



VOL. 3.—No. 27.—WHOLE No. 79.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 18, 1871.

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

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From 1850 to 1870.

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BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

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

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DIVIDEND.—A semi-annual dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, on all sums of \$5 and upward which have been on deposit for one or more months next previous to July 1, will be paid on and after July 21, 1871.

INTEREST not called for will remain as principal, and draw interest from July 1.

BANK OPEN daily from 10 to 3; also Monday and Saturday evenings, from 4½ to 6½ o'clock. Interest commences on the 1st of every month following the deposit.

CHARLES K. GRAHAM, President.

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The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
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Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Each per copy.....	10
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POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Nov. 11, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11:30 A. M., on Wednesday at 12 M., on Thursday at 11:30 A. M., and on Saturday at 11:30 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

The annual meeting of the Northwestern Woman Suffrage Association is to be held in the Representatives' Hall, in Indianapolis, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 15th and 16th of November. All the prominent suffrage speakers in the Northwest are invited, and every effort will be made for a great meeting. Indianapolis being the home of Senator Morton, a strong effort will be made to induce him to address the Convention. This society was formed in Chicago, in May, 1870, by delegates from the various Northwestern States, and the first annual meeting was held in Detroit, last November, and was a decided success. A large and successful Convention was held under the auspices of this society at Fort Wayne, Ind., in March last. The headquarters of the Northwestern Association are at 145 Madison street, Chicago, and are occupied jointly by the Northwestern, the Illinois State, and the Cook County Societies.

ADELE M. HAZLITT, President.

MRS. HANNAH M. TRACEY CUTLER, President, and Lucy Stone, Chairman Executive Committee of the American Woman Suffrage Association, have issued a call for a convention, to be held in Philadelphia, on the 21st and 22d of November.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE SOCIETY OF SPIRITUALISTS AND FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

The third annual meeting of the Society will be held in Camden, at Central Hall, corner of Fourth and Plum streets, on Wednesday Evening, November 29, at 2 o'clock and 7 o'clock P. M. As speakers, Victoria C. Woodhull, Dr. H. T. Child and Mrs. Kingman will be in attendance. Dr. L. K. Coonley and other speakers are expected.

All friends of the cause throughout the State, and of other States, are cordially invited.

Bordentown, N. J.

SUSAN C. WATERS, Pres. of Society.

STACY TAYLOR, Chairman of Ex. Com.

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 10 (French).—First Tuesday and third Saturday in each month, 6 P. M., at No. 650 Third avenue, between Forty-first and Forty-second streets.

NOTICE.—The members and friends of Section 12 will please remember that its regular meetings are held on the 2d and 4th Sundays in each month, at 8 P. M., and not fortnightly, as some have supposed. The next regular meeting will, therefore, be held on Sunday evening, November 12, and as there will be business of great importance submitted, a full attendance is hereby earnestly requested.

WILLIAM WEST,
Recording Secretary, Section 12.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE WITH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SEVERAL SECTIONS PROPERLY REBUKED—SECTION 12 VINDICATED.

The subjoined Remonstrance of Section 12 was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Section, which was very fully attended, held on the 22d ult. I print it, first, because the meetings of Section 12 are public, and anybody has a right to report their proceedings; and, secondly, because very extraordinary, not to say dishonorable, means have been resorted to by Section 1 to secure the adoption of its Protest against the "Appeal" of Section 12 in behalf of the formation of English-speaking Sections. Laid on the table in the Central Committee twice, the Protest has been carried to as many of the German and French Sections as the Delegate from Section 1 could visit, without notice to Section 12, or to any English-speaking Sections, whom it most concerned, and the publication of the Remonstrance seems to be the only practicable, as it is the best means of representing Section 12. The Protest of Section 1 would be printed herewith also, if it had been furnished; but it has, doubtless for reasons satisfactory to the delegate of Section 1, been withheld.

WILLIAM WEST.

To the United States Central Committee of the I. W. A.:

Section 12 having learned that, at the last meeting of the committee, Section 1 had submitted a protest against the appeal of Section 12 to the English-speaking citizens of the United States friendly to the I. W. A., herewith respectfully remonstrate against the adoption of said protest, for the following, among other reasons:

1. It is true that the "appeal" is addressed to "citizens." The term "citizen" is used among Internationals the world over as a mark of respect and a recognition of fraternity. With the world for their country, their countrymen all mankind, and all mankind citizens, they hope to accomplish their objects. It ("citizen") is deemed an honorable appellation. It should be very precious to all workingmen and women of the United States. This Republic is the only government on the earth which has extended by law the "privileges and immunities" or rights of citizenship to all persons, native-born and naturalized, within its jurisdiction. Workingmen and women are, of course, included, and should take a just pride in claiming their birthright, howsoever it may be illegally denied to women. But if the "appeal" opened by addressing "citizens" only, it terminated with an invitation to workingmen and women to unite with Section 12 in the new propaganda it proposed to inaugurate. The animus of the protestants, therefore, in assuming that Section 12 intended to ignore workingmen, is too painfully manifest.

