and dull air of monarchy to the brightness of democracy. When once in a state of freedom, the people will be sure to grope its way instinctively into social redemption, feeling as it does every day its sufferings, which, however, are giving it the necessary impulse to make itself acquainted with the cause of the evil, and its remedy.

In a real democracy—wherein direct legislation gives into its hands the instrument of perpetual motion, and the path for constant peaceful revolution lies open before it—the people will create new forms and laws, not according to preconceived social theories, but according to real wants, as they make themselves practically felt, and it will make its will prevail, as in Switzerland, by a stroke of the pen, and no longer by firearms and bloody revolutions, as in despotic states.

The fear which has been expressed lest the ideal conquests of mankind should, in the social-democratic State, be less attended to and less promoted than in monarchical or representative forms of the commonwealth, is an idle one; for history proves that the freer a nation is the more willing it is to bring sacrifices to the cause of human culture, because it perceives that it is not the spirit-crushing, sterile faith, but only the spirit-raising, fertile science that can redeem the world. Nay, direct legislation by the people is of all political forms the one which is most favorable to the advance-

ment of the education of the people, for every one has an interest in his fellow man, who has co-operated in the making of the laws, giving his vote with conscious knowledge; and above all the so-called well-educated folks—to whom direct legislation by the people appears in the fancied shape of a ruin of all culture, of a modern irruption of barbarians—will have the greatest interest in the matter, and will readily lend a hand to giving the masses their schooling gratuitously, and, moreover, of as good a kind as possible, and so making the higher institutions of learning accessible to every one that is capable. Besides, direct legislation is in itself a mighty engine of culture, seeing that the people are impelled, by their most immediate interests, to get information, lest they be, after all, bamboozled and misused by the men of so-called higher culture—which really is mis-culture—and their lawyer-like subtleties. Strangely enough these very men—the so-called well educated, who think direct legislation incapable of fostering the ideal wealth of mankind, and who, therefore, point at it as a retrogression—these very men, we say, cannot sufficiently admire the ancient Greeks as the principal supporters of civilization in antiquity, and seem not to recollect that those who had made the greatest strides among the Greeks were the Athenians, who had direct legislation through the people, that is, through the free citizens, and that it was just this political form which contributed most essentially to the development of the Attic spirit; for with the suppression of this political form, with the dominion of strangers, the great minds disappeared. The ancient Germans, too, had direct legislation by the people in an organization similar to that which has been preserved through the course of many centuries in the "Landsgemeinden" of the Forest cantons. The Germans did homage to the political principle that every man is to be a legislator, a military defender of the country, and a judge.

Is it not strange that the Romans, so well versed in legislation, in war, and in the administration of justice, could put all the nations of the old world under the yoke except just this nation of Germans, though politically so disunited? And why? For this reason—that a popular legislation, a popular army, and a popular administration of justice had become flesh and blood in them, and had produced men, against whose unalloyed strength the omnipotence of Rome was shattered. Unfortunately in the course of time those Germans became silly enough to prefer the Roman Trinity (God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) to the German Trinity (legislator, soldier, and judge in the one person); and they will be punished with scorpions by priests and Caesars until they re-establish the ancient Germanic institutions; legislation by the people, the army of the people, and the administration of justice by the people. The ancient democracy which, by monarchical senselessness and ecclesiastical belief, has been torn away from the people, must, by sense and science, be reconquered and further developed in the spirit of our age. Every one must again become a legislator, soldier and judge. He must periodically and in his own person exercise the rights and practice the duties appertaining to those dignities. Here no division of labor, no substitution of another person, is possible, if we would not fall into servitude. If the people renounces the right to decide in the last resort on laws, if it hands over this duty to one man or a few men, then these will soon arrogate to themselves the privilege of making the laws only for themselves and against the general good. If the people abandons the defense of its rights and its country to a number of individuals, specially trained and set apart for this purpose, it creates a standing army—the most terrible tool in the hands of the governors, which is used against its right and its freedom whenever the civilian sheep become restive under the monarchical shears. If the people leaves the right and the duty to pronounce guilty or not guilty to permanent officials in the place of the judge, it runs the risk of a bureaucracy and lawyerdom springing up and growing, which judges us according to Heaven knows what kind of outlandish—say Roman—law, but surely not according to that law which has its basis in the convictions of the people as to what is right.

Little Switzerland, penned in between mighty monarchies whose population is a hundred times larger, has, notwithstanding all pernicious monarchical influences, notwithstanding the miasma of the theory of right divine, still preserved to herself during centuries the old Teutonic health, the ever true principles of those Germans before whom Rome, the enslaver of nations, trembled; at least she has preserved them in part, and especially with respect to the arming of the people. Because the Swiss, a recognized defender of his country, always had arms in his home—that is, had the armed right of voting; because the Swiss never would hear of a standing army, therefore has his republic been preserved; therefore could the popular spirit, whenever it was aroused, easily make a path for itself between intervening obstacles.

At present the plan of direct legislation by the people makes way for itself with all that weight which a modern idea can receive by the historical recollection of things as they were in Germanic antiquity and in the heroic ages of the old Confederacy, when the people were asked, and their sanction or rejection required, even in the larger cantons, with respect to such important questions as the making of peace and war, the establishment of the religious reformation, the imposition of taxes and the like. Already this direct legislation has legal existence in the larger cantons of the German portion of Switzerland, in Berne, Thurgovia, the Grisons, but above all in Zurich, in which latter canton it is laid down in the constitution in the most complete and purest form. Already the movement has begun, which strives to extend even to federal legislation this direct legislation by the people, and to do this in such a form as will admit of its exercise by the people of even the largest States.

Already the French Constitution of 1793, which bears in its preamble the ever-memorable Declaration of the Rights of Man, laid down the principle of direct legislation by the people, though in a form less developed than the one in which we have it before us nowadays. It does so in the form of the so-called veto, a certain number of voters having to raise an objection, previous to a general vote being taken with respect to a proposed law. Article 53 of the French Constitution of 1793 says:

"The legislative body proposes laws" (*proposé des lois*).

ART. 58. The bill is published and sent to all the municipalities (*communes*) of the republic under the title of proposed law (*loi proposée*).

ART. 59. If, forty days having elapsed from sending out the bill, no objections have been offered in the half of the departments plus one, by one-tenth of the primary assemblies regularly convoked, the bill has been accepted, and becomes law.

ART. 60. If such objections have been raised, the legislative body has to convocate the primary assemblies (for the purpose of voting on the acceptance or rejection of the law). Unfortunately, this Constitution could never be practically

\*NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.—Common fairness seems to require some modification of, or exception to, the negative rule which the form of the question implies. For instance, every workman living in or near London enjoys the privilege of proceeding in the morning and evening by rail to and from his work at a greatly reduced rate. The legal enactment which forces the railway companies to make this reduction was originated in the House of Lords. Earl Derby was the mover, and after speeches by Lord Stanley of Alderley, Ellenborough, Grey and Shaftesbury, the clause was agreed to by the Upper House on April 22, 1864. —*Vide Hansard*, Vol. 154, p. 1488. The House of Commons, with about a hundred railway directors among its members, had to adopt it. Nor should individual exertions of many members of the aristocracy be forgotten, such as Lord Ashley, now Shaftesbury's successful efforts in the carrying of the ten hours' bill. One need not share in the party views of the actors to recognize such acts.



worked, the weight of the difficulties with which the young republic had to struggle, both at home and abroad, not permitting a peaceful development. But, as in general in the life of nations a good idea never gets lost, and no step towards improvement is made quite in vain, these ideas of 1793 slumbered on in the depths of the heart of the French people. And when the second republic arose out of the revolution of February, 1848, and the social-democrat Rittinghausen, of Cologne, in the years 1850 and 1851, scattered among the people the idea of direct legislation by the people, an idea whose further development and realization he has made the aim of his life, these thoughts at once kindled, and a mighty movement was produced in men's minds against the representative state—a movement which could not have failed to bear good fruit had not the beautiful blossom been nipped in the bud by the blasting *coup d'état* of Bonaparte, the so-called savior of society. For it is the fate of Caesarism that the grass withers wherever its foot falls. Out of that desert of reaction the seed was wafted to the only remaining republican oasis, the soil of Switzerland, where in the healthy life of the people it has gradually struck deep roots. Now that Caesarism is decaying, and a new breath of spring is pervading the nations, the seed that has been sown is shooting up everywhere from the soil, fresh and healthy, like a real crop of thought, and the idea of Direct Legislation by the People, germinating so long, takes practical shape in the form of a political institution.

Of course direct legislation cannot be exercised in larger commonwealths in the same mode in which it was once practiced in the public square at Athens, in the oak forests of ancient Germany, and is still carried out in these cantons of Switzerland which possess the "landsgemeinde." The essence, that is, the participation in the making of the laws, must continue, only the form in which the participation takes place must disappear, and give way to quite a different one, because the circumstances have become different, have become enlarged, and will no longer allow the whole people to assemble in one spot for the purpose of consultation. Our century, however, with its magnificent inventions, has, among other things, prepared and rendered possible democracy on a large scale, by nearly annihilating distance, so that an extensive body of people are so connected by steam and telegraph as to allow the existence and movement of any single limb to be at once felt everywhere, and to be received into the consciousness of all the members. Therefore the old form, though venerable on account of its antiquity, must be given up.

The show of hands of the "landsgemeinde," that is, open voting, must now, when every one can write, be replaced by secret voting (the ballot) in the municipalities, by means of electoral urns, which, on the day appointed for voting, stand open for every citizen to throw in his voting paper at such time as may be convenient to him. By this plan the influence of capital, with its improper suggestions by employers, whereby open voting is but too frequently impaired, is completely put an end to. The workman, under a system of secret voting, will be able to give a much freer expression to his wishes than if he is subject to intimidation, which is too frequently the case with a system of open voting, where he has often to pay by social disadvantages (loss of work, etc.) for the free utterance of his political convictions.

The consultation in the "landsgemeinde" will now, when every one can read, be replaced by printed explanations, to be given with the bills, by discussion in the newspapers, and by free meetings whenever the importance of the proposed laws call for such deliberation.

The faculty of bringing a motion before the "landsgemeinde" in the old cantons, will, in more extensive commonwealths, be provided for by a differently organized popular initiative (right of the people to make proposals). It is proposed, with this aim, that any fraction of the people, say one-tenth or one-twentieth, as the Constitution may determine, should be able, by a committee to be elected for the purpose, to formulate its desire in the shape of a bill, and ultimately to bring it before the whole people for decision by popular vote.

Direct legislation by the people consists then in two essential elements: the one of impulse and initiative, the other of determination and decision. Whence we obtain:

1. The Right of the people to propose laws; also to be called Popular Initiative.

2. The popular vote on the laws, also called Referendum. Between these two elements the functions of a regular organic body are exercised by the Council, which is, indeed, no longer to be a legislative body, but merely a law-proposing one, that is, simply, a giver of counsel, which counsel the people may adopt or not.

The Council is thus exposed to a cross fire which is calculated to keep it from going to sleep. If the Council propose bad laws (if they are guilty of sins of commission) these laws will be rejected by the popular vote, or Referendum. If the Council do not wish to propose good laws (if they are guilty of sins of omission) the Popular Initiative steps in, making its own proposals.

Taking, as an instance, the canton of Zurich, the Popular Initiative can manifest itself in two ways:

1. If the thirty-ninth part of the people—in Zurich 5,000 initiators out of 65,000 possessors of votes—make a proposal, it must be submitted to the vote of the whole people.

If a single individual makes a proposal which is approved of by one-third of the Council, such proposal must likewise be voted upon by the people.

Thus there are, in the canton of Zurich, three parties equally entitled to bring proposals before the people for its vote, viz.:

1. Five thousand initiators.  
2. Any individual gaining the assent of the Council of the canton.  
3. The cantonal Council itself (consisting of about 220 members).

Only the Council is the ordinary organ; the two others are extraordinary organs, whose activity begins only when the ordinary one proves inert.

In order to render this matter still more plain, we here insert those articles of the Constitution of Zurich which deal with the Popular Initiative and the Referendum. The Constitution begins with these words:

"The people of the canton of Zurich give themselves, in virtue of their sovereign right to determine their own destinies, the following constitution;" and in Chapter iii., *Legislation and Representation of the People*, we read as follows:

#### "ART. 28.

"The people, with the co-operation of the Cantonal Council, exercise the powers of legislation.

"Right of the people to make proposals.

#### "ART. 29.

"The right of making proposals which those entitled to vote possess (Initiative) comprises the demand of the passing, repeal, or alteration of a law, or of any such resolution as is not by the terms of the Constitution, expressly reserved to the competency of the Cantonal Council. Demands of this kind may be made either in the form of simply calling attention to the matter in question, or by offering the details of a bill; and in either case motives are to be adduced for the alteration proposed.

"If a single individual or a constituted authority makes such a demand, and it is supported by one-third of the members of the Cantonal Council, the question must be laid before the people for decision. The right of personally advocating in the Cantonal Council the alteration proposed is granted to the individual having made the demand, or to the deputy of the constituted authority moving in the matter, provided that twenty-five members of the Cantonal Council support the request of this personal advocacy of the motion.

"If five thousand persons, having the right to vote, make a demand of the kind aforesaid; or if a number of municipal meetings, in which at least five thousand persons entitled to vote have pronounced in favor of such a demand, the decision of the people is to be equally taken, unless the Cantonal Council have previously responded to the demand. Any demand of this kind having been handed in early enough, the matter is to be placed before the people for their decision, at the latest, at the second subsequent regular taking of votes.

"The demand or bill has in every case to be submitted, before the vote, to the Cantonal Council, for them to give an opinion in the form of a resolution.

"In any case in which a bill proceeding from popular initiative is submitted to the vote, the Cantonal Council, besides giving its opinion, may place before the people a modified bill for decision between the two.

#### "B.—Popular Vote.

#### "ART. 30.

"Twice every year, in spring and in autumn, the vote of the people takes place on the legislative acts of the Cantonal Council (Referendum). In urgent cases the Council can order an extraordinary taking of votes.

"There are to be submitted to the popular vote:

"1. All alterations of the constitution, laws, and concordats.

"2. Those resolutions of the Cantonal Council which that Council is not competent to pass definitely (*vide* Art. 31).

"3. Any resolutions which the Council may wish to put to the popular vote.

"The Cantonal Council is entitled on submitting a law or resolution, to order—beside the vote on the totality of the proposal—exceptionally a vote on single points of it.

"The vote takes place by means of the ballot boxes in the municipalities. Participation in it is a citizen's duty, binding on all.

"The vote can only be by affirmation or negation. The absolute majority of affirming or negating votes is decisive.

"The Cantonal Council is not entitled to give provisional validity to any laws or resolutions requiring the popular vote, previous to such vote being taken.

"All proposals to be submitted to the popular vote are to be published and handed to the voters at least thirty days before the taking of the vote.

#### "C.—Cantonal Council.

#### "ART. 31.

"The competency of the Cantonal Council extends to:—

"1. The discussion and resolution of all questions which are to be submitted to the popular vote.

"2. \* \* \* \* \*

"3. \* \* \* \* \*

"4. The control of the entire administration of the country and of the action of the courts of law.

"5. The final decision on new expenses, occurring but once and for a definite purpose, such expenses not to go beyond 250,000 francs; as well as on annually recurring expenses, less than the amount of 20,000 francs.

"6. The fixing of the annual estimates of ways and means, and of expenses, in accordance with existing laws and resolutions. \* \* \*

"7. The credit of public accounts. \* \* \*

We should not like to affirm that the above articles have in every case hit the mark exactly, and that they could be considered as an infallible scheme, so to speak. Variety of individual views will here and there find shortcomings. Yet these articles, as a first serious attempt at realizing the idea, deserve in so far every attention, as they offer a new form of commonwealth—a form proceeding from the discussions and votes of an entire people, a form wherein the community may grow and unfold itself, without let or hindrance, according to its progressive wants.

We are firmly convinced that direct legislation by the people, through the institution of the popular initiative and the popular vote on laws, can and must be introduced into the largest States; and that without these political institutions the social questions cannot be solved.

The section of Zurich therefore think themselves not only justified in bringing the idea of direct legislation through the people before the forum of the Industrial Working Men's Association, but they consider themselves even under an obligation to do so, convinced as they are that this idea—like the ever memorable Declaration of the Rights of Men—will make its way round the orb of the earth, as being the most effective means of realizing those social rights.

The section therefore move the following resolution:

"The Congress of the International Workmen's League at Basle, considering that the law is the written expression of the interest of the legislator; that, in legislating, the interest of the community is naturally to be decisive; that experience shows representative bodies to represent capital rather than labor, and laws, therefore, to be made as a rule at the expense of the working multitudes and in favor of capital; that only by direct participation in legislation that politico-social consciousness which is the first condition for solving the social questions can efficiently penetrate the people; resolves:

"That it be the chief aim of the working classes to strive

toward the realization of the social and democratic republic, in which legislation is exercised directly through the people."

Everything for the people, and everything through the people!

By order of the section of Zurich,

The Reporter,

KARL BURKLI.

Zurich, August, 1869.

### KARL MARX, FOUNDER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

The *Leipzig Grenzboten*, a journal hostile to the policy of the International League, gives the following account of the career of the founder of that association:

Before 1848 Communism was little more than the dream of a sect. After the revolutionary agitation of that year had somewhat subsided, a fusion was accomplished at London between two distinct elements, one of which was the hatred of certain eccentric individuals for the existing state of things, and the other the instinctive and chimerical longing of the working classes to put themselves in the place of those who govern and enjoy, in order to enjoy and rule in their turn. Charles Marx, a native of Rhenish Prussia, and a Jew by birth, began the realization of this Utopian vision by placing himself at the head of a vast conspiracy, designed to create practical Communism. From that moment this sect became the most powerful of all the secret societies. London had harbored for several years previously a crowd of proscribed individuals who fretted with impotent rage and constantly brooded over the causes of their exile. Charles Marx succeeded in turning these personal grievances to account in the interest of his association. Each group of exiles had its own favorite theory, and most of these theories bore a separate character, but they were all tinged with the errors, hallucinations and national tendencies of the individuals who entertained them. It was still necessary to find a universal lever which might be everywhere applied and utilized with facility. This lever Marx found in the chronic discontent of the working classes.

He founded a secret association, independent of any consideration of nationality or government, comprehending that it would be a more arduous task to carry out a particular than a universal conspiracy, since the capabilities of the former would be necessarily much more restricted than those of the latter. He consequently endeavored to agglomerate, as far as practicable, the elements of discontent scattered through the civilized world. He succeeded in gaining for his cause the most resolute and vehement, the instrument's best adapted for his purpose, and of them he composed his staff. The next step was to form an army out of the malcontent workmen of all countries. To attain this end he organized a system of emissaries, traveling agents, and open or private agitators. A central management was established, which, by means of an ingenious system of ramifications, regularly corresponded with all the members of the body. Thus arose the International League. Its object is to abolish production by the agency of capital—that is, the factors of production are to be divested of the character of individual property; the producing elements—things, persons and talents—shall belong to every one alike. It will appertain to the official representatives of the Commune to direct the employment of the common powers and resources, and to distribute the product among all. But how is the Commune to be constituted? Apparently by means of small communities of workmen, who, by uniting, will, in their turn, form a larger one, and eventually the great universal community itself. Each of these minor communities is governed by a sort of dictator, and the whole association is subjected to the control of a supreme head, who may be called the dictator-general. All these chiefs are chosen by means of election.

It is evident that, in order to arrive at the abolition of production by capital, the State, as it at present exists, must perish, with all the principles on which it is founded. Charles Marx is at once a deep thinker, and to a certain extent a practical man. He considered there was only one possibility of carrying out his project, and that would be furnished by a great war. Under cover of the confusion and disorganization which, he assumed, must thus arise, and aided by the stagnation of business—a prolific source of discontent—he calculated on obtaining possession, by means of his army, of one or several of the great European States. When once a revolution of the proletariat had triumphed on the Continent, the workmen of England were to revolutionize their own country. It is remarkable that Marx, in a book on capital, which he published a few years ago, but had composed a good while before, even then anticipated the probable triumph of a revolt by workmen. In this book he dwells more particularly on the spirit diffused among the English working classes by the old American war, and he draws the following parallel: "Just as the War of Independence waged by the American colonies produced in the last century the French Revolution, in a similar way the overthrow of the slaveholders will be next followed in Europe by that of the possessors of capital."

It cannot be doubted that in 1866 Marx would have taken advantage of the Austro-Prussian war to organize a *proletariat* insurrection, had the campaign not terminated so rapidly as it did. It is certain that he had foreseen the Franco-German war, and also that he had intended to profit by it on a large scale. Once again, however, his plans were frustrated by the extreme rapidity of the German victories. The result of the great events of 1870 was to enhance the sentiment of nationality in Germany, and to inflame the national pride of the French; hence the moment was not propitious for socialistic enterprise, and the League was unable to effect anything of importance till it was too late—till the chosen champions of Socialism had been armed for the defense of the capital. They hoped to secure the victory of the League in France and maintain peace as long as possible with Germany, in the expectation of some day destroying German nationality and the German government by the internal disorders they had prepared and fomented, as a machine may be exploded by an overcharge of steam. Such were probably the designs of the invisible chiefs of the League, and this programme has been, to some extent, faithfully executed by their uninitiated followers. When it was evident that the Versailles government could not be overthrown by armed force, the League set Paris in flames to let its victorious adversaries understand with what an enemy they had to do—an enemy which, though beaten and massacred, always and everywhere arises revived from its ashes.