2. It is true that the "Appeal" represents Political Equality, Social Freedom and Personal Liberty; the Providential Intervention of the State in behalf of the Rights of Labor against the tyranny of Capital; the abolition of frontiers, standing armies, war and secret diplomacy; and the abrogation of all distinctions of race and class, diversities of religion, and even differences of language, are included in the programme of the International. But the inference these protestants intended to have drawn from the premises, namely, that Section 12, had in some way departed from the principles of the International, is false and illogical. The "Rules" prescribed for the government of the International, expressly guarantee in so many words, the right of each section to take the initiative, and impose a duty upon the General Council to encourage the sections in so doing, provided that their action does not conflict with the primary object of the International, which the General Council has proclaimed to be, in substance, the "economical emancipation of labor, by the conquest of political power."

Now there should not be, and there is not, any conflict either of principle or of policy between Section 12 and any other Section. Section 12 does not fail to perform the lesser duties because it does not forget the greater ones incumbent upon it. For instance, it is no less a true and efficient supporter of a "Normal Day's Work" of Eight Hours, because it believes that freedom in land, labor, money, the sexual relation, religion, and, in short, everything, affords the surest, speediest and safest means of attaining Equality of Rights and Duties. The simple truth is that Political Equality and Social Freedom for all alike, of all races, both sexes, and every condition, are necessary precursors of the more radical reforms demanded by the International. If political equality is a good thing, and necessary to man's redemption, it is an equally good thing and necessary to woman's redemption. The illegal disfranchisement of one-half of the people by the other half is to-day the greatest obstacle to the complete emancipation of both working men and women. The extension of equal citizenship to woman, the world over, must precede any general change in the subsisting relations of capital and labor. Politically a slave, woman is socially the servant and sycophant of capitalists, and a perpetual stumbling block and hindrance in the way of all earnest endeavor to escape from their toils. It is too late to-day to require that the social subjection of woman shall be a "condition precedent" to the full recognition of her purity and moral worth. The (so called) social evil, gnawing at the very vitals of the community, is due more to enforced legal prostitution than to the vices of free men and women. And the other features in the programme follow the very name—"International" meaning the fusion of all nationalities. Differences of language arise out of race, and class, and religious distinctions; if the latter disappear, the former must follow suit.

3. It is true that the "Appeal" sets forth as one of the objects of the International the inauguration of, within existing forms of Government, another form, based on Equality of Rights and Reciprocity of Duties. But Section 12 does not stand alone in the expression of this opinion. This is precisely the work prescribed for the sections by the General Council. The Rules of the General Council distinctly declare, that the "economical emancipation of labor is the end to which all political movements ought to be subordinate as a means." Now, the operations of all governments are political movements, and all governments, therefore, ought to be subordinate as a means to accomplish the ends of the International. Section 12 recognizes this fact. It accordingly proposed to organize the I. W. A. politically. The plan of organization is democratic. Emperors, Kings, Presidents, Senators, Representative Rulers, Committees, generally, or all exercising delegated power, are required to account to it as its servants, instead of "demanding a reckoning" as its masters. If this be a departure from the principles of the International, there is no such thing as fidelity. In any event, Section 12 proposes to stand fast by its colors.

4. It is not true that the "Appeal" attributes to the Paris Commune in any way (even by implication), the excesses committed by proletarian, democratic revolutionists of other times. This charge of the protestants is exceedingly base. There is not one word in the "Appeal" which will admit of such a construction. It is the great glory of the Paris Commune that it recognized the principle of local self government. It did not interfere with Lyons, Bordeaux, nor any other Commune, just as Section 12 desires that no other sections shall be permitted to interfere with its own internal government without its consent. Besides, at the very time the "Appeal" was issued, Section 12 had under consideration a resolution indorsing the acts of the Paris Commune, which has since been unanimously adopted, printed and published. The protestants must have been aware of these facts, and yet they willfully misrepresent the meaning of the "Appeal."

Finally, the protestants require of the Committee that it shall deprive Section 12 of its property, namely, its correspondence in the hands of its Secretary. This is a specimen of the kind of excesses referred to in the "Appeal." If their property may be taken from the sections without their consent, so may the liberties of its members, so may their lives. And Section 12 respectfully, but firmly, declines to be controlled by any such action of any committee.