THAT NOTORIOUS PERKINS CLAIM.

A SCANDALOUS INTRIGUE TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT FROM THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT—WHAT THE NEW YORK SUN SAYS.

The claim of a defunct Yankee skipper against Russia, for an alleged violation of a so-called contract for articles contraband of war during the Crimean invasion, has been urged in season and out of season, to an amount in dollars and cents so astonishingly cool and so much more than the "Ancient Mariner" in his lifetime probably ever saw, heard or dreamt of, that it is a wonder that he does not get out of his grave to volunteer some "manufactured evidence" to help the "claim" along.

Parties of presumed respectability appear to have been used, or misused, as "stalking horses" in the prosecution of the affair by the attorneys for the "claim," and the Russian Minister, Mr. de Catacazy, because of an honest and manly defense of the rights of his own government, has been basely assailed in every possible way, and the sanctity of his domestic life has been invaded by cowardly backbiters and men whose notorious mendacity and general infamous character is such that it would be impossible for the Russian Minister or any other gentleman to take the slightest notice of them with any regard for his own dignity and self-respect.

As to the very anomalous Perkins claim itself, the inference is rather pointed when Mr. de Catacazy quietly and justly observes that the righteousness of a claim may be sometimes judged of by the methods and the characters of its supporters, who in this particular case, it seems, have even endeavored to use against Mr. de Catacazy, at the State Department, a document they subsequently admit to be a forgery!!

Is it not time that the reputation of our own government should be vindicated by cutting entirely adrift from those rascally claim agents in Washington, totally ignored by any decent class of society, but who call themselves lawyers, and who are simply the dissipated, disreputable and dishonest advocates of dishonest claims, often trumped up and owned entirely by themselves, as a means of temporary notoriety to borrow money on, or pressed to a settlement by them for a "contingent" fee of nearly the whole sum involved?

We have suppressed some parts of the article in the Sun which are not material, but we may hereafter give a history of everything connected with this "Russian claim," showing items in the biography of some of its principal promoters, embracing unpleasant little interludes of various swindling adventures—life as a whipper-in of low gambling hells in Washington—temporary residences in Ludlow street and other jails—steals of Texas and other land titles—unpaid hotel bills—fraudulent issues of railroad securities—evidence produced in suits on "supplementary proceedings" in this city, and so on. The record will be entertaining, will embrace phases not usually appearing in the every-day existence of ordinary "blacklegs." Meantime, this Sun article is worth perusal. We commend its consideration particularly to our Washington readers, who, for years past, have submitted to so much "bullying" and have heard so much "blather" about the remarkable sums of money which one of their citizens, of highly enviable repute, is to have when this claim is collected, and some of whom, it is said, have already lost so much in fortune and reputation by unsuspecting confidence in a certain would-be beneficiary under this Perkins pretension on the Russian Treasury!

[From the New York Sun.]

ATTEMPT TO COIN MONEY BY ATTACKING CATACAZY—PERKINS'S CLAIM AGAINST RUSSIA—BANCROFT DAVIS, THE BRIBE-TAKER, AFTER A SHARE—THE DIRTIEST DIPLOMACY ON RECORD—EFFORT TO OUST THE RUSSIAN MINISTER.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12, 1871.

We have had going on here for some time a charmingly illustrative instance of dishonest greed, mean deceit, and dirty diplomacy, in which Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, figures as the head centre in a way so common that it has ceased to create surprise. If Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, has a friend in Washington I do not know of him. His most familiar associates, who frequent his house and drink his wines, strut their shoulders or nod their heads significantly at the mention of his ill-flavored name.

It seems that there has been long pending and unsatisfied claim of one Perkins, an American citizen, against the Russian government. This claim the present Minister, Catacazy, representing his government, has contested with great vigor. It is asserted and generally believed that Perkins's attorney's here drove a bargain with Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, to give him a large slice of the Perkins claim if he (the Bribe-Taker) would procure a legal recognition of it from the Russian government.

Here is the motive for the Assistant Secretary's action, and this is

THE WAY HE WENT ABOUT IT.

Approaching Mr. Bodisco, son of the former minister, and connected with the legation, he proposed to bring the weight of our government to bear upon that of Russia, and get Catacazy displaced by Bodisco, if he (Bodisco) would allow the claim of Perkins. To this the ambitious diplomatic neophyte consented, and Davis set about as dirty an intrigue as ever disgraced our national capital. He got the Administration to instruct our Minister at St. Petersburg to press the recall of M. Catacazy, upon the ground that the Russian diplomatic agent here had made himself offensive by his intermeddling with our affairs, and because Madame Catacazy's career had been of such a character that the families of our officials were embarrassed by her presence.

It seemed rather late for the Administration to set up this last reason for a recall. Mme. Catacazy had been received in an official way by the very ladies who are said to be shocked and embarrassed, and the moment had been per-

mitted to pass when such objection to her presence could have been urged with propriety, or, to say the least of it, in good taste.

IT SEEMS THAT MADAME CATACAZY

has had two husbands. Her union with the party of the first part, although productive of three children, was not happy. It is said that the first husband treated her in a very cruel manner, exercising the rights of a husband at common law, and chastising her with a riding-whip at intervals unpleasantly near. Be this as it may, she was so unhappy that a divorce was procured and she married Count Catacazy, then attached to the Legation of Russia, and led a very quiet and retired life at Bladensburg, near Washington. All this occurred some twenty years ago. Later on, when M. Catacazy was made Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of all the Russias, and accredited by the United States, he boldly brought and introduced his wife to the diplomatic and other official circles here. As the position has a certain well-defined social status, the representatives of our government might at the time have entered a protest with some hope of success. But the divorce transaction occurred, as I have said, some twenty years ago. Since the unhappy event Madame Catacazy had led a blameless life. The diplomatic corps here opened their drawing-rooms, and, being a beautiful, accomplished woman, she won for herself a certain social triumph. She is possessed of rare natural advantages. Rather above the medium height, her figure is full, graceful and imposing. Her face is not only well defined and marked with certain evidences of will, or rather force of character, but it strikes one at first as rather handsome. The eyes are full, lustrous and of a dark blue; her nose, a little too prominent, is a delicate aquiline; the mouth well formed, while the chin narrowly misses the prominence necessary to the support of so decided a face. To this she adds the taste of a Parisian and the instincts of an artist. She gets herself up wondrously well. Her dresses seem to be a part of herself. Society pronounced her beautiful, and Senator Sumner, in a fit of eloquent enthusiasm, called her "that glorious woman."

Any one with a particle of humanity in his heart would be touched with pity for this lady. Childless, she is not happy, yet struggles on, striving to be good, for the respect that comes in silence.

And I fear Mr. Catacazy is not what he ought to be. Any one passing his elegant house on I street early in the morning during the season will find the pavement literally covered with playing-cards cast from the windows during the night by these diplomatic gamblers—and Russia for nearly three-fourths of a century has been famous for diplomatic agents who give their days to dinners and their nights to cards.

Upon all this Bancroft Davis, the Bribe-Taker, seized, and Curtin, at St. Petersburg, pressed it in an informal manner upon the Imperial Government. The fact came to the ears of Mr. Catacazy, and he went to work. He is an active, experienced diplomat, and proved too much for our sickly Mazarin, Davis, the Bribe-Taker. The war grew hot and furious. The press was called in to the aid of the conspirators. All sorts of lies were put in circulation, and for a while it looked as if Catacazy were to be recalled and disgraced. Davis, the Bribe-Taker, at first cared nothing about the disgrace. He only wished to get the Minister out of the way; but the wily diplomat had such a way of sneering at our American poor devil that it nearly drove him mad, and so excited, he made it a point to get Catacazy recalled before the Grand Duke Alexis should arrive. To this end he moved all his machinery; and to no purpose. The Russian Government not only refused to recall the old gentleman, but in a marked manner expressed its confidence in him. He remains full Minister. One of the conspirators (Mr. Bodisco) has been rebuked by a transfer to the consular service, and the Bribe-Taker's slice of the Perkins claim gets small by degrees and beautifully less. And now comes the Grand Duke Alexis, and through him Madame Catacazy's triumph. He will occupy their house. Then he will receive and entertain such guests as Madame Catacazy may designate. They who have turned up their noses at the fair divo, cécé, and lost no opportunity to insult her, will now be ready to break their worthless necks in a struggle for her smiling recognition. The pavement will be covered with visiting instead of playing cards, and the fashionable world about Washington will be as meek and truckling as it was lately cruel and arrogant.

THE ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY ALL RIGHT—CARD FROM TAYLOR & CO.

NEW YORK, June 16th, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

Having seen an inquiry in your valuable paper as to the legitimacy of the drawings of the Royal Havana Lottery, and knowing that you are always ready and willing to furnish any information, on any subject that is made a matter of inquiry through your valuable paper, we put this in answer to your correspondent of the 14th instant as to the genuineness of the Royal Havana Lottery. We will state, for the benefit of your correspondent, that the prizes, 604 in number, according to the scheme, are drawn at every drawing. Moreover, for the certification of this we are willing to send our check for \$1,000, to be given to the party making such inquiry, if we cannot prove it to his satisfaction. Again, we will give \$100,000 to any four charitable institutions that you may name if we cannot prove that, in the scheme of the 25th of April we sold the ticket which drew the \$200,000 prize, besides many other prizes. By inserting this you will enlighten your correspondent and oblige yours,

TAYLOR & CO., Bankers,  
16 Wall street.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Aug. 26, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at half-past eleven, on Wednesday at half-past eight, on Thursday at half-past nine, and on Saturday at half-past eleven A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

MRS. JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, 213 North Capitol street, Washington, D. C., Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage and Educational Association, furnishes all sorts of books, tracts, &c., regarding suffrage. All persons interested in spreading information upon the question of Woman's Rights should apply to her, sending their names to be attached to the Suffrage Petition, and enclosing one dollar to help defray the expenses of the Association.

THE NEW CANAL STEAMER ANDREW H. H. DAWSON.

The last Legislature rose to the dignity of disinterested patriotism and far-sighted statesmanship in the bill they enacted offering \$100,000 premium for the best invention by which steam may be profitably introduced as a motor upon our canals. The magnitude of the interests involved, the results that would crown success, as they would affect the whole State in a sudden revolution in her internal commerce, were of a dignity sufficiently imposing in themselves to fix attention upon and inspire a popular interest in the efforts that may be made by the restless energies and subtle ingenuity of avarice and ambition—the one greedy to clutch the glittering prize, and the other to win and wear the fadeless laurel awaiting the victor's brow—to evoke the secret commerce has waited so long, so patiently, to hail. But our own great commercial metropolis has a stake to play for in contributing to a consummation so devoutly to be wished, that rises, in its immediate importance to her citizens, far above any general interest that can be felt in the premises. Should any invention come forward to claim this prize, capable of complying with all the severe exactions of this bill, New York city will realize, in the price of the provisions upon which her denizens subsist, a reduction of at least 50 per cent. This will send millions of new rays of light through abodes where the dismal darkness of pinching poverty now hangs like a funeral curtain, and make thousands of humble people happy. It will pour millions of dollars into our State treasury, as tolls on tonnage, that will mightily lighten the weary burden of our taxes. Hence it is we notice with pleasure the presence at our piers of the new canal steamer Andrew H. H. Dawson, and rejoice to state that her owners, inventor and factor all repose a firm reliance in her capacity to comply strictly with each and every requirement of said law, and inaugurate a revolution in our internal commerce that will make a signal monopoly of the transportation of the cereals and minerals of the West hunting a commercial outlet for Europe, and as the largest domestic market.

TO THE PAINTERS OF AMERICA.

Knowing that it is the duty of every one as being an unit of the great whole of society, to advance and improve that society to the utmost of their ability; and knowing that Capitalists and their class generally retard this principle—though much may be said but not proven that the interests of the man of labor and the monopolizer of the means of labor are identical—therefore, let us by a stoical resolution to do our duty, claim the inherent rights that belong to us. Let the world at large know that though our ancestors were the serfs of the past, though we are the wages-slaves of the present—we will be the victors of the future. The remedy for these ills and evils that beset us is fraternal combination, based upon the principles of reason, justice and morality. Our movement has hitherto failed through many causes, among which are workingmen not feeling or understanding the importance of the movement, or through employers' intrigues, or misplaced confidence in members.

Our duty is, therefore, to educate ourselves to a knowledge of the subject we are engaged in, that the capitalist, through our ignorance of the system of co-operation, is the better able to attain his selfish aim of enrichment at the expense of many a broken constitution or a degraded old age.

By the system of secret organization we can deliberate in council as to the best method of advancing our movement, without the counteracting influences of employers' or capitalists' intrigues. By each and every one of us doing our duty, and demanding that each one attend to his duty, and by placing temptation before no member, that he might diverge from the path of virtue and honor, then the eye of suspicion will not be directed against a brother. By so doing what might we not be able to accomplish by our combined efforts? Majority is on our side, so, brothers, co-operate. In unity only can we resist oppression.

It is to be hoped that every painters' organization throughout America will respond to the call of immediate action to solidify our trade, and feel the necessity of being truly *E Pluribus Unum*.

By order of the Painters' Grand Lodge,

T. H. BANKS, President.

JOHN HALBERT, General Secretary.

EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION.—"Ten painters constitute a sufficient number to legally constitute a local Lodge, and may have a Charter on a proper application being made."—Article V., Section 3.

The journalism of Europe is in the hands of its wealthy and privileged classes. Their united effort can give the most barefaced lie seven-league boots to travel in. Truth, single and barefooted, could not get up with it in a century. These journals hate all popular movements. They know well how efficient is the

"—big, round lie with manly vigor told"

in postponing the success of popular movements and destroying the influence of their leaders. Wellington himself stooped to this in the House of Lords, and every puppy of the press improves on his example. Two-thirds of our journals are such snobs as to think it distinction enough to be allowed to echo the London Times. The other third hate the workingmen and the Labor Party. To them the European lies about the Commune were a most welcome weapon with which to assail men whose arguments they cannot answer, whose votes they fear and whose rights they are determined to refuse. Anything is fair in a war with labor. "The poor have no souls—let us eat, drink, steal; lie them into disrepute. This system of robbery men call civilization will last our day. 'Let them care who come ahead.'"

The Commune must bide its time. That is not far off. Men now alive will hear frothy orators ride into favor by proclaiming, in stolen bombast, the difficulty of finding marble white enough and gold pure enough to record the world's gratitude to the Commune.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.



AMOURS DIVINES;  
OR,  
LOVE-SCENES IN THE ORIENT.

II.  
SALOME.

Since early morn,  
In Joseph's workshop, had his loving son  
Been toiling; for that day the high priest came,  
And bade the carpenter a cross construct  
Whereon to nail some man deserving death.  
And now 'twas noon, and still the beams lay there  
Unfinished 'neath the young Jew's pensive gaze,  
For they were large and strong.

"So must they be,"  
Had been the high priest's charge, "for they must stand  
Until the offender rots or from his bones  
The vultures shall have plucked his putrid flesh.  
Thus perish all the enemies of God!"  
And then he shook his hoary beard, and left  
The son of Joseph bending o'er his work.

But now that noon had come, did Jesus lay  
Aside his adze, with thought to toil no more  
Until the summer sun had turned away  
His scorching rays. With clouded brow, he sat  
And gazed upon the thirly hands had wrought,  
And pictured to himself the agony  
That he endures who dies upon the cross,  
Nailed hand and foot thereon—a living death;  
A dying countless deaths, fly-blown  
And maggot-eaten ere the end doth come;  
Alive until the last poor drop of blood  
Be shed, and, dead, denied that wretched boon  
A clod of earth affords. Man still remains  
Man's greatest foe, and hatred fattens thus  
While love is skin and bone. "And who," the young  
Jew thought, "first dared to nail a human form  
Upon the cross? If killed must be, why not  
Kill quickly then? What man, more beast than man,  
First saw his brother's pain, and felt it not?  
Oh! world, world, world, could I but teach thee love,  
Most gladly would I give myself to die;  
Ay, on this very cross, and smile upon  
The men that nailed me there, e'en as one smiles  
On him who bathes his fevered brow. But no,  
The world is not yet ripe: the plant of love  
Is stunted in its growth. Oh, let me pour  
My warmest blood about its roots and die,  
For I have come too soon!"

Such gloomy thoughts  
As these, did so the young Jew's mind enthrall  
That he, unnoticing the presence of  
Salome at his side, raised not his eyes.  
There was a careless grace about her form;  
'Twas small, yet perfect—very perfect, too.  
Most undeservingly ill-clad, topped with  
A head and face that would adorn a gem,  
And ending with a pair of little feet,  
Clay-soiled and bare, but beautifully arched.  
Her hands were rough and stained from household toil,  
And half behind her back hid she them 'way.  
Her robe was white, yet whiter was her neck,  
And dark her hair, yet darker were her eyes,  
And red her cheeks, yet redder were her lips,  
Which parted as she stood near Joseph's son,  
And seemed to long to smile, and yet dared not.  
At length they closed, as on his grief-clad face  
Her gaze did rest; and, sinking softly on  
Her knee, she pressed his garment to her lips  
And kissed its hem.

He turned, he looked, he saw,  
He smiled so warm, so kind, so sweet a smile  
It was, those coral lips sought eagerly  
His hand, and left their nectared moisture there  
Ere Jesus could prevent.

"Good morrow, friend,"  
Said he; "how goes it with thy husband's health?"  
"As hides do sell," gave answer she; "for sell  
They well, he's well, and sell they ill, forthwith  
He sickens, sours and swells with discontent.  
I wish all beasts were dead, or that their hides  
Grew to their backs so firm no knife could make  
Them twain. But, friend, not of my husband came  
I here to speak; about thyself I tain  
Would ask. How goeth it with thee? 'Tis three  
Days since I saw thee in the synagogue.  
Art well? Thy cheek is pale, thine eye burns dim,  
And sorrow sits upon thy brow, my friend.  
Another cross? For whom? The last they reared,  
Three months ago I think, still stands, and 'gainst  
Its blackened beams the fleshless bones at times  
Do rattle long and loud. I wish them down;  
I hear them oft at night when husband bids  
Me wait his coming ere I go to rest.  
I wish them down, I say, and had I strength  
They should be down. Could I not say the wind  
Had done't? I'd choose a windy night to do't."

"Sh—, woman," murmured Jesus, as he raised  
His hand to warn her standing at his side.  
"Thy tongue hath slipped its bit, and over fields  
Of phantasy goes galloping. Thou sayst  
The dead upon the cross offend thine eye.  
Then look not out. Thine ears? Then listen not,  
For what the law hath done no man must blame,  
Much less the women folk, whose hearts do warp  
Their judgment, tho' they see it not."

"Why it  
Is so," Salome said, "young neighbor, know  
I not; but when in words with husband, I  
Am always right, with thee, am always wrong.  
And even tho' the thing be very black,  
I can convince him 'tis a little white;  
But thou, dear friend, saidst thou my husband sold  
Not hides, I'd not deny it tho' I smelt  
Them on his hands. May I sit at thy feet,  
Oh, Joseph's son? Would that I were all clad  
In costly raiment for thy sake! Alas,  
Thou knowest husband gives me but a gown  
A year."

And then her silken lashes sank  
Upon her velvet cheek, and o'er her face  
Stole looks of sadness as she gazed upon  
Her handsome limbs, enveloped in a robe  
Of rudest texture, under which she strove  
To hide away her clay-stained feet, which looked  
Like pediment of antique statue just  
Unearthed, so delicate and beautiful  
Were they!

Upon this lovely, lonely flower,  
That bent its graceful form at Jesus' feet,  
Did he in silence gaze, his fine large eyes  
Illumined with a quiet joy, at sight  
Of one so humble, yet so wondrous fair,  
And thus he thought:

"Thou poor, neglected bud,  
That dost thy beauteous leaves unfold in one  
Of life's dark corners all unseen! Bless thing  
Is woman's love to him who knows its worth—  
Its priceless worth! But thou, sweet stream, dost o'er  
Unsympathetic pebbles murmur all  
Thy love, and pour thy gentle nature out  
In vain. Yet, this is life. Of all that breathes  
Man doth to worst extremes incline, and shun  
The happy medium wherein most good  
Doth lie. He builds his hopes so high, their weight  
Doth pull them down, then lets despair feed on  
His energy, nor drives the vampire off  
Till the accursed work is done. So, too,  
In love, its minus makes him plus, while plus  
Him minus makes. Indifference doth set  
Him in a flame, while fervor cools him to  
The bone. And then at times do love and love  
Distill a chill reserve 'tween certain hearts,  
As gems together pressed do wear away,  
Or as a poison off is antidote  
Against itself. 'Tis not so much a man  
To love her, woman needs, but more a man  
That she herself can love with all her heart  
And soul; for long as world doth turn, the flower  
Will bloom, the vine will twine, give them but soil  
To strike their rootlets in! And thou, fair park,  
So run to weeds and so with mosses rank  
And wild o'ergrown, 'tis pity husband's hand  
Thee hath neglected so—ay, pity 'tis.  
And yet how beautiful thou art just as  
Thou art. Like some abandoned garden dost  
Thou seem, where beauteous lily growth, hedged  
With grasses 'round, and many a rose doth lay  
Its dainty bud in lap of coarsest moss;  
Where daisy, dandelion and clover-top,  
'Mid fuchsias, pansies and forget-me-nots,  
Hold up their saucy heads and nod them in  
The breeze; where fungus, upstart's flittiest type,  
Doth burst its stalk in vain attempt to touch  
The gorgeous peony above its head;  
And lichen, symbol of the slanderer's tongue,  
Doth tarnish o'er the smooth bark of the trees,  
All unprotected and uncared there."

So ran the young Jew's thoughts. The while did she  
Beside him there, her lustrous eyes of black  
Not dare to raise, but waited patient, with  
Her silken lashes on her cheeks, until  
His voice sent forth its soft, deep tones, which fell  
Upon her eager ears like gentle dew  
On thirsty flowret at the end of long,  
Hot summer day.

"Look up," he said, and smiled  
And gently laid his fingers, filbert nailed,  
Upon her glossy, ebon hair where she  
Had parted it in wavy tresses on  
Each side her head. "Look up, my neighbor," and  
"Be glad," he added, and then from her head  
His hand sank down until it rested on  
The half-finished cross.

As flower doth ope its leaves  
When touched by morning sun, so, smiled upon  
By Jesus, looked Salome up.

"Thou art  
So grave at times," she said. "Why shouldst thou grieve?  
Hast not thy kin about thee? Art thou not  
Thy father's favorite son? 'Twas but a day  
Ago he told me how, when gazing on  
Thy gentle face, he oft did wish thou hadst  
Been born a girl, so kind, so tender and  
So true thou art! He said he feared thou wouldst  
Have ill-luck in the world, it is so false,  
So selfish and so cold! There is no love,  
No charity 'mong men. Friends now are bought  
With gold, and he who pays the most, at least,  
Is most, if not best, loved. And thus they kill  
True friendship off, and teach hypocrisy  
To all. So spake thy father unto me."

"Seest thou this cross, Salome?" Jesus asked;  
"I'd kiss the hand of him that nailed me to 't,  
If dying so would teach my fellow-men  
To love and help each other on thro' life!  
Oh, woman, there are times I feel as if  
God bids me go perform some deed of love  
That will my brief existence far outlive,  
And make my name revered in centuries  
To come! And yet I hesitate—I go  
Not forth. My father's old, infirm, and needs  
My helping hand; my mother doth ill part  
With me e'en for a day; my sisters in  
Their hearts do wear me anxiously when 'way  
From home."

"Then leave them not," Salome cried.

"Thou art a woman, too," he quick rejoined,  
"And him whom woman once within her heart  
Of hearts, with bonds of love hath chained, she lets  
Not forth, no, no, not tho' a hundred men  
His ransom be! And happy, happy, oh  
Thrice happy he who's thus a captive held!  
For life is love, and he lives not, who loves  
Not and is not beloved!"

As thus the young  
Jew spoke, the blood did from his too full heart,  
Like sympathetic silver at th' approach

Of heat, an upward course assume,  
And rushing warm and fast—a crimson flood—  
Tinged both his cheeks, beard-decked, yet velvet-soft;  
While from his large brown eyes looked out his soul  
In one long, loving, pitying gaze upon  
Salome, as she bent her graceful neck,  
And 'pon his dusty, sandaled feet her full  
And fruity lips, in speechless gratitude,  
In bliss, in awe, in adoration pressed.

Thus woman kneels where she might stand erect;  
Thus timid slips, when she might boldly drink;  
Thus cringes, trembling, when she might enslave!  
For what is man that she should fear him so?  
Clay, like herself! No more. He is earthenware,  
And she is porcelain! In truth he is  
The louder instrument, but easier out  
Of tune; while, like a flute, she never fails,  
Breathe on her when you will, be there but love  
And honor in your breath!

Salome's kiss  
Complete, she lifted up the silken fringe  
That lay so black upon her cheek, and fixed  
Her tear-bathed orb, on Jesus' face. The young  
Jew's gold-brown beard ill hid the heaving of  
His breast, as now Salome's eyes did full  
Encounter his. Her's meant: "Oh, melt, melt, melt!  
Thou heart of adamant, and give mine arms  
Thy neck; my breast, thy cheek; my lips, thy mouth."  
But his replied: "It must not be," and then  
Salome's tongue was loosed;

"Art blind, or stone?"  
She weeping, murmured; "Oh, canst thou so like  
An angel seem, yet be so pitiless?  
Canst thou so with thy smile enslave and yet  
Love not? Know'st not that love is venom pure  
Which, unrequited, slumbers in our veins?  
Oh Jesus, pity, pity, pity me.  
Thou have I loved since on thy cheek the down  
Of manhood first appeared. Ay, sure thou must  
Remember well, how when a child I loved to clasp  
Thy neck and hold my girlish breast for hours  
Pressed close to thee; and how when from thine arms  
My mother plucked me forth, I left my warm  
Lips' moisture on thy brow and cheeks and mouth;  
I knew not what it was that made my heart  
At sight of thee so leap about within my breast;  
Thou wert but eighteen then and I but ten,  
And when I saw thy gold-brown beard spread o'er  
Thy face, while I was yet a child, then wept  
Mine eyes their first tears. I felt thou wert  
Too old for me, and wouldst some other wed;  
Some other maiden choose for wife, ere I,  
Poor flower, could blossom out in womanhood;  
Alas! I oped my anxious leaves right at  
Thy feet; and people called me fair. Still thou  
Did'st stoop and pluck me not. Ah, wretched me!  
Another came and rude uprooted me.  
But at his side, robbed of the sunshine of  
Thy gaze, I've drooped and long to die. Oh ye  
Sweet lips, who first taught mine the thrill of love,  
Speak but a word to me, oh speak, oh speak!"

"Thou art another's wife, Salome!" spoke  
Those lips, and then their bloodless surfaces  
They pressed together 'neath the gold-brown hair  
That hid them half, and spake no more, no more.

"Another's wife?" Salome groaned, "aye true,  
Thou marble heart, I am another's wife;  
But tho' lamb-like I lie down at thy feet,  
A lioness am I with him, untamed  
Tho' chained, and never since the night he wed  
Me have his lips touched mine; I love him not;  
Ay, call me wicked, frown upon me, turn  
Thine eyes away and thrust me from thy feet,  
But oh, loved friend, say not again; 'Thou art  
Another's wife.' With thee, first loved on earth,  
Let me forget my chains; then clank them not;  
In thought, I'll now be thine, in thought, within  
Thine arms, sweet Jesus, let me lie, as used  
I once to do in other years, and feel  
Thy breath upon my girlish cheek, until  
Mine eyes fell shut in dreams of ecstasy!"

"Moved is my heart to pity, woman," said  
The Jew, "and hard against my eyelids press  
The tears! I do remember all; but all  
Is changed. Deep in the deepest chamber of  
My soul is registered a vow; and know,  
Salome, it forbids me giving man  
What I have sworn shall be th' Eternal God's!  
My life, my love, are His. The time is near  
At hand when I this home, ah, so beloved,  
Where bides my loving mother, Mary, than  
Mine eyes to me far dearer, and where dwell  
My sisters, brothers and my fond old sire,  
Shall bid farewell, farewell, farewell."

And here  
The tears burst forth—the pent-up grief at thought  
Of parting with the best of earth's beloved—  
In bitter rain upon his gold-brown beard,  
Showered down, lay, liquid pearls, bright in the rays  
Of that slow-sinking summer sun. Nor spoke  
Salome till that shower of tears had ceased.

"If thou hast sworn to wander from thy home,"  
Salome gently said, "then let me go  
With thee, be ever by thy side, best-loved  
On earth! With all his boasted strength doth man  
Ill part with woman's aid and care. I'll wash  
Thy raiment snowy white, I'll comb thy hair  
And beard, prepare thy food; thy sandals will  
I cleanse from dust, and when thou'rt ill, if but  
Thy brow doth throb with pain, straight will I cull—  
In which great skill have I—such potent herbs,  
And will a draught so soothing and so sweet  
Prepare, that o'er thine eyes delicious sleep  
Will steal, and thou wilt wake forgetful of  
Thy suffering. Ay, more, loved man, I'll spin  
For thee, and with the money earned, will buy  
Thee fruit; and when the berries come, I'll pick  
Thee some for thy repast at twilight hour,  
For nothing shalt thou want; I'll watch o'er thee



With sleepless eye, and when the night doth come  
Will lie upon thy door-sill, lest some man  
Might harm thee in thy sleep."

Salome said  
No more, but turned her eyes, illumined bright  
With hope, inquiringly upon the young  
Jew's face, and leaning forward, laid her hands,  
Sun-browned, yet delicate, upon his knees,  
As on th' half-finished cross he silent sat.

"Salome," Joseph's son replied, "God send  
Thee good reward for what thy tender heart  
Would gladly do for him of other years  
The friend best loved. His heart doth bleed to know  
Thou art unhappy as thou art, and yet  
What God hath joined shall man dare make disrupt?  
But this I promise thee, that should I ere  
In years to come, hemmed round by enemies,  
Betrayed by friends, or false accused, see death  
At hand, thou may'st then hasten to my side,  
Salome, dear friend of my younger years,  
Thou evergreen in love, and shed the warmth  
Of woman's pure affection on my cold  
And pallid brow! Art satisfied?"

"Alas!  
I gasp not, but am thirsty still," replied  
Salome; "let me take thy hand, loved man."  
She added then, and after she had bathed  
It o'er with mingled tears and kisses, pressed  
It on her soft white neck, until 'twas dry  
Again, and said: "Dost thou not feel how hot  
My poor heart lies within its resting place?  
And if there be such heat without, think what  
Must be within. Oft in the dreary night,  
Buoyed up with thoughts of thee, my eyelids will  
Not sink in sleep until the daylight comes  
Again. In dreams, thy silken beard doth rest  
Upon my cheeks, thy lips touch mine; but when  
My happy arms reach out to clasp thy neck,  
Thou'rt gone and all is sad reality  
Once more."

"Come, woman, see my labor's still  
Unwrought," said softly Joseph's son, "go to  
Thy home, and to thy husband, let me be  
Commended well."

Like wounded fawn, now sprang  
Salome to her feet, her lips apart,  
Her bosom heaving wild.

"Then must I go?"  
She cried, and throwing back her head until  
Her snow-white neck would yield no more, she clasped  
Her hands, as in most fervent prayer, and cried  
Again: "Then must I go, loved man? Canst thou  
Thus drive me from thy side? Be merciful,  
Thou adamant heart, if mercy can  
Within thy stony chambers dwell—bid me  
Remain, and let me in thine arms again  
Where once I used to lie, dear one, sweet one!"

With this she clutched his arm, and strove to throw  
Herself upon his breast, prepared to kiss  
Indifference 'way, and all objections in  
One long and melting kiss, forthwith, dissolve.

But Jesus stepped aside; and firmly, yet  
Most gently, held within his vigorous grasp,  
Salome sank, near lifeless, down upon  
Th' half-finished cross, her face concealed within  
Her hands, her dark hair resting soft upon  
The floor. She was as motionless as death,  
And just as silent too.

This moment 'twas,  
Old Joseph oped the door, but, so his sight  
Had failed, saw he Salome not. She heard  
His step, looked up, arose and fled away  
So noiselessly, his ear caught not a sound.

#### THE LAND QUESTION.

##### NO VII.

It has been shown in a former article, that the "unearned increase in the value of land" in the seventy-two largest towns of England and Wales, between 1801 and 1861, must have been very nearly four billions of dollars, and that the increase in the smaller towns and in the country probably amounted to a similar sum. It will be recollected that the term "unearned increase" is used to express an increase which occurs "without effort or expenditure on the part of the proprietor, through the general increase of wealth and population." According to the estimates made in the fifth article of this series, the aggregate profit thus made by the English land owning class during the sixty years in question, represents an addition of some \$375,000,000 a year to their annual rent receipts. But rapid as has been the unearned increase in the value of land in England, it has been far more rapid in our own country. During the same sixty years which doubled the population of Great Britain, our own population was multiplied by six; and the growth through which we have already passed is trifling in comparison with that which, under favorable conditions, we are destined to experience in the future. The growth in the value of land is even more rapid than the growth of population, and quite naturally so, because it is promoted by a variety of other causes, especially by the continued increase in the wealth-producing capacity of the people, through improved industrial appliances. Detailed statistics of this growth are superfluous, because the general fact is open to universal observation. Great States have suddenly grown up in the wilderness, in which agricultural land has advanced from the merely nominal price at which it was sold by the government to an average of \$30 or \$40 an acre within less than the corresponding number of years. A part of this increase,

of course, represents the value of buildings, fences, etc., placed upon the land, with the cost of roads, bridges and other improvements of a general character; but the greater portion of it is the result of "the general increase in wealth and population," and has accrued, without effort or expenditure, on the part of the proprietors of the land.

But as in England so with us, it is in the rapid growth of towns and cities that the increase in the value of land has been most strikingly manifested. Think of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Omaha, San Francisco, and scores of other smaller, but still rapidly growing places, nearly all of which have grown from their earliest beginnings within the last fifty years, and most of them within a far shorter period. In all of these cases, land which was hardly thought worth reckoning in less amounts than quarter sections has come to be greedily clutched in minute parcels, whose value is calculated not in acres but in square feet. Land which, forty years ago, was thought scarcely worth two dollars an acre is now probably worth as much as ten dollars the square foot in the best locations in some of these cities; and ten dollars the square foot is \$435,600 an acre. Making due allowance for the cost of streets, sewers, and all public improvements, the cost of which has been a charge upon the proprietors of lots, the "unearned increase of value" has still been incredibly large.

Of course immense fortunes have been thus made. I will mention but a single case brought to my attention some time ago by a real estate agent of my acquaintance. Some twenty odd years ago a gentleman in this city bought a quantity of land within or near the municipal limits for \$6,000; out of this land he has since sold lots to the amount of about \$800,000, and what he has left is said to be worth a million and a half. Thus out of an original investment of \$6,000, he has already realized upward of two million dollars, without effort or expenditure of his own, and the increase of value in the land he still holds has not by any means reached its limit. Similar cases will occur to almost every observant reader. Indeed, judicious speculation in the rise of land is one of the most familiar methods of making money without working for it.

Any proposition to interfere with a source of profit so generally regarded as legitimate and proper, may be expected to encounter intense opposition—more intense perhaps in our own country than elsewhere, since the opportunities for such speculation in a new and rapidly-filling country are very numerous and tempting. And yet it is undeniably true that every dollar thus obtained is taken out of other men's earnings without compensation. It is certainly a very comfortable thing to find one's self growing richer year by year through an increase in the value of fields or town lots without any trouble or expense on one's own part; and it is a very pleasant delusion to suppose that this increase is a mere growth which enriches one without impoverishing another. But the growth of value is much like the growth of a plant or animal. It is not the creation of a new substance, but the transformation of one substance into another. The tree is formed out of materials furnished by the earth and air. The value of land is formed out of material furnished by human industry. The most beautiful and fertile tract on which the eye of man ever rested would have but a small value to any human being if situated a thousand miles from any settlement. It could never relieve its possessor from the operation of the decree "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," unless he could find some one else to cultivate it and give him all or part of its produce. No man would attach value to the possession of any more land than he could personally use, if he could not make the surplus a source of income; and to become a source of income it must be made productive by other men's labor, and a share of its products must be paid to its owner. Its value will be proportioned to the income it can thus be made to yield, and that will depend upon the amount which those who use it can be induced or compelled to pay for the privilege. The principle is all the same whether it be rented to tenants or cultivated by hirelings. The rise in its price, therefore, which takes place as population increases, only shows that the absolute necessity which men labor under of having land to cultivate or to occupy enables its owners to exact more and more for its use in proportion as competition for its possession sharpens. It follows, then, that the higher the price of land, other things being equal, the heavier is the tribute levied upon those who use land or its products without owning it.

Commodities which are the products of labor are valued according to the labor it costs to produce them. As a rule, things which cost equal labor tend to exchange at equal rates. If, through deficiency in the supply, a given commodity rises above its fair price as compared with other commodities, extra production is stimulated until the deficiency is supplied and equilibrium restored. But this law cannot be applied to land at all. Not being one of the products of labor, its value cannot be estimated by reducing it to its equitable equivalent in such products. If there is a deficiency, no amount of labor can create an additional supply,\* and the only limit to its possible price is the utmost sum which the inexorable necessities of men may enable its possessors to exact. It thus usually happens in densely populated regions where the land is in few hands, that the ac-

\* In the case where ground is said to be "made," as by filling up a marsh or reclaiming a small territory from the sea, the space so filled or reclaimed is an indispensable condition which Nature alone can furnish, and even this may sometimes become incalculably precious.

tual tillers of the soil are permitted to retain out of its products an amount barely sufficient to keep soul and body together—a remark which applies also to the inhabitants of cities, where the competition for land and its consequent price render it difficult for a poor man to obtain space to live.

It will be said that an increase of population produces a real increase in the value of land by making it more valuable to the occupier. Thus the tenant of a farm may well afford to pay an increased rent, if the growth of a manufacturing village in his vicinity brings a market right to his door for everything he can produce. But this may only imply that he is able to shift the burden of the increased rent off his own shoulders to those of the operatives who purchase his butter, milk and vegetables. It is quite true, however, that the growth of a well-organized society does annex economic as well as social advantages to the land in its vicinity; but if it is the society that confers these advantages, why should the profit of them accrue to the landowners alone? B owns a quantity of land in an embryo city. In the course of a decade twenty thousand new inhabitants settle there. They consist of capitalists, workmen, teachers, physicians and all the various classes whose vocations are necessary to a high civilization. Their increased number enables them to light their streets economically with gas, lay water-pipes, support stores where every needed article can be readily obtained, maintain good schools and do a hundred other things tending to their pleasure and convenience, which, as isolated individuals, they could never have done for themselves. We may suppose that all this time B has quietly lived upon his income, contributing nothing, or not more than any other citizen to bring about the improvements which have been effected. The city has monthly become a very desirable place of residence, and now if any one of those who have helped to make it so wishes to purchase a building-plot out of B's land, the latter will make him pay a greatly enhanced price. That is, B. will charge him and others for that additional desirability in his land which is due to their own presence in the city and the performance of their proper functions as members of civilized society. It will thus be seen that our present land system virtually gives the land-owner a proprietary interest in those advantages which arise from the social nature of man. If a city has a moral and intelligent population, the land-owner within its limits may make this fact a reason for demanding a higher price for his lots, and it would be entirely useless for the purchaser to plead, however justly he might do so, that he was one of those whose morality and intelligence contributed most to give the place its high character. A man may thus find himself compelled to pay for having been a good and useful member of the community.

In concluding this paper let me repeat the proposition which it has been my object to make clear, viz.: That the "unearned increase in the value of land" is not a mere growth in value which enriches the land-owner without impoverishing others, but that it merely represents the increased tribute which circumstances enable him to levy upon those who use the land or its products, and that even where it is attended by an increase of advantages, they are such advantages as naturally arise from the association of human beings in the community—advantages which in society men mutually confer and receive, and for which they therefore should not be compelled to pay tribute to one who has done nothing to create them.

E. T. PETERS.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16, 1871.

THE NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION recently held in St. Louis, which was largely attended by delegates from all parts of the country, has put forth a platform, or declaration of principles, upon which it purposes going before the country in the next Presidential campaign as a distinct political organization. According to the call of its chairman, the newly-formed "National Labor Reform Party" will convene on Wednesday, October 18, at Columbus, Ohio, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The platform, as adopted by the St. Louis Convention, declares against monopoly, whether in banking, railroads, manufactures, land, or articles of consumption or commerce; demands the withdrawal of the circulating notes of the National and State banks, as well as all currency that is not a full legal tender, and the substitution of a paper currency issued by the Government, which shall be a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and be declared, with certain affixed conditions; the lawful money of the United States; declares that the national debt shall be paid in strict accordance with the laws under which it was originally contracted—gold where specifically promised, but all other forms of indebtedness, including the principal of the five-twenty bonds, to be discharged at the earliest option of the government in the legal tender currency provided as the lawful money of the United States, without in any way increasing the gold-bearing obligations of the government; demands that the public domain shall be preserved inviolate for actual settlers and tillers of the soil; declares against the importation of coolies or other servile labor; requires that in all future wars the means necessary for their prosecution shall be collected from the wealth of the country, and not entailed on the future earnings of labor; with articles or resolutions covering other topics of interest. One of the most commendable features of the convention was the passage, at an early stage of its deliberations, of a resolution welcoming woman to all avenues of labor, and affirming her right to equal compensation with man.



VICTORIA C. WOODHULL and TENNIE C. CLAFLIN,  
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### 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.

#### INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION (SECTION No. 2).

CITIZEN: The French Section, No. 2, of the International, at the general session of the 6th August, decided that in future it would hold a session on the second Sunday of each month, at 2 o'clock P. M. This reunion has been voted with the special purpose of offering more convenience to the ladies who might desire to join the International, and who cannot be present at the morning sessions. In consequence of this decision your attendance is requested at the next reunion, at the usual place of meeting, 100 Prince street.

H. CHARNIER, Secretary.

### A POLITICAL FARCE.

To expect despots to give freedom to their unwilling subjects, unless under some compulsory power, is to expect justice from those who, to grant it, must undermine their positions, which are held and supported by arbitrary measures. Our forefathers sought a grant of more freedom from the English Parliament. They were refused. Their verbal protests availed them nothing. They appealed to arms, and by giant efforts and a sacrifice to which the life-blood of every patriot was freely offered, they won for themselves what they desired—the freedom to govern themselves.

This freedom and government they transmitted to us. But forgetting, in the possession of the power thus obtained, that it was wrung from a tyrannical grasp, men in turn become tyrants of the same sort, and deny those whom they have governed so long the same right our forefathers were compelled to fight for before enjoying. The parallel is perfect. The time was when men were content to live under the rule of the despot without any participation whatever in modifying the same. So, also, the time was when women were content to remain passive in regard to the kind of government maintained over them. But the time came when men, feeling their inherent and natural right to individuality, and the degradation of giving up all selfhood to a government assumed without regard to any right, except the right of might, protested against it. So, also, have women now come to regard themselves as possessed of the same inherent natural right to individuality and its expressions as are men, and to realize that their degradation is maintained by the same right of might which men rebelled against. Men asked to be admitted to participation in government. Women now demand the same thing. What was then denied

by kings to men is now denied by men to women. Kings were the despots then. Men are the despots now. We repeat, the parallel is complete. But there is a shadow of justice occasionally falling athwart the consciences of men. In all legislative assemblies there are some noble souls who remember from what their freedom sprung, and remembering, respectfully listen to the petitions like to those which were once rudely rejected. Even the Congress of the United States were sufficiently overshadowed by the spirit of freedom to lend attentive ears to a memorial for a Bill of Rights.

Notwithstanding all this yielding to a sense of justice, men still frown upon the petitions of women. Men assembled to revise the Constitution of the State of Illinois, refused to submit the question of woman's rights to govern themselves to the voting men. Men stand up every day in all directions and speak as if they had the right to grant or deny to women the right equally possessed by all persons, and so recognized by our Constitution. It is the merest farce to thus presume and thus to act upon it. It is as if the monarchs of Europe should meet to consider whether they will give up their crowns and power to the people to whom they rightfully belong.

If, then, men were possessed of any spirit of real justice, or of any desire to respect the rights of those born as free as themselves, they would not stop to ask themselves, "Shall we do this thing?" But they would do it at once. They would, at least, magnanimously and graciously say to women, you are free-born as we are, you have the same inalienable right to life, liberty and happiness that we have, and though you have not heretofore desired to unite with us in the construction and maintenance of government, we now frankly and cordially invite you to such participation. Such action would be an evidence of the true spirit of freedom, which is beginning to dawn upon great and noble souls—the extension to all other people the same rights that are claimed for themselves.

In the State of Nebraska, the Constitutional Convention have just adjourned, having agreed, among other things, to submit to men voters the question of female suffrage. Even this slight concession of the possibility that women have some rights which men are bound to respect, was only granted after a stormy struggle, and every possible effort will be made by those who still wish to remain tyrants over women to defeat it before the men of the State. We say it is a political farce of the first water to submit a question in which only the interests of women are involved to the decision of men only. What would men say of women, after having attained to the exercise of all their rights, should they assume to submit to themselves, excluding men, the question whether they should allow men to continue to participate in government with them? Yet, to just such tyrannical and arbitrary measures do men resort and think, they are very condescending to do even this half-way thing. But we trust that the men citizens of this new State will have a better sense of common justice, and a better respect for the sex who bore them, than their representatives evinced in the Convention

### STUPIDITY OR VACUITY; WHICH?

We have yet to find in the columns of our leading dailies a single sound idea upon money. They know nothing but "specie payments," which, if they know anything, they know have been a so thoroughly exploded theory that it has not got the vitality to make it worthy of thought.

It is almost lamentable to see how cautiously editors avoid touching the deep water in which scientific money is first found. It is evident that they think it beyond their depth. Thus we find one of our great dailies copying Ewing's late speech on this subject, without even so much as expressing approbation or disapprobation. And another making extracts therefrom, and quoting the criticism of the Chicago Times, and never a word more. Really, has that paper, which assumes to possess all the science of political economy, no thought upon this subject—the vital subject—of finance, that it must quote such authority as the Chicago Times?

Gold is a commodity, and as such bears the same relations to money that other commodities do. It is now in retreat in its proper and scientific position, which as money it could not occupy, but by being which, kept our whole superstructure of domestic business in a constant state of feverish excitement. To pay for foreign importations we must export values, and when we do not have enough breadstuffs, manufactured articles and cotton we are obliged to send gold. But is it not plain that we should be perfectly justifiable in changing the position of those terms by saying when we do not have enough gold, breadstuffs and manufactured articles, that we then send cotton to make good any balance against us. However, we repeat what we have often said, that in reality gold is no more money than is any other article possessing intrinsic value, or that is real wealth.

A specie-basis is a catch-word, a deception, a fraud, since specie never was the whole basis of any bank that ever issued notes. The security for the circulation of a specie-paying bank is not only the gold it may at any time have in its vaults, but also its loans, discounts, personal and real property as well. If a bank "break" by being depleted of its gold coin, all its other property is converted into gold, and so far as such amount will go, the balance of its outstanding circulation is redeemed.

It is true that the promise is to pay in specie, but is it not

clear that it would be just as well and amount to the same thing in the end if the payments were to be made in the property possessed which is disposed of in order to obtain the gold?

That is to say, there are three parties to this last transaction: 1st, the bank; 2d, the parties to whom the remaining property is sold; 3d, the parties holding the unredeemed notes. By the common process, the first parties sell the bank property to the second parties, and then pay off the third parties with the gold obtained.

Now suppose that process is changed, so that the bank redeems its notes by transferring its property to the third parties; and that they then sell it to the second parties, and obtain the gold, is not the same end realized, and does not that prove most conclusively that the property is just as much the security for the circulation as is the gold, and that in reality it is simply an article of wealth like the other property which is exchanged by the notes, which are really the only money there is in the question, and which alone answers to the definition of money—which is an invention to facilitate the exchange of commodities which could be exchanged without its use, but not so well without its use?

Now what is required to make a perfect money is to have a money that will be so formulated upon scientific principles, and on so secure a basis, as to never need to be redeemed, but with which at all times can be purchased not only all the necessities of life and business, but also all the gold that people may need.

If a bank could be so perfectly sound as to make its circulation absolutely secure against all hazard whatever, then its circulation, so far as it would go, would be a perfect money. But this we know to be impossible. We know that all the securities of bank circulation are liable to pass from the possession of the bank and into the hands of third parties, from whom the holders of its circulation could never obtain it.

And just in this fact lies the proof that a national currency representing the entire aggregated and prospective wealth of the country is the only really secure money that can be issued, since the wealth represented, though it may be transferred indefinitely among the people, can never pass beyond being represented by the government. It is so clear that such a currency is the safest, most reliable and adaptable to the needs of the people, that it seems superfluous to argue that question. We therefore affirm that a system of national currency, partaking of the nature of the greenback, but having a perfect regulating attachment, is as much superior to any system of private or corporate banking as the nation's guarantee is superior to the individual's, or to a class of individuals within the nation—the greater safety being that individuals can transfer any property they may have title to, but not out of the nation.

The argument is advanced by some, that the government has no right to issue a currency in the name of, or for, the people. Will such an argument stand analysis? Suppose there were a convention called by the people of this country especially for the purpose of considering the question of a national currency, the people electing their delegates under the instruction to vote for or against such question, and that the convention should, after mature consideration, almost unanimously adopt a system of national currency, with instructions to the government to carry it into effect, and that such system, when referred to the people, should be approved by a large popular majority, would not that government, thus instructed, have the authority to perform such a required duty? No sensible person will deny that proposition. Therefore the government which would truly represent a people who should desire a national currency, would have the right to adopt a proper system and to issue such currency. This being definitely settled, the question of policy remains to be considered.

It is a startling proposition to make, to propose to people who have never given it thought, to issue an unredeemable currency, since all their ideas of money have been connected with redeemability. They have not considered the fact that a thoroughly good and safe money would never require to be redeemed, since it would at all times and under all circumstances be just as good to have and to hold as anything by which it could be redeemed.

Neither has it been ascertained by the people generally that a nation's credit does not depend upon its gold products any more than upon any of its other products. Our gold products do not exceed forty millions per annum, while we pay to Europe upon national and other bonds not less than one hundred and twenty millions annually for interest alone. It is also a well-known fact that there is not gold enough in the country to form the basis of a bank-note currency of sufficient amount to meet the demands of business. What a farce to say we require a billion of circulation, and that it must be upon a specie basis, when there is no more than a fourth of that amount of gold in the whole country. Everybody knows, if thought is given it, that there is no such thing as a secure bank-note currency based specifically upon gold, since all bank currency that ever was in circulation, or that could ever be put in circulation, has other than gold security. Then the only difference between a national currency, such as has been proposed, and common bank notes is in the fact that the government is to issue it for the whole people, having all their wealth, gold included, as its security, instead of numerous firms or combinations of individuals. All individuals or combinations of them are liable to become bankrupt in the very midst of general prosperity, since the



property possessed by them at any given time may pass from their hands. Our government can never become bankrupt, since the people of this country will always be able to meet all its engagements.

[We shall, from time to time, consider the various objections raised to a national currency by the sticklers for no reform in finance, and show that they are not well taken, and that they are a part of general conservatism which thinks what we have is the best thing possible.]

#### IS IT THE "TIMES" OR THE PEOPLE vs. TAMMANY?

It seems very strange to us that any part of our citizens should have a "grudge" against the *Times* for having brought to public notice the infamies of Tammany rule. But there are people who are so much more interested in party success than in public good that they pretend to ignore the facts exposed, and satisfy themselves by condemning the motives which induced the *Times* to their publication.

Now we know nothing about the animus of the *Times*. In fact, we do not care a fig whether the *expose* was the result of a "falling out" between the managers of the *Times* and Tammany about printing or printing bills, or because of adverse political ideas. Indeed, we have no right to know anything about what induced the *Times* to its course, other than that given by itself. The question for us to consider is, whether or not what the *Times* accuses Sweeny, Hall, Connolly & Co. of is true or false. To all intents and purposes they have admitted all that was charged, except the intentional theft. They acknowledge that vast sums of the people's money have been paid out upon approved vouchers, which, having been audited according to law, they did not think fit to intervene their duty to protect the tax-payers from robbery—all the time knowing it to be such.

Let the question for after settlement between Mr. Jones and Mayor Hall be what it may, we hold that the public owes the *Times* a debt of gratitude, and we are glad to know it is reaping its reward.

Two weeks ago we called attention to the probable manner in which the city accounts would be published. The installment given in the *Tribune*, of Saturday last, shows that we were right. The statement there given, were there no imputations of dishonesty afloat, would appear to be a frank, open and honest one, while, as we shall show, it may be, and probably is, precisely the reverse. What does that statement show, except that for certain named assortments of merchandise there were certain sums of money paid? That is: Messrs. Ingersoll & Co. sold Tammany a lot of carpet for \$100,000, neither giving the number of yards furnished nor the price paid per yard. This method of making statements is the merest subterfuge of which use can be made to blind the people's eyes, and behind which to commit the most shameless and wholesale frauds. This is no longer a matter between the *Times* and Tammany. It is the People vs. Tammany; and though they—the people—be slow to anger, their judgment and verdict, when given, will be inexorable and unrelenting.

But Tammany must not imagine they can throw dust in the eyes of the public by any such attempt at honesty and frankness as that made in Saturday's *Tribune*. The charges made and the payments enumerated by the *Times* are true or false. It remains for Tammany to disprove their truth by producing the vouchers to public view. The mere summing up of accounts will not do. If a bill is presented to us we want to have the items of which it is composed set forth. So also must Comptroller Connolly set forth all the items and their prices which go to make up the enormous sums that have been squandered, as part of a system that has more than doubled the city debt within a few years. Nothing but a clean showing and proof thereby of clear and honest record can satisfy the people. With that Tammany has a renewed lease of power, and also what it never has had—the confidence of the better class of citizens. A clean showing there will be, and if it sustain but a moiety of the present imputations Tammany has already fallen, and will be destined to carry with it to final destruction the tottering remnants of the National Democracy.

#### THE REPUBLICAN RECORD.

##### WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, HOW DO YOU LIKE IT?

We are sometimes at a loss to know whether the displays that are made of the financial freaks of the Administration are made in good faith, or whether they are made to play upon the credulity of the people. If the former, there must be a deal more ignorance among great men than it is pleasant to think of. If the latter, a fearful stupidity rests upon the people.

The most probable solution of the question is that the Administration has relied upon the common honesty of the people, which always prompts them to pay their debts, to cause them to overlook the means by which they have reduced the national debt.

All their exhibits are headed, in flaming capitals, "Great reduction of the public debt!—increased collection of taxes!" Just as though the more that is wrung out of the people, the more credit should be given.

The Administration boasts of having paid off \$215,765,663 74 of the public debt in two years. On the face of it

this would seem to be a good showing; but, if it is analyzed, it is one that should forever destroy its promoters. All of this money has been gathered in dollars from the people, and in the aggregate transferred to the coffers of the bankers and capitalists, who are now again loaning it to the poorer classes to pay over to the government again, that they may pay off another \$100,000,000 of the debt this year. Thus it is that the government is in league with capitalists to grind the total products of labor from the laborers. The operation is as plain as a simple transfer of money. First, capitalists loan the government, money on bonds. These bonds bring them regular annual interest, which is clear gain, since none of it returns to the Treasury. But it is loaned to the people, who require it to transact their business, and who pay extravagant rates of interest for the accommodation which enables them for the time to meet the enormous demands of the government, and the people never suspect the operation that is palmed off upon them as skillful financing.

Now we contend that every dollar that has been used to pay off the public debt should have remained in the pockets and trades from which it has been so unmercifully wrung. Every man toiling daily for bread and the education of his growing family has been compelled to contribute his ten, twenty or fifty dollars per year, to enable the government to pay this immense sum. Every washerwoman, bending day after day over the rough board, has been obliged to lengthen such day's toil an hour or more, to make good what she has been compelled to contribute to swell the amount returned to the pockets of the money-lenders. The government has increased the price of every thing that these people must have to maintain life from ten to fifty per cent., and it is quite too sad a thing to see these deluded people listen to the heraldry of the Republican Record and shout for it, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." To reduce the public debt has not made the rich man any poorer. He has been faring sumptuously every day. He has more money now than he had before the debt was reduced. But the toiling millions have worn their strength and torn their muscles to put this money in the rich man's pocket, remaining as poor themselves as before the payment.

Stripping this thing of all its allurements and sophistries, and looking the facts squarely in the face, reveals the true means by which this great and glorious reduction has been made possible; and these are, that the producers of wealth have been stripped of all their earnings that the government might transfer it to capitalists, that they in turn might reloan it to the people, secured by mortgages on their little homes, and they again handing it over to the government to redeem still more bonds.

This debt was created for the general benefit of the country, but for the special benefit and protection of the capital of the country! The daily laborer had nothing to lose in the case; the capitalist everything. Hence, we say, let those who were specially benefited be made to pay the cost of the security which the making of this debt enabled the government to give. Thus under the present systems of finance, public debt becomes the means by which the rich are made richer and the poor poorer every year.

It may be asked, How can this thing be remedied? or, Should not the debt be paid? Of course, the debt should be paid, honestly and fully. But the poor laborer should not be continually robbed to pay it. Finance and revenue systems, which work such wholesale iniquity, should be swept away at one swoop, and others having the true welfare of all the people inaugurated. The power should be wrenched from the hands of the wealthy few and restored to the millions, whose it is by reason of their birthright. Quite too long have the millions of the earth been ground to the dust to support the indolent few in their ease, and each side must be awakened to this fact before it comes on them like an Alpine avalanche. If there is injustice done the weak and powerless, it must be remedied. If the few, by their superior knowledge, have been able to keep the many in complete subjection, they must be emancipated by being shown their condition and instructed into an appreciation of what justice should award them.

We cannot close without calling special attention to the results of the appreciation of the credit of the country, as set forth by Republican authorities, and they are these: By having wrenched every possible dollar from the earnings of the laborer by the process above described, the government, since the close of the war, has raised the value of the total amount of its bonds, principally in the hands of capitalists, from about \$1,700,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000; that is to say, at the close of the war capitalists held government bonds valued at the former amount, which, by the course pursued, have increased in value to the latter amount. When it is remembered that even the former amount is a vastly larger sum than the government realized from them, the enormity of the swindle begins to be evident.

It does not matter how we got into such a scrape. Its workings are entirely too much to the benefit of one class of citizens, and that the class best able to forego benefit, and entirely too much against another class, which class is entitled to all the consideration there is to be gained from just legislation. The same reasons that are used to justify bondholders in receiving one hundred dollars for what they only paid sixty dollars, also justify the "watering processes" to which wealthy railroad corporations resort. In both cases it is a justification at the expense of justice. The government of this country must give heed to the demands of those who have been ridden over already too long, and

conform legislation to them, as they will not much longer stop to say, "By your leave."

Even the *Tribune*, which lately had an extravagant display of figures, and which arrives at such charming deductions from false premises, does not fail to see the inconsistency of hoarding a hundred millions of gold in the Treasury, while the price in Wall street is 112 to 113. It is a matter of no little moment that so much money should be held, said to be in the vaults of the Treasury, and that there should be a continual communication maintained between the Treasury Department and certain banking houses in Wall street, in no official way connected with the Government. There may be no necessary relation between such a communication and frauds upon the people, but when it is whispered about that there are other frauds being perpetrated beside those of which Tammany is convicted by the *Times*, it may not be out of place to look even higher than city and county officials. It would be a startling complement to the blow that has killed the Democratic party, if one should fall, through the iniquities of the Treasury Department, which would kill the Republican party.

#### THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

##### NO. VIII.

The proposition that all men are born free and equal would seem to carry along with it the idea that equality should be, in a measure, maintained through life. The difference in infancy in individual capacity for growth is not so striking as to be prophetic of the wide distinctions which obtain among the people in the various departments of life—in intellect, in morals and in material prosperity.

It is reasonable to suppose that a government based on so broad a proposition of equality as is ours should be administered with the special idea to having that equality carried into developed manhood. Of what benefit or use to the individual is the fact of being born equal, unless there is some well-considered scheme supported by government, by making use of which individuals may be insured a practical equality—not so equal that there shall be no distinctions, but such as is proportioned to the relative capacities of different people.

It is not all chance that equality is not better regulated than it is. There must be some fundamental errors existent in the administration of the theory of our government to make it possible that one person, by laboring six hours a day for ten years, may accumulate fifty thousand dollars, while another person, of equal talent and capacity, accumulates nothing, but labors with equal diligence and skill in some other business and is equally provident.

There is but one proposition that can cover the very great distinctions which develop in the various industries, and that is, that there is no rule of equity underlying our system of industry. Our industries to a great extent are based upon our system of finance, and are also considerably modified by our land system. It is impossible to imagine that these distinctions are not the result of some advantage of which the successful have made use that did not come from their own inventive genius—that existed because of some system originated and maintained by government.

In previous articles under this head we have pointed out the defects in several branches of administration, especially our false financial and internal improvement systems. In future articles we shall consider still further imperfections, all of which have a direct bearing upon the question of the pecuniary relations among the various classes of society. But beside these modifying systems, there is a question of abstract right involved.

It is a well-attested fact that for people to secure the best purposes of life and to maintain health there should be certain regular habits of labor, rest and recreation. If a person require a certain number of hours of rest, the remainder should be about equally divided between pursuits for the care of the body and of the mind. The mind is the more important part of man, since it is that which he does not lose when death separates him from the body, and it would not be creditable to nature to maintain that a correct system of society should demand that a very large proportion of the people labor every hour of their lives except those they require for sleep, in order that they may be able to supply the demands of the body.

There are a considerable proportion of the people who do not labor at all in any productive industry. It is a moral certainty that these people subsist from the labor of those who are engaged in productive industry. And in this fact we find the justification for asserting that our systems of government first make injustice possible, and, after it has become fastened upon the people, render the producing classes subservient to the non-producing classes.

Now all this is wrong, both theoretically and practically, and is entirely at war with the consistent order of nature, the objects in the various departments of which are always entitled to and receive their just proportion of sustenance from the common fountain of supply. To bring our systems of industry into harmonious relations with nature they must be made to yield to every laborer in exact proportion to the amounts of strength and talent expended. Anything less than this is not divine justice, but in the pursuit of selfish purposes people lose sight of the fact that the best interests of the community are subserved when the best interests of the individuals composing the community are promoted. Whatever present, seeming good may be obtained at the ex-



pense of the interests of others, is just as certain to ultimately be fully compensated as it is certain that there is a system of divine justice, from whose edicts nothing may escape. Viewed in this positive light, it should be one of our first and most earnest efforts to so regulate our systems of industry and the pecuniary relations of the people that a proximate equality may be made possible for all people during life.

For this purpose we propose as the eighth plank of the platform of the Cosmopolitical party:

A reform in the relation of the employer and employed, by which shall be secured the practice of the great natural law of one-third of time to labor, one-third to recreation and one-third to rest, that by this intellectual improvement and physical development may go on to that perfection which the Almighty Creator designed.

#### A BREACH IN THE LAST LINE OF DEFENSE.

Philosopher Horace told us, not long since, that we might as well keep out of the courts with our suffrage delusions, for if we should go there we should be quietly requested to go about our business.

But it seems that the sage of the *Tribune* counted without his host, or that he had overlooked a certain Chief Justice "out West" in his calculations, since it turns out that the very first decision before the Supreme Court of a State has been directly contrary to the prediction of mistaken Horace. Poor prophet, thou art becoming of no honor in thine own country, and a little longer continuance of "Tilt on" you, we much fear, will forever paralyze that pen which in the past spoke so bravely and gloriously for the spread of freedom.

But certainly, Horace, you were mistaken, since a person—one Chief Justice Howes, of Omaha, Nebraska—has not only proven you so by giving a case of suffrage consideration, but, what is still worse for your side of the question, broadly stating in his decision that "women are legal voters in all the States in the Union."

Verily are the Scriptures again fulfilled, wherein they declare that the first shall be last and the last shall be first, since Nebraska, one of the last of the States, is the first to recognize equality for all her citizens. Again we say, Poor Horace! The services you have rendered the cause of general progress should have reserved you for a better fate, or rather should have reserved a better fate for you. But your last gun is spiked. You must now surrender at discretion, and you may even be permitted to retain the "honors of war."

But what will the "Old Liners" do, now that their last ditch is cut and the waters threaten to rush in and swamp them? They may attempt the Grant game of "packing the court" against Justice Howes, and thus reverse his decision, *a la* greenback. It will not, however, do to play this game too often.

If this decision really stand, as it seems it must, what, then, will the condition be? Why, just what we informed the public last November: That when the women citizens of one State should be permitted to exercise the right of suffrage, then no State could longer abridge that privilege, since article 4, section 2 of the Federal Constitution provides that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Now, if the women of Nebraska exercise the right of citizens to vote, why, then, all women in all the States are also entitled to do the same by this provision of the Constitution.

Thus are the lines tightening every day closer and firmer around the strongholds of conservatism and despotism, and ere long men will be compelled to surrender at discretion, and throw down their arms with which they have so long barred the passage from slavery to freedom which leading women were endeavoring to open.

#### THE AMERICAN PRESS ON COMMUNISM.

The inhumanity and brutality of the French government in their treatment of the Communist prisoners almost exceed belief, and ought to make their perpetrators infamous in all ages. Remember these are not the excesses of irresponsible demagogues, of fanatic theorists, of savage, debased, imbruted proletariats; these are the acts of the enlightened, the educated, who know the sweet uses of literature, who have learned the lessons of civilization, and who make "the sermon on the mount" a matter of State policy and religious obligation. It was the philosopher and the historian who promulgated the decree of "kill, kill, let there be no quarter," who deports women by thousands among the cannibals of New Caledonia. These are Republicans—friends of liberty—who insist on the sacred right of revolution, who justify '89 and '30 and '48, who abhor the *coup-d'état*, and shriek anathemas against the oppressor who curbs the popular will and chains down free speech. But that is when they are not in power. And these are the men whom the *Times* and the *Tribune* and the *Herald*—*et id omne genus*—delight to honor and hold up for public worship. Why? Because Thiers and his colleagues represent the money power of France. It is a question of principle. The *Herald* and its congeners talk of the people, of the working-men, of the rights of labor, of freedom, and all the other worn-out claptrap of the stump; but in this sympathy with the money power we see the devil's tail sticking out. It is the duty of the civilized world to squelch the International, says the *Herald*. Why not? And why not squelch every other workingman's organization, and therein give full

scope to the money powers, who now only tolerate suffrage while they can manipulate it and get sanction and endorsement through the honeyfugling and wire-pulling of *plebiscites* and primaries.

#### KATE STANTON.

"Whom to Marry" is the title of our brilliant young friend's coming lecture. If we were a man, and that our theory of natural selection were only accepted, we should not wait long before deciding "whom to marry." As it is, and not being a man, we can only congratulate the selected, and pity those wretched Darwinians who are eliminated from Kate's assorted list of eligibles. Those interested may draw their own moral from the following story:

"Some two or three years ago, while residing in New York, she was importuned by one of her numerous suitors, a wealthy and somewhat haughty New Yorker, who thought it honor enough for a queen to receive his offer to marry him; and getting slightly out of patience with his pressing suit for the twentieth time, she said to him: 'John, I have declined to accept your offer for a score of times as gently and delicately as I could; but it is of no use. You know I like you as a dear good friend, and your perseverance is worthy of reward, I gratefully acknowledge. Well, there are at least forty "good men and true" on the same plane in my affections with you. To be perfectly just, I suppose I must accept the first proposer in point of time, first; when he dies the next, and so on. You are about the twenty-fifth, say, on the list. If you will be patient, and make me love you too (for I will marry for love only), I'll take you in your turn. Could you propose a more equitable plan?' John was forced to bow to the justice of Miss Stanton's proposition, and is said to be waiting patiently, although she has not as yet, of course, accepted the first suitor. John is not a lawyer; Miss Stanton is; that is, she is preparing for the bar; and it is supposed that John in assenting, overlooked the fact that in her proposition she set no time for commencing. It is evident that, as a lawyer, Miss Stanton will not lack skill in 'drawing a contract.'

"Kate Stanton was born in Charlestown, Mass. Her mother dying when she was quite young, the charge of her sister, three brothers and herself was taken by her grandmother. This lady believed in equal privileges for the sexes, and that what was good for one was good for the other. At school no difference was made in the studies, which were pursued together, as were both work and play in the open air. To this natural method of exercise she may be indebted for an excellent constitution and almost exhaustless vitality. She was successful as a teacher at the age of sixteen, and afterward traveled on the Continent for three years, visiting Holland and Germany alone, making herself familiar with the people, and perfecting her knowledge of German and French, and of human nature. Returning to her native State, she has for some time been engaged in the study of law; but her active mind and benevolent spirit leading her to enlist with enthusiasm in the cause of temperance, she has become an associate editress of the *New World*, published in this city. It is understood that Miss Stanton intends entering the lecture field, in which, with her clear and well-trained voice and sprightly yet refined manner, she will doubtless meet with success."

THE CHAUTAQUA boiler disaster is so bad that had it not been overshadowed by the terrible Westfield holocaust it would have been a shocking business. Several minor occurrences in which only two or three or four lives have been sacrificed are also repeated. The arrest of the proprietor of the Westfield is a highly proper action of the authorities. It may be, probably will be, that in the present state of law a great offender will go unwhipped. The spirit of public opinion is to strike at the biggest game, but the spirit of judicial administration is to let them go. It is, however, a wholesome warning to those who make, profit, and pile up fortunes at the cost of the blood and suffering of their fellow-creatures that they are responsible somewhere. Mr. Braisted, walking through the streets in custody, says this is dreadful. How infinitely more dreadful the horrid tortures of those maimed, crushed, burned, scalded unfortunates who were borne through the same streets a few days since. Sidney Smith once proposed that a railroad director should compulsorily ride on the locomotive. The indifference that grows from use would probably make directors as careless as engineers. But if directors could only run their trains and steamboats with the State prison staring them in the face for culpable negligence and infamous carelessness of human life and usual duties, the public would be better off than they are now with the mockery of punishing an engine driver or a brakeman for sins of ignorance, while his employers go scatheless and rejoicing in the rewards of their own selfish policy. Oh that a director were only in Sing Sing for twenty years!

If the license system for dram-shops be a judicious police regulation, and honestly administered, the St. Louis rule seems about as good as any. An ordinance stipulates that no application for a dram-shop license shall be granted unless it is accompanied by a petition signed by a majority of the tax-paying citizens in the block where it is proposed to locate the establishment. It is found that the lowest class of dram-shops are unable to obtain the approval of their neighbors, and the result of this has been that some of the lowest dens in the city have been closed.

THE *New World*, by Mrs. Paulina W. Davis and Kate Stanton, is progressing as the *New World* only can. It is enlarged in size and its new heading and new type form an appropriate vehicle in which to convey the thoughts that breathe and words that burn of its accomplished editresses. For

JUST AS we expected: that delicate and forbearing spirit in our virtuous brethren of the press, which would not permit a dead woman's heart to lie in the grave in silent peace, but must exhume and dissect it for the gratification of common curiosity, has led to discussion. Poor Alice Cary loved somebody but told nobody. Now comes the next morning's correction of yesterday's lie. We read that

"The story that Alice Cary loved Rev. Dr. Griswold and that he was false to her, is contradicted. Dr. Griswold was three times married."

Never mind Griswold. His feelings are of no account, the public "wants to know."

For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.

#### THE PARTING.

BY JOSHUA ROSE.

Though silence and coldness may part us forever,  
Mid all the dull pain thrilling deep in my heart,  
I come now to tell you at least it were well you  
And I in forgiveness and friendship should part;  
That though could I see your fair form here before me,  
Faint signs of the old love my face might betray;  
Once lavished upon you, 'tis now drifting from you—  
'Tis waning and fading, and passing away.

E'en now, while the wound you inflicted is paining,  
A voice in my heart pines in soft tones for you,  
Who wavered and faltered, were fickle and altered—  
Oh, why were you false when you should have been true?  
I loved you too well, and too well did you know it,  
I drank deep the friendship my vision had planned—  
That friendship you pledged, that friendship you slighted—  
The prize was worth nothing when held in the hand.

My faith as a slave made its own early grave;  
Although you once feared would I be ever true,  
The vows that were spoken by you have been broken;  
From first unto last I was faithful to you,  
No guile have I used, not a link have I severed;  
If failings I had they were well known to you;  
The love you accepted, first craved, then neglected,  
Whatever to others was perfect to you.

Your silence is well; do not proffer a reason,  
I spare you the pain of that unpleasant task;  
My love must not fester, pass on and be better—  
Be nobler and truer—'tis all I now ask.  
And so let the mystery lie just where you left it,  
If I met you earnestly your heart will tell;  
You know in your heart I was true to my part—  
You changed, I did not; with forgiveness, farewell.

The long years may pass and my name be forgotten,  
New loves for a time round your heart may entwine,  
New pleasures may greet you, new faces may meet you,  
But none be so tender, so faithful as mine.  
For what you once were I shall love you as ever,  
Though what you are now may be nothing to me,  
Your friendship, though newer, can never be truer;  
Go, be you to them what I wish you to be.

I freely, I truly, I wholly forgive you—  
No chidings within my sad bosom shall glow—  
And if I cling to you, remember 'twas through you;  
If weak I have been it was you made me so.  
I bent to your power when its spell was upon me,  
But you must not blame me, for full well you know  
That you should not grieve me; enough that you leave me.  
I am what I am—it was you made me so.

A LADY correspondent says: "Women generally have an instinct against organizations composed of women only, and they are right. No great good can ever be effected by them, because sooner or later they fall into the hands of the one among them who has the strongest will, the greatest spirit of appropriation, the most persistent selfishness—the one, in short, who is most like a man, and the whole concern becomes her little machine." What would our friend have? Of course the heaviest brain, the keenest wit and the strongest will rule everywhere. The ruling geniuses of the world have not been its fools. If "the greatest spirit of appropriation, the most persistent selfishness," be accepted as the leverage wherewith to stir the world, the women will use them. But this is man rule. We hope to see better, purer, holier motives when women come to their rights.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in a recent address to the colored men of Baltimore, says: "We hope yet to see the day when the colored mechanics of Baltimore will leave the lanes and alleys. It would be impossible for angels to rear families in those dreadful dens of bad air and bad morals, and to lead lives of intelligence, virtue and refinement."

This remark, cogent as it is, ought not to be confined either to Baltimore or to colored people. Few except district visitors or physicians have the remotest idea of the deplorable misery in which honest, industrious white men and women live in New York. The blind alleys, the close courts, the packed rooms, and the wretchedness in which people live and work, are beyond all description. To the unaccustomed the atmosphere is pestilential; cause, high rents and want of transit; consequence, loss of morals, loss of health, and constant seed-bed of pestilence that only requires circumstance to carry its ravages into the dwellings and households of the rich. When the poor suffer the rich are not always exempt. There is a common interest between us all. We must stand or fall together.

The greatest benefactors to mankind are not they who accomplish facts, but they who discover principles.



## MR. GREELEY'S REPLY TO MR. TILTON.

To the Editor of the Golden Age:

MY DEAR SIR: I beg you to consider that it was your original promise, not mine, that my conviction of the right and proper indissolubility of marriage "underlies all the criticisms that the *Tribune* so ruthlessly and rudely makes on Woman Suffrage." It was your original assertion that "Mr. Greeley must first change his fundamental convictions of the proper moral relations which should subsist between husband and wife" before I could "veer round toward Woman Suffrage." You said this because you knew me, and knew that this was substantially, vitally true. Pardon my saying that your attempt to explain away or obscure this truth in the letter addressed to me in your last, is not in perfect accord with my faith in your candor and your courage. You and I feel and know that there is an intimate and inseparable connection between Woman Suffrage and easy divorce; and the fact that others do not see it will excuse neither of us in denying or obscuring that truth.

I. You ask me what I mean by "Free Love." Let me illustrate:

Here are a husband and wife, each fifty years old, who have lived in wedlock a quarter of a century, and have had six or eight children, of whom half survive. The pains and cares of maternity have nearly worn out the wife, while the husband is still in the prime of manly vigor and strength. He has filled a wider sphere and enjoyed better opportunities for mental culture than she has, and feels himself her intellectual superior. Among his acquaintances is a younger, fairer, fresher woman, not so richly dowered with worldly wealth, who admires and is admired by him—who, in fact, is willing, if invited, to be his "affinity," and he is more than willing that she shall. If they "take up" with each other, their arrangement, or whatever you please to call it, is just what I excrete as "Free Love." You know that such alliances exist. I feel that they are abhorred of God and a chief cause of human degradation, family disruption and general wretchedness. In short, I hold the man who has sworn to love and cherish one woman till death not free to love another while that woman lives and strives to fulfill toward him the duties of a loving wife. Hence, I intensely hate "Free Love;" and I hate all inculcation that a marriage may rightfully be dissolved, except for flagrant, deliberate adultery, while husband and wife both live.

II. I believe in educating both sexes to the extent of our ability, so that they shall be thoroughly qualified for the duties that await them. I would educate daughters as completely as sons. I would accord them equal, but not necessarily identical, opportunities. I do not hold it essential that they should be educated together throughout; and I would not advise that they study and master exactly the same departments of knowledge. On the contrary, I would have some of their studies different; and I would not have them lodged as may happen in the dormitories of one college building. In short, I prefer to send a daughter for schooling to Vassar rather than Yale or Harvard.

III. As to politics and voting, I hold that the relation to government which Woman has hitherto borne, is not one imposed on her by Man, but freely and wisely chosen as that most consistent with her nature, her duties, and her happiness. I hold that the first man and first woman, having decided to unite their efforts and their fortunes, chose freely and naturally their appropriate duties respectively—the man going forth to wrest their joint subsistence from the elements; the woman remaining at home to care for their property and make that home agreeable to her husband on his return. I hold that, when government became a recognized public need, the men came together to establish it; the women, from an instinct of fitness, remaining at home. And now, if the human race were to perish to-morrow, and another such race were created to replace us, the men and women of that new race would necessarily accept and perform their respective duties substantially as we now do. Hence, you see, what you have to say of "Democratic government," "taxation without representation," etc., etc., flies entirely wide of my position. I regard the existing condition as a distribution of duties and functions for the common good, by the instinctive perception of fitness and free volition of the great mass of both men and women.

IV. As to Woman's wages, I hold them inferior, partly because of her inferior strength, but mainly because of her inferior skill. Nilsson has no cause to complain; and the whortleberries sold in our markets bring no higher price when picked and offered by a man, than they would if he were a woman. The deplorable truth is that the greater number of our girls are not instructed in any useful calling whatever, and are poorly paid for doing poor work.

This is all that your letter seems to call for. I am too busy and too weary to enter upon the elaborate discussion you invite; beside, I care not to travel a path already so beaten. But you saw fit, in commenting on my former letter, to impugn the moral conduct of some undesignated person who (you say) writes editorials on Woman Suffrage for the *Tribune*. I now challenge you to make good that impeachment, or confess that it was a wanton calumny.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

Tribune Office, Aug. 18, 1871.

## MR. TILTON'S REJOINDER TO MR. GREELEY.

Mr. Horace Greeley:

MY DEAR SIR—As you have not picked up the gauntlet that I threw down, but speak of your weariness, I now leave you at rest, and to the contemplation of the following desultory notes:

I. You may rail at Free Love or Divorce to your heart's content, and I shall not chide you. What grieves me is to see the *Tribune* a foe to Woman Suffrage. Having won a laurel in advocating the negro's emancipation, you are now discarding yourself in striking at woman's enfranchisement. Once a leader of the party of progress, you are not now even a follower in its ranks. There was a time when the *Tribune* used to waken us every morning with the sound of a trumpet. The dear old newspaper still gathers news, judges books, reports meetings, watches caucuses and whips free-traders—all admirably, and never better than under the freeness of Mr. Whitelaw Reid. But the *Tribune's* soul—that is, its early fire, its spring-time glow, its enkindling heat—all this is gone. I pick up my daily copy from my door-steps as if it were a handful of ashes. You have ceased to be a reformer, and the *Tribune* has no more moral mission than the London Times. Judged as you yourself have heretofore judged public men—that is, by the test question of the day (which now is Woman Suffrage)—you are no longer a radical, but a conservative. You remind me of Patrick Henry, who began his career by saying, "Liberty or Death," and ended it by defending Virginian slavery. The *Tribune*

now stands toward Woman Suffrage as Mr. Vallandigham, during the war, stood toward the slave's freedom. I hope that, before you die, you will live long enough to take "a new departure."

II. "I would educate daughters," you say, "as completely as sons." No, you forget yourself. Only last week you drew a fancy picture of your own daughters as they would appear at a nominating convention, or before a jury, or in the senate, and you prayed that rather than they should come to any such career, you might be in your grave. This prejudice of yours against educating women for public speakers must be of a late and abnormal growth in your mind. Indeed, if you were not the honest man I know you to be, I should be tempted to say that you had invented this objection to serve as a point in this controversy. The very last time I saw you at Cooper Institute, you were presiding over Miss Edgerton's lecture against the right of her sex to speak in public; and I noticed that you paid to her the same respect as to Dr. Chapin, for you went approvingly to sleep. Now, did you, on that tranquil occasion, cunningly exhibit the outward composure of a man inwardly shocked? A few years ago you opened the door of the *Independent* office and called out to me, "My friend, read no new book until you have first devoured Antoinette Blackwell's sermons, for I heard her preach them, and they are great." Were you shocked with that gentle preacher during the sermon time? A few months ago, you and I walked side by side to and from the funeral of Wm. H. Burleigh, and you were full of kind words concerning his widow—an honored lady who has since put her fine gifts to a beautiful use in the Christian ministry, and who lately preached a sermon which so melted the heart of a friend of mine that he says the memory of it will be a blessing to him as long as he lives. Is there something shocking to your mind in the new career which this noble woman has chosen? When I lectured at Iowa City, I was told that you, who had preceded me a week, began your lecture with these words: "Ladies and gentlemen, I suppose it is now a universally admitted fact that I am the worst possible public speaker in the United States." Is it not, my dear sir, something of a family prejudice that leads you to anticipate the oratory of your daughters as simply shocking?

III. A just inference from your letter is that I advocate Free Love. On the contrary, I stiffly oppose it. The latest bulletin of Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews castigates me because I hold that the heart's ideal is monogamic marriage—the supreme love of one man for one woman through life and (I hope) beyond death. But this is only my own view—I do not judge for others. Furthermore, I hold that love, and love only, constitutes marriage; that marriage makes the bond, not the bond the marriage; and that, as the contract is to "love and honor," so when the love and honor end, the contract dissolves, and the marriage ceases. I cheerfully relieve Mr. Henry B. Blackwell and other martins in Boston by frankly acknowledging that I differ in these views from most other woman suffragists. But I am willing to take all the obloquy which this difference invokes on the few who are right from the many who are wrong. I would no more permit the law of the land to enchain me to a woman whom I did not love, or who did not love me, than I would permit the same law to handcuff me as a slave to a master on a plantation. There are higher laws than civil statutes, and I am a rebel against the State's too impertinent interference between man and wife. Love should be like religion—free from mandate by the civil law. Now you may strike me for saying this, but the next generation will gild this sentiment with fine gold. As Kossuth said, "I can wait."

IV. You say, "I hate all inculcation that a marriage may be rightfully dissolved, except for flagrant, deliberate adultery, while husband and wife both live." I am ashamed of such a sentiment from your pen. Thousands of good women, like Mrs. McFarland, have obtained divorces from drunken and beastly husbands, not on account of adultery, but of sottishness or cruelty. By what right, divine or human, shall you remand these emancipated women to the loathsome embraces of men from whom they have fled in fear of their lives? Thousands of women, appealing to merciful and humane courts, have obtained divorces because husbands have deserted them, or mangled them, or starved them, or otherwise wrongly treated them. Why will you cruelly affront all womankind by saying to each one of these suffering women, "Your divorce is stripped of all moral sanction, and I point at you the finger of obloquy because you have asked the law to deliver you out of the jaws of death, and out of the gates of hell?"

V. You have instanced a married pair who, after a quarter of a century of wedlock, exhibit the husband in his prime, the wife in her decay. "He," you say, "has filled a wider sphere and enjoyed better opportunities for mental culture than she has, and feels himself her intellectual superior." What an innocent confession you here make of your own damning theory of marriage! Doom a woman to be man's inferior from the very beginning of her married life, and what can you expect her to be at the end of it? Why does a woman, after twenty years of wedlock, show more physical and mental dilapidation than a man? It is because, during these years, you and your fellow-thinkers sentence her to be man's subordinate, not his equal—his servant, not his mate. Why should "the pains and cares of maternity wear her out," except that you have enacted a common law of marriage which either tyrannously forces or tacitly expects a woman to bear more children than she wants? Why should she be intellectually stupid and empty, except that, all her life long, you and the *Tribune* have shut her out from her husband's opportunities? Why should her husband have "a wider sphere" than hers, except that you and he have conspired to crowd her into a narrower one? Why should he enjoy better opportunities for mental culture than she, except that you have written and published your threats that even if your own daughters should attempt to fit themselves for something higher than household employment, or, in other words, should try to rise to the level of their father's genius, you would step down like Jacob sorrowfully into the grave? I frankly assert, because I solemnly believe, that the young men and women who marry to-day, and who derive their notions of the marriage relation from such teachers as you, will inevitably grow apart, until, at the end of a "quarter of a century of wedlock," they will find themselves in the very antithesis which you have described. Beware lest they curse your memory for bringing them to it!

VI. You astonish me by going back to the world's primitive era to deduce therefrom the maxims that should govern modern times. Macaulay has so pitilessly ridiculed this fallacious style of reasoning that I am sorry you have put yourself under his ban. Pray tell me, what has the past to offer us, in the way of government, except tyranny over

men and double tyranny over women? Must we go back to the savage tribes to learn civilization? If so, what would Nimrod have thought of the *Tribune*? or Pharaoh Necho of a Republican caucus? If we are not wiser than our ancestors, both they and we have lived in vain. The chief monument of the world's later wisdom is civil liberty. De Tocqueville shows that not the statesmanship of Greece and Rome ever once caught a glimpse of a truly democratic idea as one sees it in a town meeting in New England. Our fathers discovered a truth before unrecognized in history—namely, the dignity of man. Alexander Hamilton said in the manifesto of the Revolution, "The rights for which we struggle are the rights of human nature." Building on this truth our fathers sought to conform their political government to the human heart, lest the passionate beatings of the one should upheave and overthrow the other. Accordingly, the doctrines which compose our American liberty—for instance, government by consent, taxation by representation, trial by jury and the like—are not merely flowers on the stalk of our civil system, but are the very sap and life-blood of its strength and bloom. They are not merely external devices of government, which have been invented by cunning wit or discovered by happy chance; but, on the contrary, they are the outward and natural exponents of the inward and irrepressible yearnings of the great heart of humanity. I say, therefore, first, you cannot escape from the argument that our democratic institutions, which at the outset included white men and now include negroes, must in like manner include women; and, second, setting aside this argument, as you do (being unable to answer what is unanswerable), you cannot escape from that more fundamental argument to which you vainly appeal—namely, that human nature itself excludes women from civil functions; for, in saying this, you forget that democratic institutions are but the recorded voice of this same human nature, uttering its co-equal demand for the rights of men and women, and now more than ever imperious for the common enfranchisement of both.

VII. I cannot overrate my sense of the importance of woman suffrage. It is an infinitely higher question than the abolition of slavery. Anybody with a human heart could see that the slave ought to be set free. But it takes a finer discernment, a deeper penetration, to discover that woman must be enfranchised. You have proved yourself competent to the lower, but incompetent to the higher reform. It must go on without you. It loses much by losing your stout pen, but you lose more by losing your golden opportunity to make the *Tribune* its banner of battle. Womanhood is a sacred thing, and yet the *Tribune* insults it every day. The centre of the world is home, and yet you bind a chain on the freedom which should reign within it. The chief hell on earth is a marriage profaned, and yet you lock the door to all escape from it. The industrial necessity of our day is better pay for women, and yet you deny them the ballot to procure it. The incentive to prostitution is hunger, and yet you give its victims only a tenth part of man's opportunity to save themselves from it. You are working a cruel wrong to society—undoing the beneficence of a lifetime. And now you quench all hope of your ever showing any future and growing kindness toward woman's enfranchisement. Nothing remains for its friends but to fight you as its enemy. Consider, therefore, that war is declared.

VIII. Your allusion to some undesignated person whom you think I have calumniated, leads me to say that if, throughout this correspondence, any playfulness of mine has been so awkwardly expressed as to seem like asperity, or has otherwise turned my roses into thorns, the mischief has been only in my pen, not in my heart. I have hurt your feelings, I pray you pardon me. Nor would I, for the sake of twenty jests, leave an unjust reflection on any of the fine bery of young men in your office, whose helpful labors keep you from growing old. I do not forget that, as a shareholder in the *Tribune*, I am a partner in business with yourself and your managing editor, and yet more happy am I to remember that I am a still larger partner in friendship with you both. Moreover, if you consult my previous remarks, you will see that though I quote an idle tale (and it referred to an out-of-town contributor), I did so only to "deny it indignantly and to bring to its author's cheek the blush of shame." But Free Love is like a snake—it is best abused by some one whom it has bitten. And I thought the *Tribune's* indignation superb.

Affectionately yours,

THEODORE TILTON.

The Golden Age, Aug. 22, 1871.

## THE INTERNATIONAL.

It ought to be known that this association is not secret—it does not aspire to the honor of being a conspiracy. Its meetings are held in public; they are open to all comers, though only members are permitted to speak (unless by special invitation), and none but members are allowed to vote. The several sections in this city and vicinity meet as follows:

Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.

Section 2 (French).—The second Sunday in each month, 2 p. m., at No. 100 Prince street (especially to accommodate female members) and every other Sunday, 9 a. m., at the same place.

Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 p. m., at No. 10 Stanton street.

Section 8 (German).—Monday, 8 p. m., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.

Section 9 (American).—Wednesday 8 p. m., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.

Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 p. m., West Thirty-ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's.

Section 12 (American).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at No. 44 Broad street.

THE Crown Prince of Prussia has the credit of saying that "some of us may not admire or love Republicanism, but it is as impossible to hate it as it is impossible to hate nature herself." Such philosophic ideas are common to autocrats and aristocrats. In fact, the heir to the crown is almost always liberal until he girds his temples with the golden circlet. Alexander I. and II. of Russia are instances. George IV. was in opposition to his father. But wolves don't begot lambs.



# THE WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

MY RESPECTS TO MR. BOUCHER.

In your "Declaration of Principles," published in Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, No. 66, which contains, in the main, orthodox Pantarchical Doctrine, I find the following:

The sovereignty of the individual, or free-competition system, is the opposite to an organized system, and is not only unscientific merely, but it tends to chaos—is chaos.

It is predicated upon the theory, or rather the idea, that we are but individuals—that we are wholly selfish and not at all social beings.

The Communistic System, on the contrary, is predicated on the idea that we are wholly socialistic in our character, and it is, therefore, the opposite extreme, from the golden mean, where the truth of the case lies, and is, therefore, like the other system, by one-half false, or rather falsely predicated.

We are both individual or selfish, and social, by organization, by nature, and therefore must not only have organized system, but the system must be predicated upon this duality of the nature of man.

The first great necessity, and it is an absolute necessity, in order to effectuate the organization of society generally, is the scientific organization of industry—of labor.

Your short epigrammatic method of statement has its advantages, coupled with the disadvantages of being liable to do injustice to phases of social opinion which you undertake to characterize. "Sovereignty of the Individual" is a technicality of Mr. Warren's contribution to social science, and should be used, therefore, as defined by him; and as so defined, it is not at all equivalent to the existing "free competition" system with which you couple and confound it. Indeed, taken with its own limit, "at one's own cost," meaning *not at the cost of other people*, and with Mr. Warren's complimentary principle, "cost the limit of price," as the measure of equity, it is so far from being chaos, that it is the absolute ideal basis of social order. So far from being unscientific, it is rigorously scientific, so far as it goes; and if it is to be criticised at all, it is only on the ground of being too scientific to be made readily practical.

If men *would* understand and adopt these principles, they would put an end to social chaos, and lay the foundation of harmony; without any resort to communistic association—which is Mr. Warren's great object. The real objections are that men cannot and will not accept and apply such purely abstract principles; that they do not sufficiently love justice; and that other beneficent results than the mere extinguishment of chaos and injustice, certain sympathetic accommodations, for which associate or communistic life will after all be requisite, must also be sought for and gain a representation;

And that equity or the extinguishment of profit-making can be (perhaps) better secured through a more complex, a less symplistic, though more artificial, and less rigorously scientific method.

What you mean to say is that Unlimited Divergent Individuality or Free Competition is the opposite of an organized system, etc. The Sovereignty of the Individual is something quite different, and is the basis of, and a very precious element in, every true organization; and it is for this reason that Mr. Warren will and should forever rank as one of the first of Sociologists, although his principles may find themselves practically vindicated under forms of society very different from, and, indeed, quite the opposite of what he has had in idea.

But this is incidental. Why I clipped the above extract from your "Declaration" I will now tell you.

After sketching Divergency on the one hand and Convergency on the other (Divergent Individuality or Free Competition, and Communism), you call the latter "the opposite extreme from the golden mean, where the truth of the case lies." Now, I have to object to this statement as being still short of the truth. I object to the whole "golden mean" doctrine as being no nearer the truth than the two extremes, or either of them singly. The middle (mean part) of a stick is no more the whole stick than the two ends, or one end. Strictly speaking, it is a mere point, as they are mere points. But even when not conceived of so strictly, this *mean* signifies that we are not to go (in thought or practically) too far out toward either end. Golden-mean-ism is, therefore, the same as Eclecticism, which I also object to, as an incompleteness. What I propound is INTEGRALISM, which means the whole stick, or "the whole hog," if you will—which stops at no mean, except for pivot or balancing purposes, but which goes out in its views and practices quite to both ends of the subject (whatsoever), and beyond them into the clear, open space in both directions; which reverses the drifts of direction from time to time, and traverses the whole distance, in all senses, counterparting, interweaving and reconciling all differences, and receding to the centre or mean as a pivot, or to the two ends, if appropriate, as the bearing points of the gudgeons—comprehending in a word the whole system of the mechanism, whatsoever it is. That is what is meant by the Philosophy of Integralism.

Except for the purposes of balancing and governing and measuring distances, weights and the like, I hate mean things and mean people altogether, and golden means, just as much as any other.

As all truth is complex, at least two-sided, I have been in

the habit of saying, that therefore, I find myself always compelled to tell two lies before I can tell the truth. I find I shall have to amend this statement and say that I have to tell three lies before I can tell the truth.

The first lie in this case is Individuality (Divergent), which is a great and profoundly significant truth which lies at the bottom of all other truth; a truth except for the fact that all half-truths are lies, and that it is counterparted by the opposite lie, which is Unity (Convergent Individuality), an equally profoundly significant grand truth except for the same fact that half-truths are lies, and that this in turn is only a half truth, and must be perpetually counterparted by the opposite divergency.

But now comes up the middle or mean and asserts itself as the truth. No, I thank you; that truth is also a lie. As important as a truth as either of the others, it sins also by omission and is a lie by reference to what it fails to say. Eclectics are no better than extremists; unless they are many sided, versatile and ultra enough to be at the same time Integralists. Integralism is the final philosophy, and none can go beyond it, because it is the inclusion of the whole in all its parts, aspects and diversities.

I thank you, therefore, Mr. Boucher, for having given me this opportunity to state more explicitly what is meant by Integralism, as distinguished even from Eclecticism, which is the last preceding stage of mental evolution before reaching it.

The Science of Integralism in all Spheres of Being is UNIVERSOLOGY.

The Grand Universal Institute of all Human Affairs, based on the Philosophy of Integralism and guided by the Science of Universoology (Neo-Positivism) is THE PANTARCHY.

Do what you will about it, things have got to come to this pass at last; and, perhaps, we might as well begin to see the end from the beginning, and begin from now to work in the right way, instead of wasting another generation or two in preliminary tactics and evolutions.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

## "THE WORLD DOES MOVE," AFTER ALL.

The Tribune, of August 15, has the following:

"The Pittsburgh Gazette says of Mr. Greeley's avowment (in his letter to Tilton) that he would not, in all cases, consider one violation of marriage vows a reason for divorce. 'This, of course, is applicable to the male sex only; as even the Tribune philosopher would not attempt to argue that a wife might commit adultery "only once," and be forgiven by her husband.' As Mr. Greeley had said, in the very paragraph on which the Gazette comments, 'You and I agree that husbands have no rightful immunity in such matters which ought not also to be accorded to the wives,' we submit that this is rather rough."

The naive verandcy of the Pittsburg Gazette is here as amusing as the positive advancement of Mr. Greeley in the comprehension of Christianity and decency is encouraging. "This, of course," says the Gazette, in all simplicity, "is applicable to the male sex only," etc. They may be forgiven, but never a woman, "of course!" blurring out what most men have tacitly assumed always, but what very few are now brutal enough or silly enough to say so openly. It is as if some South Carolina Rip Van Winkle, who had slept through the war, were to wake up now and, overhearing some of the talk of to-day, should exclaim, in all honesty, "You don't mean, of course, that a white man hasn't a right to wholop his nigger." Why, bless your soul, my dear man, there are no more "niggers" to wholop! They are all colored persons, or American citizens of African descent, or something of that sort.

And where have you of the Pittsburg Gazette been sleeping all this time? Don't you know that as great a change has taken place in public opinion already, in behalf of women, as in behalf of the "niggers," and that a woman has as much right as a man has to do or to be anything? Even Mr. Greeley, the last and latest old fogey of all on this subject, as we thought him, has got ahead of you, and admits the same law of free forgiveness to both sexes. We thank you of the Gazette for reminding us, by the contrast, that even this is progress, and that Mr. Greeley is not absolutely a fossil specimen of the old and dark times before the flood.

S. P. A.

## PROFANITY.

A correspondent wants to know if the Hon. Horace Greeley swears. We answer: Mr. Greeley is a great man, and if he swears it is only on great occasions, such as are indicated in Jonah, iv. 9, viz.: "Dost thou well to be angry?" And he said, I do well to be angry."—Exchange paper.

There is the germ of a great truth hinted at in this squib. Our prevalent ideas of profanity are silly and babyish in the extreme, as are nearly all of our Sunday-school inculcations of morality. "Swear not at all" is a right injunction, doubtless, in respect to oath-taking in an ancient sense, which has now gone mostly out of use; that of binding the soul to the performance of some undertaking in the future, and invoking the sanction of God or the Gods, or their vengeance in case of failure. But what has this to do with the use of strong expletives in conversation, such as every man and woman of strong impulses and convictions is often prompted to use. Indeed, it is the most religious natures who are the most frequently and sometimes almost irresistibly prompted to swear. "Be ye angry and sin not" is an injunction which they understand. The namby-pamby creatures whose souls are never stirred by any great emotion

or passion can easily submit to milk-and-water preaching and moralizing of all sorts; but great souls will have their volcanic eruptions, or are, at least, liable to have them.

What is wrong and wicked in the matter is the *habit* of swearing; the senseless and disgusting *habit* of using strong expletives which mean nothing. This is a mere abuse of the true uses of oburgation and invective, and cannot be too severely condemned. Horace Greeley has, therefore, the right of it; as George Washington had also. Neither of them were profane, for neither of them took ever the name of God in vain. Both of them, when they used that name, used it *effectively*; and then swearing is just as good as praying. It is the dead, inanimate, meaningless use of language which is to be deprecated, and preached against. Never swear except on great occasions; never swear unless the occasion is worthy of the manifestation, and demands righteous indignation; and, then, if you swear, do it *effectively*. Put your soul into it and make yourself felt. Washington and Greeley are instances of this instinctively correct use of expletives; and the public, even the religious and moralistic public, instinctively accepts them, and condone conduct which they theoretically condemn.

A good deacon was mildly rebuking a "hard case" for profanity. "O, deacon," said the man, "never mind; your praying and my swearing are just alike." "How is that?" said the deacon. "O," said the other, "*neither of us mean anything by it.*" Now, this was probably true; and in that case the praying was just as bad as the swearing; and both were bad, not because they were either praying or swearing, in fact, but because they were the bogus article; because they were neither praying nor swearing, but false pretences, mere dead corpses of the living realities which they imitated.

A lady told me recently a good story of an Irish servant girl in her service, who said, pathetically, "I am so *sorry* it is wicked to swear; it is *such nice manly language.*" There was an instinct in this of the true perception, that as felt by Mr. Greeley, who sits and sleeps comfortably in his cushioned pew of a Sunday, and is really a good Christian, but who thinks that there is a time also for swearing. The idea is getting abroad, too, that the moralists have been simplistic, and not discriminative, in their teachings on this subject. A distinguished literary man said to me recently that he was preparing an article on "The Divine Uses of Profanity."

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

## MR. WARREN AGAIN.

It was an oversight that in concluding my criticism on Mr. Warren's letter two weeks ago, I omitted to do what I had promised to do in respect to showing that Mr. Warren does not logically adhere to his own definition of Rights.

I have previously shown that, by his definition, Rights means *rectifications, straightenings-out* or what "*works rightly*" in social relations—which is saying *straight roads*; but that in ordinary usage, in which Rights and Duties are contrasted, Right means the *Direction* of the Straight Road which runs toward me or my advantage, and that Duty means the opposite Direction of the same Straight Road, that which runs away from or against me or my advantage, and to or toward my neighbor or his advantage.

Now in the last clause of Mr. Warren's letter, he says; "You have incidentally done me justice in saying that I demand rights, but do not prescribe 'duties' (to other people). Their right of *self-sovereignty* (for which I have profound reverence) forbids this impertinence."

If we assume that Mr. Warren is consistent in his use of the word *rights* in this clause, and that, therefore, he means by it merely *rectifications* (with their two drifts of direction, *to and from*), then the term includes *both rights*, in the ordinary sense (to), and *duties* (from); and then by "demanding rights" (in this sense, the sense of his definition) he does "prescribe duties to other people," and to all people—since duties, equally with rights, in the minor sense, are included in the meaning of rectifications, or rights, in the major sense—Mr. Warren's peculiar and technical sense of the term.

If we hold Mr. Warren, therefore to his definition of Rights, he does prescribe Duties to others, however impertinent it may be to do so; but as he informs us that he never does so, the only escape is to assume that *now* he is using *rights* in the ordinary or minor sense, to which he has fallen down unconsciously, that in which *rights* stand contrasted with *duties* (as to and from)—*quad erat demonstrandum*.

We should only have to pursue him through his writings at large to show that he runs into this confusion habitually.

Another point omitted. Mr. Warren talks of desiring to avoid being ruined by "codes and courts," which, he says, I am so willing "to carry into the future, instead of getting rid of them by an intelligent view of self-interest." Now this fling and depreciative imputation is all based on the fact that I referred to the *codes* and *courts* as having a more satisfactory definition for the word *rights* than the one which Mr. Warren furnishes. Mr. Warren knows that my purposes, as much so as his, are to reduce the necessity for and the intervention of law courts to the minimum, or if that is practicable, to dispense with them altogether; and this reasoning, through childish irritation, by unauthorized inuendo, is unworthy of Mr. Warren, and he should be on his guard, not in the future to indulge in it.

A third point. Mrs. Woodhull shows me a quarrelsome letter from Mr. Warren, in which he complains of my taking charge of his former letter, and dealing with it in the



Bulletin of the Pantarchy; as if this were a grievance on her part. He forgets that his former letter was addressed to me, was an answer to what I had said in the Bulletin, and was intended for the Bulletin. I withhold, for the present, allusion to other parts of his more recent letter, as I am sure that, on reflection, he would not like to see them in print with my comments; nor do I know that they were intended to be printed. S. P. A.

THE New York Times' review of THE PRIMARY SYNOPSIS OF UNIVERSOLOGY AND ALWATO, of a column and a half in length, is unable to decide whether I am a monomaniac or a great philosopher. As the notice consists, for the most part, of extracts from the book, very fairly selected, I do not repudiate it; but I do not republish it. My next book shall be written down to the comprehension of those critics who fail to understand me. Milk for babes. S. P. A.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

FOREST HOME, RICE CO., MINN.

MY DEAR ANDREWS—When I left New York for a trip to this state, I put into my trunk a volume of Fourier's "Unite Universelle," and into my hand-bag a copy of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. Of late I have not been able to read anything of Fourier, because the ideal made the real seem so hopelessly discordant in view of the fact, that the world though having ears would not hear, and having eyes would not see. How often have I thought to myself, "What have I done, that I should be obliged to see the truth, and yet not be able to make others see it." I had my bag with me in the cars, so I took out the Weekly (for it is the paper), and as it happened it had in it your statement of the cordial understanding and alliance between Woodhull & Claflin and yourself. As I read hope and faith came to the front again; once more I felt like myself, and could enjoy dear old Fourier. It did me so much good that I determined to write and tell you so, and had I written at the moment I should perhaps have done more justice to my feelings.

Every socialist and every student of sociology should have and read the Weekly. They cannot do without it. It will inspire them with new life, and the New Order, child of the new dispensation, will be born, now that it has in the Woman's Movement a mother. Up to the present time we had only the father, and no child was possible; now we have the mother, and all good things are certain to follow.

I wish I could tell you adequately how much encouraged I am, although I have not yet had the satisfaction of studying your book, and I cannot yet speak or write Alwato.

I shall see you soon, I hope, when I trust some work will be found for me in connection with the great events with which the present is now pregnant. Don't scold me if I tell you that I felt like shouting, right in the cars, "Andrews and Victory!" and that though I pun a little on Victoria, and let victory follow Andrews, it is through no disrespect for victory, Victoria, or woman. Faithfully yours,

F. S. C.

## THROUGH LIFE.

We slight the gifts that every season bears,  
And let them fall unheeded from our grasp,  
In our great eagerness to reach and clasp  
The promised treasure of the coming years;

Or else we mourn some great good passed away,  
And, in the shadow of our grief shut in,  
Refuse the lesser good we yet might win,  
The offered peace and gladness of to-day.

So through the chambers of our life we pass,  
And leave them one by one, and never stay,  
Not knowing how much pleasantness there was  
In each, until the closing of the door  
Has sounded through the house and died away,  
And in our hearts we sigh, "For evermore."

—Chambers's Journal.

## MY FRIENDS AND I.

AFTER THE DANISH OF ERIC B., BY ROVER.

## CHAPTER VII.

Christmas is to most people a time of great joy, not so much in its religious aspect as its social. The giving of presents, family reunions and visits of friendship, extend their happy influences to a large share of the population of Christendom; but a few are denied this annual joy, they are my brothers, the friends of the Pope. Through the solicitude of my friends and relatives, one of these yearly occasions found me in bachelor-quarters up one flight of stairs in a street devoted to residences almost exclusively. Over my head was a family of happy youngsters and contented parents; through the ceiling came sounds of little feet and loud laughter, mingled with the hum of small voices. From one side of me the dull murmur indicated a friendly party of grown people, while from the other side snatches of "Susanna," "Dearest Mac," and other negro melodies, told of a gay company of half-fledged candidates for the state of matrimony. I cannot say that the singing of drinking songs and negro melodies chimed with my idea of the Christian observance of the day, so I put on my overcoat, cap and gloves, went into the street, hoping to find

some of my companions as badly off as myself. The houses of our street were ablaze with gas and alive with joy. At my friend Wardlow's, the piano was going in such style that I was sure no amateur was at it, and the shadows which flitted across the windows told me that a large company was improving the splendid music. Upon ordinary occasions I should not stop for want of invitation, but could be sure of a warm welcome from Wardlow and his charming family, for I was upon good terms with all of them, from the eldest daughter, a most fascinating girl of eighteen, to the baby of as many months. But to intrude upon a company of young people in full blast of enjoyment upon Christmas evening was more than the most intimate terms of friendship would bear, so I passed with one or two thoughts of the chances of my presiding over the festivities of this holy evening in my own house as Wardlow was doing in his. I wonder if the reality is as gratifying as the imagination of an old bachelor pictures it. What is the source of pleasure to the bulk of mankind? Pure selfishness, refined in the crucible of our experience, fluxed with that part of our mentality we call reason. The subordinate and dependent elements which feed this great principal stream are numerous, and not so universal. Childhood has one great absorbing cause of its pleasures—the stomach is the first to awaken our selfishness, and in many cases holds its place at the head of the class of pleasure-givers from the cradle to the grave. As we mature, our relations to our fellows multiply our sources of happiness, but fail to change the great current which cut its channel in our nature through the years when self alone held sway. When those pocket editions of self begin to cluster around us, it would seem that they took from the character of our enjoyment its extreme selfish nature; but it is doubtful if they do more than hide under a shadow the same old love of self which infancy and youth begot. The mother's pride in her son is not so much that he possesses those qualities which call forth commendation from the world as that he is her boy. The father, while listening to the brilliant conversation of his daughter, is not content with the admiration she receives, but must let it be known that he bears a relationship to her which deserves consideration.

So I walked on down the street, half enjoying my friend Wardlow, and yet doubting in whose favor the balance of joy would be found. Music and laughter greeted me at every step, and a few minutes' walk brought to my mind that I was alone. The streets were deserted. I would have given a beggar a greater largess than usual for companionship. Could I have found one of those pinched specimens so common in European cities I would have taken it home with me, and made a Christmas evening happy for one at least; but no, not even a beggar was abroad in the quiet streets. I rushed over into Broadway and dropped in at several saloons, hoping to find some of my bachelor chums; but they were all away from their usual haunts. The waiters stared at me as if I were a lion broke loose from Van Amburgh's menagerie. When I asked one of them for Valkenberg, he lazily laid down his paper, rubbed his eyes, and with voice broken by gaping, answered that he had gone out of town, then resumed his paper, as much as to say, what business have you to be troubling me upon Christmas evening.

One of these annual breaks into the full-tensioned lives of us Americans, found me guest of my landlord. He was a well-to-do cabinet-maker with a stock of happy children around him. His wife was a model housekeeper, and prided herself upon proficiency in all relating to the culinary art. She was a good woman, content in the love of her husband and the happiness of her children, which secured the goodwill of society. I played with the children, talked politics with the father, and at the table pleased the mother by partaking freely of all the good things which she had prepared: roast pork, pickled cabbage, sweet cakes, browned potatoes, roast goose, charlotte-russe, ham, fried parsnips, omelet de sardines, roast turkey, stewed onions and other numerous dishes which go to make up a Christmas dinner in the house of a thriving tradesman. The whole washed down with a few glasses of wine, some Scotch ale and several cups of tea. After dinner the good man would have me try a glass of punch of his own make after the manner taught him by a sea-captain who had learned to make it in Stockholm or some other part where the people want something to keep them warm. So I drank several glasses with the worthy man, and if I were vulgar would not hesitate to curse the man who taught this kind friend to manufacture such a compound. It was the heaviest stuff I ever drank; when I got to my home it was with difficulty that I could bear it up a single flight of stairs.

Some old writer, or dragon of olden time, has given us directions how to make a writer, I do not know that any one has tested the formula, but I can give full instructions how to make a nightmare, and will be answerable for the success of any one who will follow my directions.

Take of goose meat with browned potatoes, roast pork and stewed apples, pickled cabbage and omelet, boiled ham with fried parsnips, roast turkey and stewed onions; with all this drink liberally of Scotch ale and wines, both sweet and sour; then take tea and cakes, with custards, followed by nuts and fruit; eat of all these from half-past five to seven, then take a few glasses of whisky, no matter whether made into punch or not. At nine or ten be sure you undress yourself upon retiring, when you will not have to wait long for the effects; at any rate, I did not. A few minutes after I laid down I

felt a monster stretched at length upon me. He was a monster, with a great head covered with hair like shreds of cabbage; around his neck was a string of browned potatoes; his eyes were great bright fritters; his ears were Scotch ale bottles, while upon his head he wore a tea-urn inverted; his teeth were peeled onions, and looking down into his capacious jaws there was swimming in a sea of tea and ale fat goose meat, pieces of crackling, apples, raisins, almonds and great masses of that good woman's sweet cake. Out of the open mouth of the monster his hot breath came in gusts, fanning my face, and his massive body held me from turning. It was a real bear that held me in his embrace. Some naturalists may say that no such variety of ursus is to be found; but I can testify that it was a real bear, and any one not satisfied with my testimony may try the experiment for himself.

Another Christmas evening I had resolved to have a nice little bachelor party, so I invited three jolly fellows of our persuasion—that is, Pope's friends—to come to my house to spend a social evening, have a rubber at whist, and eat a Christmas dinner. They promised to come, and I had all the necessary preparations made for their entertainment. At four o'clock there came a ring at the door-bell, and the girl brought me a note from Havens, one of the three, saying that he had gone to the railway station with a friend from the country, and said friend had overcome all resistance and carried him off to his home. So our whist would be played with a dummy that evening. A little later the nephew of Somers called to say that some relatives from the country had arrived at his father's (Somers lived with his brother-in-law), and he could not come, though he was sorry to lose the evening, as it would be so enjoyable. The prospect was dubious, even for a three-handed game, so Peterson and myself must be content with a game of euchre.

An hour later and no Peterson made his appearance, so I put on my coat and started to see what was the matter in that quarter. A girl opened the door in answer to my ring, and looked surprised at my question, "Where's Peterson?"

"He has gone to spend the day in the country with his father-in-law," was the girl's answer.

"With whose father-in-law?" I asked, for the astonishment was mine now.

"With his," Peterson's; the girl replied.

"What! Is Peterson married?"

"Yes."

"When?"

"The day before yesterday, to Miss Sherwood, of Yonkers, and he is there spending Christmas."

As she said this the girl withdrew as if frightened, probably by the look of surprise with which I received the information. Turning toward home, or toward my lodgings, erroneously styled home, I was set thinking.

Is it possible that Peterson has become a family man? Shall I have to eat all the Christmas dinner prepared for four? Will Havens have a good time in the country? No question about Peterson, just married, and to such a pretty, yes, and sensible girl too, as Miss Sherwood. Peterson, the old bachelor, confirmed Pope's friend, as I had believed. Married! How I would blush when next I saw him if Mrs. Peterson should happen to be along?

Why should I blush? why, because he has beaten me in the race all old bachelors are making.

My house was cheerless enough that night. At eight o'clock the girl asked me if she should bring in the dinner? I told her no, and went to bed dinnerless, supperless; went to sleep and had no nightmare.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

MANY seem to think that men are more inventive than women, but sex does not determine the talents of individuals.

Few, comparatively speaking, know how much they are indebted to women in this direction.

Mrs. Ruth W. Briggs, of Vermont, in 1854, designed and copyrighted a diagram or scale from which nearly all kinds of garments for ladies and children are cut in the most desirable style and comfortable fit.

She introduced it in nearly every Eastern and Western city, years ago, now has out her sixth edition, having simplified it from time to time, so that the original nine pieces are all combined in two; and now teaches it occasionally, as a means of paying expenses, as she attends the Spiritualists' conventions and woman's rights meetings, where her whole energies are bent as a worker for humanity and especially her own sex.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.  
VICTORIA, VANCOUVER'S ISLAND,  
December 4, 1870.

Mrs. R. W. BRIGGS:

Madam—Having used your very valuable diagram for cutting ladies' dresses for some time in California, where I have been in that business, I cheerfully give it the preference of all others; and I have used three besides yours. I purchased mine of Madam Bishop, of San Francisco, who was agent for them at that time. Afterward I retired from business, and sold my diagram to the lady who succeeded me, thinking I should get another, and now I have moved to this country, where there is an excellent opening for an enterprising lady to do well, both for herself and you. Victoria is a city of five or six thousand inhabitants, and the dress-makers or people scarcely know what a diagram is. As I do not know your wholesale price, please send one dozen to commence with, per Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express, C. O. D. Please send immediately to

Mrs. R. W. TURNER,  
Victoria, Vancouver's Island,  
British Columbia.



## ART AND DRAMA.

Lydia Thompson is at Wallack's. Lotta is at Booth's. Emmett is at Niblo's. Bandmann is going to be at the Grand Opera. Daly will reopen on the 5th September with a splendid company and a peculiarly original play. Janauschek is on the road. The Viennese female orchestra are on the road. This is the whole sum of my dramatic knowledge for this week.

Of course Booth's scenery for "Little Nell" is magnificent. So far as pictorial effects and properties are concerned, everything is lovely. Miss Lotta herself is as charming, as exuberant, as buoyant and as mirth provoking as ever. By common consent, Miss Lotta is so delicious that critics lay aside their pens, or cease to dip them in the proverbial verjuice, using only some honeyed medium in its place. Miss Lotta pleases the public, draws them to the theatre, and sends them home happy. That is all a management—even a Boothian management—need care about. Some carping Aristarchus may say this is not art. What matters? Does it pay? Art without stamps, where is it? Who cares to see Medea of Phœdra twice? Who but an undertaker chooses to attend funerals? Even the remorse of Beaufort or the despair of Lear becomes wearisome by much repetition. A nightly dose of Forrest would be detestable. Hear it ye actors! give us variety. Yet there are two or three players who never tire. People go week by week to see Joe Jefferson and never seem to tire of laughing at the pathetic parts, and those who have seen Lotta nineteen times go again for the twentieth, and still find her fresh, vivacious, sprightly and original as ever. It may be that after all nature is better than art; and that Lotta, playing herself, is better than Booth playing Romeo. I have only to say, as I have before said, that the audience are the best judge, not of art—oh, no! not by a great deal—but of what they themselves want, and of what amuses them. And, having found out the secret, managers are in the right to give it them. Were I a manager, I would vastly prefer to play to a full house with Lotta than to empty benches with Garrick.

The perennial Lydia, with her real blonde, newly imported, never palls on the public taste. New York swells, New York belles, New York heavy men and New York solid matrons all go to see Lydia. It was, and is, and ever will be a miserable life of envious scribbles to say that only young fools or old fogies go to see Lydia. I have with my own eyes seen a larger attendance of fair women than of men; have heard their ejaculations, "Isn't she sweet?" "Oh! how cunning!" "Ah, but she's awful pretty, and not in the least fast!" There is no denying that Lydia is a power, and may always command the plaudits of the crowd. People go to the play to be amused; they like a play that has a pleasant ending; they want to adjourn to Clark's, or Bigot's, or Delmonico's in a cheerful humor, to get their champagne and ice cream, and not to be swabbing their eyes with a wet towel or snuffling all the way home in a depth of wretched let-me-alone-don't-speak-to-me-ishness.

Speaking only for myself, however, and not as one of the public, I do hope one day to see something higher and better than even the "Old Curiosity Shop." Brougham's, not Dickens', "Bluebeard" has its uses; but I have hope of seeing Bandmann or Janauschek or Seebach again. Even "Fernande" or "Frou Frou" have more nature and vastly more art in them; and even if Daly's peculiarly original play should be no better than the "Love Chase" or "London Assurance," I shall endeavor to cease from grumbling.

W. H.

LINA EDWIN'S THEATRE.—Kelly & Leon's Minstrels failed to produce their new piece, "A Trip Around the World," last week, but the panorama was unrolled on Monday. More anon.

## ANECDOTES OF PUBLIC WOMEN.

[From Col. John W. Forney's Recollections.]

Writing about "public men," I am not willing to exclude myself from the opportunity of saying something about the celebrated women who have figured in American history. Prominent among my own recollections was the versatile and original Frances Wright, or Madame Frances d'Anson, still better known as "Fanny Wright," an English woman, who first visited this country in 1818, 1820 and 1825, and died in Cincinnati, on the 2d of December, 1852, aged 57. She excited much comment by her leveling doctrines and her extravagant language. But she had many followers and coadjutors, among them the still living Robert Dale Owen. The well-known Amos Gilbert wrote a memoir of her in 1855, three years after her death, entitled "The Pioneer Woman; or, The Cause of Woman's Rights." She was a person of immense energy and uncommon versatility. The list of her works is something unusual. She wrote a tragedy called "Altorf," in 1819; "Views of Society and Manners in America," which ran through four editions, and was translated into French, published in 1820, and republished, with alterations and additions, in 1821 and 1822; "A Few Days in Athens," being a translation of a Greek manuscript found in the Hieraculum, and a defense of the Epicurean Philosophy, published in London in 1822, and republished in Boston the same year. These are followed by a course of popular lectures, spoken in all the leading cities North, West and South, and printed for circulation, and running through six editions. She was also the author, in company with Robert Dale Owen, of certain popular tracts, and in 1844 her biography was published in England, including her notes and political letters. I shall always remember the effect produced by the lectures of this indefatigable and really gifted woman as she traveled through Pennsylvania many years ago. Controverted and attacked by the clergy and the press, she maintained an undaunted front, and persevered to the last. That she was a woman of great mind is established by the number of her followers, including some of the best intellects of the country, and by the repeated publication and very general reading of her tracts and essays. It is related that when she came to her death-bed she recounted most of her free-love and socialistic theories.

Very different from Fanny Wright was the notorious Anne Royall, who died on the 1st of September, 1854, on Capitol Hill, in the city of Washington. She was the terror of politicians, and especially of Congressmen. I can see her now, tramping through the halls of the old Capitol, umbrella in hand, seizing upon every passer-by, and offering her book for sale. Any public man who refused to buy was sure of a severe philippic in her newspaper, the Washington *Anti-Fry*, or in that which succeeded it,

the *Huntress*. "We have the famous Mrs. Royall here," writes Justice Story to Mrs. Story, on the 8th of March, 1827, "with her new novel, 'The Tennesseans,' which she has compelled the Chief Justice and myself to buy, to avoid a castigation. I shall bring it home for your edification." She wrote and printed a good deal, but almost entirely relied upon her ability to blacken private character. Among her productions were "Sketches of History, Life and Manners of the United States," published in 1826; the "Black Book," published in 1828, and continued in 1829; and her "Southern Tour," the second series of the "Black Book," which appeared in 1830-31; "The Tennesseans," a novel, and "Letters from Alabama," on various subjects, in 1830.

Mrs. Royall's career was a rough one, and she seemed to live for the purpose of revenging her misfortunes upon others. She was a native of Virginia, and at an early age was stolen by the Indians, with whom she remained about fifteen years. Shortly after her release she married a Captain Royall, and removed to Alabama, where she learned to read and write, subsequently taking up her residence in Washington. Dying at an advanced age in 1854, she was present during the administrations of John Quincy Adams, Gen. Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Harrison and Tyler, James K. Polk, Taylor and Fillmore. Her newspapers were badly printed and badly written, and her squibs and stories more remarkable for bitterness than for wit. She was a woman of great industry and astonishing memory, but at last she seemed to tire of a vocation which grew more and more unprofitable with better times and sweeter manners.

There is no other evidence of the sure and permanent improvement of the public mind, and the difference between the lady writers of the present day and these two memorable examples. Correspondence, and even editorship, has risen to a profession among educated women in the United States; and with the exception of a few, who do not find the circulation of scandal or of scandalous gossip in any sense a profitable pastime, most of them are generously and substantially rewarded. No Fanny Wright frightens the proprietors in the States; no Anne Royall terrifies the statesmen in the Capitol.

The female correspondents of to-day are welcomed and honored in every circle. They write generally for conscientious love of their vocation, and they are popular because their style is more *spirituelle* than the rough rhetoric of the trained Bohemians. Avoiding all scandal and preserving the delicacy of the sex, they present a contrast to the startling theories of Fanny Wright and the rude vituperation of Anne Royall. Their energy and perseverance are making journalism and correspondence a permanent vocation for their sisters, and as the press grows in influence it will need all sorts of auxiliaries, and none will give it more the variety which is the spice of life than the sparkle, the wit, the grace, and the impulse of intellectual womanhood.

## THE ANGLO-SAXON WOMEN.

Who does not recall those Cimbric women Marius had so much trouble in conquering, and whose women rivaled the men in boldness and heroism? Those women who had followed their husbands to the war gave to the Romans a lesson in modesty and greatness of soul of which the future tools of the tyrants and the despots were not worthy. They would surrender only on the promise of the Consul that their honor should be protected, and that they should be given as slaves to the Vestals, thus putting themselves under the protection of those whom they believed virgins and priestesses. The great beginner of democratic dictatorship refused, upon which they killed themselves and their children, generals preferring death to dishonor! The Anglo-Saxons came in the same districts bled by the waters of the northern sea which had been inhabited by the Cimbric, and showed themselves worthy of descent from them, as much by the irresistible onslaught of their warriors as by the indomitable power of their women. No trace of the old Roman spirit which made a wife *in manu* in the hand of her husband—that is to say, under his feet, is to be found among them.

Woman is a person, and not a thing. She lives, she speaks, and acts for herself, guaranteed against the least outrage by severe penalties, and protected by universal respect. She inherits, she disposes of her possessions, she chooses her friends, she enters the fights, she governs, like the most proud and powerful of men. The influence of women has been nowhere more effectual, more fully recognized, or more enduring than among the Anglo-Saxons, and nowhere was it more legitimate or more happy.

Women had already occupied an important place among the Britons, and often reigned and fought at their head—witness Boadicea, immortalized by Tacitus. Free women, married, and possessing five acres of land, voted in the public assemblies of the clans or tribes of Britain.

From the beginning of Christianity women everywhere became the active and persevering, as well as daring and unflinching, advocates of the Christian apostles. From the beautiful Rowena, sister of the first Conqueror Hengist, to the famous Countess Godiva—from the daughter of Ethelbert, who carried the faith into Northumbria, to the wife of Ina, who procured the conversion of her husband, we encounter, with few exceptions, only attractive and generous figures, in whose hearts the love of duty, of justice, and the gentleness natural to women is allied with an energy which reaches heroism.

Hence, too, as the great position held by the queens in all the States of the Anglo-Saxon Confederation. Possessing a court, legal jurisdiction and territorial revenues in her own account—surrounded with the same homage, sometimes invested with the same rights and authority as the sovereign, his wife took her place by his side in the religious and political assemblies, and her signature appeared in acts of foundation, in the decrees of the councils and in the charters, sometimes followed by those of the king's sisters or other princesses of the royal house. Sometimes these ladies, associated as they were among the Teutons, of whom Tacitus speaks, in all their husband's cares, labors and dangers, gave all their efforts, like Ermenilda of Mercia, to the conversion of a still heathen kingdom; sometimes, like Sexburga in Wessex, they exercised the regency with full royal authority and almost manly vigor.—*Montaigne's 5th ed.*

CHARLOTTE BRONTE.—A shrinking, retiring, near-sighted woman waits and waits among the Yorkshire hills, saying, wistfully, to herself, "What shall I do?" It has been a long, sore trial, to wait and watch as she has done. In her lifetime she has known not a few of her own age who have long since solved that problem: some are wedded and happy in their homes; others have found their true place as teachers, writers or artists, and are crowned already with honor. This woman has had great sorrows, and sore losses, and her day is wearing on into the afternoon, still she has heard no voice bidding her go work in the vineyard. There is a letter written to Wordsworth while she stands there in the market-place waiting for the Master, that is, in my opinion, the most pathetic cry ever heard in our lifetime. "Sir," she says, "I earnestly treat you to read and judge what I have sent you. From the day of my birth to this day I have lived in seclusion here among the hills, where I could neither know what I was nor what I ought to be; and I have read, for the reason that I have eaten bread, because it was a real craving of nature, and have written on the same principle. But now I have arrived at an age when I must do something. The powers I possess must be used to a certain end; and as I do not know them myself, I must ask others what they are worth; and there is no one here to tell me if they are worthy; and if they are worthless, there is no one to tell me that. I beseech you to help me." What she sends to Wordsworth, then, is poor; she has written many volumes, all poor; has waited in the market-place and done no work; but, at last, the Master, walking there, sees

her wistful face turned toward him, and says: "Go into my vineyard." Then she bends over some small folded sheets of coarse paper, until her face almost touches them, and in one book she storms the heart of England and America, and in the one hour that was left her she won her penny.—*From Robert Collyer's "The Life That Now Is," published by Horace B. Fuller.*

## WOMAN ITEMS.

From Utah we learn that divorce cases are not numerous in the courts nowadays.

Miss Clara Barton is in France, visiting the devastated districts, and looking after the necessities of the people.

Brigham is wiser than Bingham. Women voted by the wagon load in Brigham City agreeably to the order of old "Polyg."

"Howard Glyndon," of the New York *Evening Mail*, is almost stone deaf, but is a dapper, bright-eyed and smart little woman, for all that.

Mrs. Mary Ann Cleveland, of Maquoketa, Iowa, has sued ten saloon-keepers of that city for \$5,000 damages done her by furnishing liquor to her husband.

"Jenny June," the industrious little wife of Mr. Croly, of the *World*, used to call herself a "literary chambermaid." She has a large family of children.

Within five years six Minnesota girls, daughters of an invalid farmer, have cleared forty acres of woodland, fenced and cultivated it, without male intervention.

"I do so envy Eve," said a married lady to a friend. "How so?" asked the friend. "Because her husband could never badger her about how his mother used to do things."

A young lady of Montgomery, Ala., on being told that her lover had been suddenly killed, cried: "Oh, that splendid gold watch of his! Give me something to remember him by."

Several beautiful Polish ladies are the sensation at Newport. They dress their hair in the "classical" style, which consists of a small coil high on the head, from which drop two or three curls.

Many families, says the New York *Mail*, who reside in elegant stone fronts, and appear very wealthy, after marrying off their daughters, move into smaller dwellings in a less fashionable part of the city.

Mrs. Gildersleeve Longstreet, who wrote the pretty poem of "Mrs. Lofly and I" (which was set to music by the Hutchinsons and sung so sweetly, years ago, by Abby), is now the editress of a fashion magazine.

A Pittsburg girl slept twenty-two days, then arose, ate two pies, and abused her friends because they teased her for oversleeping an hour in the morning. They told her that it was lucky that they hadn't buried her.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps thinks there is more downright misery among young women between the ages of eighteen and thirty than among any other class of people. This may be true. If true, "nothing to do" is at the root of the evil.

The sister of Delescluze, the famous Communist, now in her sixty-fifth year, is to be tried by a council of war at Versailles on various charges. She is said to have been a Petroleuse, and to have murdered several of the troops of Thiers.

Rev. T. De Witt Talmadge says that women have a right to do everything which they can do well. Certainly; but if men were permitted to do only that which they do well, what a host of poor fellows would be thrown out of employment.

Mrs. Augustus Wilbur, of Grundy County, Wyoming, discovered that her husband had made a sort of a brevet wife of a servant girl. At the mouth of the deadly revolver she ordered the pair to leave the premises, and now runs that farm herself.

At Bristol, England, the other day, a respectably-dressed woman, who was in great mental distress, was arrested as "disorderly." Before the magistrate she stated that she had been sold by her husband to another man for £50. The husband admitted receiving the money, and seemed annoyed that the woman did not acquiesce in the bargain. All the parties were discharged.

It is not generally known how extensively Olive Logan has been a contributor to the New York newspaper press. She has furnished correspondence, critical reviews, sketches and editorials, at different times, for the New York *Tribune*, *World*, *Times*, *Sun*, *Herald*, *Evening Post*, *Commercial Advertiser* and *Evening Mail*, besides a dozen weekly journals. She has also written largely for the London journals. At present she writes nothing but plays and lectures—her new lecture now under way being on "Nice Young Men."

Lady Rosemond Churchill, to whom Prince Arthur is said to have made an offer of marriage, is a descendant of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, whose fortunate career was so largely due to Sarah Jennings, his wife, the intimate friend of Queen Anne. Churchill's sister was one of the many mistresses of Charles II., by whom she was made Duchess of Cleveland. The future Marlborough accepted an annuity from his sister—part of the wages of her shame—and with this money he bought a commission in the army, and began the career in which he won so high a reputation.

The venerable Mrs. Mary Chase Barney, of Washington, was struck with paralysis in her right side on Sunday morning. She has been confined to her bed for the past eighteen months from the effect of a paralytic stroke. This venerable lady, now in her eighty-eighth year, is a daughter of Samuel Chase, of Maryland, a Judge of the Supreme Court and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the last surviving child of any of the signers of that instrument. It is a coincidence that the last surviving signer, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving child of any signer, and the last surviving widow (Mrs. Hannah K. Chase) of any signer were all of Maryland.

## NEW MUSIC.

Among Messrs. C. H. Ditson & Co.'s recent publications we notice the following:

"The Man of Airie," so effectively sung by Lawrence Barrett at Booth's Theatre, is a sweet, plaintive melody, and capable of great expression.

"The Scout," by Campana, is a bright, original song—a trooper's ditty—the music of which suits the words admirably. It is adapted for a barytone or tenor voice.

"Daybreak," by Miss M. Lindsay, is a rarely beautiful composition, worthy of Longfellow's exquisite poem, "A wind came up out of the sea." It is arranged for a mezzo soprano voice, or can be effectively sung by a contralto.

"Nell, the Village Pride," by G. F. Morris, and "Why is my heart so sad?" by Harry Percy, are more commonplace in their style, but the style is popular, and these songs will doubtless become favorites.

A quickstep, composed by D. L. Downing, the leader of the Ninth Regiment Band, is adored on its

title page by a highly-colored lithographic likeness of Col. Fisk, to whom the piece is dedicated. The music is good of its kind—light, lively and in spirited marching time.

FLOWERS are one of the few things in life that bring us unmixed pleasure. They are the most innocent tribute of courtesy or affection, as acceptable in the day of feasting as in the house of mourning. Florists are thus in a sense public benefactors. Hodgson, at No. 403 Fifth avenue, from among the palaces takes us away to the sights and odors of the country with his rustic work, his garlanded bouquets, and curiously crooked seats, his fragrant flowers and beautifully assorted bouquets.

Of all the ornaments now devised for beautifying gentlemen's grounds, there are none that can surpass rustic work, either in grandeur, beauty, utility or durability. It may be introduced almost anywhere if the surroundings are in the least rural; in many cases it can be placed where nothing else could be, often times converting an eyesore into a place of great beauty, and yet ornamental and useful. As it is, there are few that have either the taste or good judgment for the judicious arrangement of the materials out of which the best rustic is made. To make or design rustic objects, the maker or designer must exercise good judgment as to the best place for his object—whether it is a house, bridge, vase, basket, or any of the many objects that may be formed of rustic work—for if the object is in a bad position, be the object ever so good, it loses half the effect, or even becomes an eyesore. There must be something rural in the locality, something in tone with the object. Perfect taste is required for the form of any object, although in anything rustic the form will be much modified; yet there must be an original design to give meaning and grace to the object. In all cases, unless working with straight material, nature must be followed as nearly as possible, avoiding right angles or anything that looks formal; every piece should look as if joined by nature. This not only gives beauty but stability to the work. To all this must be combined the skill of the builder, to give strength, finish and neatness to the whole work. Many people think that as a matter of course carpenters can build rustic, but there are few or any that can give that natural rusticity so necessary to it. It is a trade by itself, and requires men with a natural taste and inventive genius. Some men work at it for years and cannot do it creditably.

There is nothing that may not be made in rustic work, from a dwelling-house to a cage, a bridge to a card-basket. Many of the vases are filled with plants and look very handsome, with ivy half hiding the woodwork, and fine flowering plants capping the whole and making it a thing complete in itself. There are also many fine baskets filled. Certainly nothing could be more ornamental or better in a window than one of these. But these things to be appreciated must be seen; for large constructions, we would advise any one to visit the grounds of Mr. Hoy, at Long Branch, or Peter B. King, Esq., on the Palisades overlooking the Hudson, or General Ward's estate.

THE alteration or "raising" of checks has become alarmingly frequent of late, and several ingenious inventions have made their appearance, which are intended to stop this exceedingly dangerous branch of the work of the counterfeiter, but most of them are too complicated and expensive to come into general use. We believe, however, that in Moody's Eureka Stamp perfection has been nearly, if not quite, attained. From a practical use of this stamp we are enabled to give it our most unqualified endorsement. Minute points perforate the figures into the paper, and at the same time drives ink into the fibre, from which it cannot be removed by the use of acid, without totally destroying the paper. It is very simple in its operation, the registration and inking being automatic, and the turning of a dial with the thumb and forefinger regulating the figures. The perforations are rather ornamental than otherwise. The price of the Eureka Stamp is sufficiently reasonable to enable every person with a bank account to possess one; and if their experience is the same as our own, none will have cause to regret the outlay.

THE SOWER'S REWARD. By author of "Merry Powell." This charming story of domestic life opens among a number of French and English, traveling in a diligence in a beautiful part of France. Mr. Hobson and daughter, Adeline and Maurice, with the Villanos, being the principal actors. The latter lead a Bohemian life, traveling from place to place, without friends, until Maurice—who comes to them none too soon—assists and cheers them with words of comfort and wisdom. Professor Villanos is informed of the distressed condition of his wife by her friends, and the story goes to prove how much religion may do for those who read and learn—told in a quiet and agreeable manner, making it an excellent companion to while away a couple of hours. Published by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, Pa. Price 25 cents. For sale by all booksellers, or copies will be sent to any place, postpaid, by the publishers, on receipt of price by them.

"HORACE TEMPLETON." By Charles Lever. This is the eighth volume of the new, cheap and popular edition of the works of Charles Lever, now in course of publication by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, which are having a very large sale, for Charles Lever has no rival in that free, manly, dashing style of sketching life, manners and humorous incidents, to which he has devoted himself. His reputation is world-wide. The popularity of his novels—"Horace Templeton," "Davenport Dunn," "Arthur O'Leary," "The Knight of Gwynne," "Tom Burke of Ours," "Harry Lorrequer," "Charles O'Malley," "Jack Hinton," "Con Cregan," and "A Rent in the Cloud"—has never been exceeded. His works are full of genial humor, brilliant wit and striking characters. "Horace Templeton" is issued in a large octavo volume, with a portrait of the author on the cover, price seventy-five cents, and is for sale by all booksellers, or copies will be sent to any place, post-paid, by the publishers, on receipt of price by them.

We would call the attention of our readers to the advertisement of the new disinfectant, Bromo Chloralum, which appears in another column.



## THE OLD STORY.

He told me the old, old story of love—  
The story so often repeated,  
And I believed, and doubted, and believed,  
And said there is naught of deceit in men;  
But, oh! I was young and innocent then,  
And I laugh to think how I was cheated.

The old, old story, the sweet story of love,  
The same story—he'll swear it to you,  
And you'll doubt and believe,  
And think men never deceive  
When they come; but they'll leave,  
And then you'll find it untrue.

But, oh! what a heaven came into my life,  
When he said his love was all mine!  
But that love was sin—deep, damnable sin;  
And heaven went out, and hell came in;  
And a soul was lost for the devil to win.  
Can you claim that love as thine?

But he told me the story in sweeter words  
Than ever he told it to thee;  
And I curse and I cry,  
And pray to God that I die,  
When I think what a lie  
That story of love was to me!

—Indianapolis News.

## DAISIES.

Meekly, like dutiful  
Children, they stand  
Milk-white and beautiful,  
Gemming the sand;  
Cheering lone passengers,  
Weary and wan,  
Hope's ready messengers,  
Helping them on.

All over Florida,  
Nurtured with care,  
Lilies in glory stand,  
Roses are fair;  
Gold and white, bringing up,  
Out of poor soil,  
Daisies are springing up,  
Asking for toil.

Where waters flowing are,  
Green meadows through,  
Flag blossoms growing are,  
Tenderly blue;  
Nymphs bloom, sending out  
Fragrance at will,  
Where the streams, bending out,  
Learn to lie still.

Butter-cups standing are,  
Hayfields in spring,  
Wake robins, nodding where  
Wood-thrushes sing;  
Rarely o'er daisy homes,  
Green branches meet;  
Seldom sweet water comes,  
Bathing their feet.

Daisies, like duty, are  
Ever doing well,  
Lavishing beauty, where  
Drouth and dearth dwell.  
Dust in each dainty cup  
Often is driven,  
Soilless, still looking up,  
Are they to heaven.

—M. McNARY SPENCER.

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SIX PER CENT.on all sums entitled thereto will be paid depositors  
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LETTER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFF-  
FRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMIT-  
TEE TO NEW NOMINEES.WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1871.  
COMMITTEE.President, Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, Hartford, Conn.  
Secretary, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Wash'n., D. C.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Mary B. Bowen, " " "  
Mrs. Ruth Carr-Denison, " " "  
Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, Providence, R. I.  
Miss Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y.DEAR FRIENDS: Owing to protracted illness on  
the part of the chairman and secretary of the original  
committee whose duty it was to notify you of your  
appointment on the New National Committee, no of-  
ficial letter has been sent you. We trust you will  
pardon the delay, and accept this notice in *The Revo-*  
*lution* as due notification, and communicate directly  
with the secretary at Washington concerning your  
acceptance of the office.The duties of the position will be light at present,  
and will consist chiefly in a correspondence with the  
original committee (who will, after January next, be  
known as a sub-committee), concerning the interests  
of woman suffrage in your several States, and in per-  
sonal efforts to secure signers to the "Declaration and  
Pledge" and money for the printing fund, according  
to the enclosed "Appeal."  
We send you a list of the names of the whole new  
National Committee as nominated by the convention  
held in New York, in May last, and completed by the  
old committee after mature deliberation and consul-  
tation, according to the advice of the convention.It will be seen that a few States are yet unrepre-  
sented. If any member of the committee can send us a  
reliable name from either of the following States she  
will confer a great favor: Delaware, Kentucky, Ala-  
bama, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas.

In behalf of the N. W. S. and Ed. Com.

ISABELLA B. HOOKER, Chairman.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.

President—Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, New Jersey.

Mrs. Harriet W. Sowell and Mrs. Angelina Grimke  
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Armenia White, New Hampshire; Hon. Mrs. C. W.  
Willard, Vermont; Miss Eva M. Wilder, Maine;  
Rev. Olympia Brown, Connecticut; Mrs. L. C. Bal-  
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ringer, North Carolina; Mrs. Frances Pillsbury,  
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Mrs. Robert Dale Owen and Mrs. Amanda Way, In-  
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Harriet Brooks, Illinois; Miss Lillie Peckham and  
Hon. E. N. Harris, Wisconsin; Hon. Mrs. S. Burger  
Stearns, Minnesota; Mrs. Anella Bloomer and Mrs.  
Annie E. Savery, Iowa; Mrs. Governor Butler, Ne-  
braska; Mrs. C. J. H. Nichols, Kansas; Hon. Mrs.  
Aaron A. Sargent, California; Mrs. Laura De Force  
Gordon, California; Mrs. Charlotte J. Godbee, Utah;  
Mrs. M. J. Arnold and Mrs. Mary Post, Wyoming;  
Mrs. Governor McCook, Colorado; Mrs. Governor  
Ashley, Montana; Mrs. Catharine Yale, New York.

## SUFFRAGE TRACTS.

We frequently have applications for tracts and doc-  
uments on woman suffrage, and for the benefit of all  
such as are seeking to know the truth as it is in our  
new gospel, herewith print a complete list of the  
documents which can be obtained by applying to  
Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, 213 Capitol street, Wash-  
ington, D. C.:1. Report of Special Committee of Connecticut  
Legislature on Woman Suffrage.  
2. Legal Disabilities of Married Women.3. Report of Annual Meeting of Committee Woman  
Suffrage Association.4. Argument on Elective Franchise under the  
Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution; by  
Hon. A. G. Riddle.5. History of National Woman's Rights Movement  
for Twenty Years; by Mrs. P. W. Davis.

6. Restricted Suffrage; by Isabella Beecher Hooker.

7. An Appeal to the Women of the United States;  
by the National Woman Suffrage Committee.8. Minority and Majority Reports of Judiciary  
Committee on the Woodhull Memorial.Also, Blank Petitions to Congress for Suffrage.  
Victoria C. Woodhull's "Constitutional Equality."We take special pleasure in calling the attention of  
all our readers who need dental service to Dr. Koonz  
at No. 1 Great Jones street, New York, who is both  
judicious and scientific in all departments of den-  
tistry. His rooms are fitted tastefully and elegantly,  
and being constantly filled with the elite of the city  
testifies that his practice is successful. He adminis-  
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Tenement Houses, Markets, for Water Closets  
Urinals, Sinks, Sewers, Stables, Cesspools, etc.A specific in all contagious and pestilential dis-  
eases, as Cholera, Typhoid Fever, Ship Fever, Small-  
Pox, Scarlet Fever, Measles, Diseases of Animals, etc.  
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Santley is coming to this country with Mme. Patey  
Whytock, Miss Edith Wynne and Mr. Cummings, a  
perfect quartet.A great relief, during the sultry nights when the  
dog-star reigns, has been the Central Park Garden,  
with its cool breeze, cool drinks, and, even bet-  
ter, the noble orchestra of Theodore Thomas. The  
season this year has been more than usually success-  
ful, the garden being patronized by the wealthiest  
and most fashionable of our citizens, to whom Mr.  
Thomas has catered admirably. An additional at-  
traction has been given to the orchestra by the en-  
gagement of Mr. F. Listerman, the violinist.

## 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 servi-  
tude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a  
substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring  
under the delusion that they were above instead of  
below equality.Third, To prove that it is a duty which women owe  
to themselves to become fully individualized persons,  
responsible to themselves and capable of maintaining  
such responsibility.Fourth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of  
humanity demands of women that they prepare them-  
selves to be the mothers of children, who shall be pure  
in body and mind, and that all other considerations of  
life should be made subservient to this their high  
mission as the artists of humanity.Fifth, That every child born has the natural right to  
live, and that society is responsible for the condition  
in which he or she is admitted to be a constituent and  
modifying part of itself.

## WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

We have received copies of two books which just  
now possess considerable interest for many people.  
They are entitled respectively, "Constitutional  
Equality, A Right of Women," by Tennie C. Claflin,  
and "The Origin, Functions and Principles of Gov-  
ernment," by Victoria C. Woodhull. We have ex-  
amined these books carefully, not only for the sake  
of the subjects treated of, but because of the discus-  
sion 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 pub-  
lic. First, the *Tribune* paraded them as the cham-  
pion 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 en-  
thusiastically by a lady so universally respected as  
Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books  
fails to show anything so very startling in the doc-  
trines put forth in them, however distasteful they  
may be to many. They advance many strong argu-  
ments 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 un-  
interesting even to those who are opposed to the doc-  
trines advocated.—*Newark (N. J.) Register*.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 in-  
volved in government as the guarantee and protection  
to the exercise of human rights.Such principles as, from time to time, have been  
enunciated in these columns are here arranged, classi-  
fied and applied. A careful consideration of them  
will convince the most skeptical that our Government,  
though so good, is very far from being perfect.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; 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 men-  
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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 a. m.; 2:15, 3:45, 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15 p. m.

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For New York, R. I., 12:15 p. m. (Ex.), connecting with steamer across Narragansett Bay, arriving at 8:30 p. m.

For Connecticut River Railroad, 8 a. m., 12:15 p. m. to Montreal, 3 p. m. to Northampton.

For Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, 8 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.

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9 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peckskill trains.

5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.

6:40, 7:30, 9:10 and 10:15 a. m., 12 m., 1:30, 3, 4:25, 5:10, 8:10 and 11:30 p. m., Yonkers trains.

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