Section 12 would also remonstrate against the vain assumption running all through the Protest under review, that the I. W. A. is an organization of the laboring classes, which refuses, or at least does not invite, the co-operation of any other class. On the contrary, precisely the reverse of this is the exact truth. EVERYBODY that sustains the principles of the International is eligible for membership, and each section is responsible for the integrity of its own members.

WILLIAM WEST,

Rec. Sec. Section 12.

A GROSS ACT OF INJUSTICE THAT SHOULD BE PROMPTLY RECTIFIED.

A meeting of Section 2 (French) was held on the 5th inst. at No. 100 Prince. The attendance was very small, and no business of importance should have been transacted. Notwithstanding, the members proceeded to do a thing at the instance of the delegate of Section 1 which they will hereafter regret, and only be too ready to revoke. It seems that the delegate of Section 2 had voted in the Central Committee to lay upon the table a motion to accept the Protest of Section 1 against the Appeal of Section 12, and it was falsely represented that the delegate had disobeyed his instructions. The fact is, that the delegate had too faithfully conformed to them, for his Section had also refused to accept that now infamous Protest. Acting under false representations the Section censured its most devoted servant, and he indignantly resigned his office. The Section owes it to itself promptly to rescind this mistaken action, and thus restore to the Central Committee the services of a faithful officer.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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

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

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

THE LECTURE SEASON IN BOSTON.

[From our own Correspondent.]

Just now, from this quarter, I think of nothing likely to prove more acceptable to your numerous readers than the mention of a few Boston locals, disconnected from the vexed and muddled question of politics—even though this subject has just reached its periodical harvest time, the annual gathering of the year's crop—election-day being at our very door.

With us

THE LECTURE SEASON

is in full operation, though the several courses—exactly how many I would not dare to state—do not seem to flourish with that degree of success which one could wish. This, however, is doubtless owing to the unusual competition existing among the several Lyceum Bureau organizations, and which unconsciously by their energy and system, are making righteous and most significant inroads upon the supposed domain of the pulpit.

The sphere of the platform is widely extending itself. Already it is regarded with more real public interest and attended upon with more general alacrity, not to say with more profitable result, than the heretofore all potent vestry and church sermon.

Last Sunday, by invitation, I chanced to hear

MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITAIN

before the Spiritualists, at Music Hall, to a congregation of about two thousand. This was her fifth and last lecture for the present. Since the first, the number attending has perceptibly decreased. It does not speak well for the culture of this liberal society, doubtless the equal of any in the city, and far more so than nine-tenths of the religious denominations that Mrs. Hardinge, as she is called (who follows the example of Mrs. Woodhull and others in adhering to her former name, from reasons of public policy), has been re-engaged to speak another month before the same society, which only holds its meetings less than two-thirds of the time. Mrs. Hardinge's style of speaking, to me, is not a pleasing one. I am told by her admirers that she was educated for the lyric stage; at any rate she has all the dramatic affectation and offensive mannerism of the theatre, which is so incongruous on the Sunday platform or in the so-called sacred desk. She impresses me with an undue share of self-importance, English conceit and general spread. Her discourses, while they are popular with the average-minded Spiritualist, do not satisfy the more cultured or thoughtful of this reformatory and increasing body of men and women. I fear the majority of those who regularly attend these services are pleased with performances meretricious in themselves and unsatisfactory to a thoroughly discriminating mind. Mrs. Hardinge runs to words, words interminable, and so her public thoughts or points become necessarily thin. She has not the consecutiveness of Anna Dickinson, though

perhaps more of consistency. She has not the earnestness and logical sequence of Lizzie Doten, nor the grace and quality of thought which distinguished Mrs. Tappan. Of late I hear much of Mrs. Hardinge's conservatism. I hope this characteristic will not degenerate into anything morbid or chronic, though such a thing is not unlikely to happen.

In contrast with Mrs. H—,

THE LECTURE OF THEO. TILTON ON "HOME"

was as instructive as it was entertaining, being a genuine specimen of independent thought in strong yet felicitous language; concise in general statement, admirable in outline, sensible and beautiful in every detail. The terrible radicalisms which some were led to expect, by what the *Tribune* has lately said, were found to be but the simplest deductions from premises which no one of enlarged sense or comprehensive thought could or would seriously attempt to controvert. The logical force of his positions were irresistible. His remarks on divorce but not dare legal action by only a few short years, and the sooner the better. Yet the Gadgrinds and Gadbands of the Boston *Daily News* and *Traveller* affected to be sorely shocked at his proposed innovations. As usual, they had to spitefully vent their petty spleen next day, by gratuitously recommending him to stay at "Home," and not to publicly speak about it.

The truth of Tilton's characterizations were too much for either their equanimity or interest; hence their wholesale sneer—the argument of the coward and the knave. Phillips, Curtis and Tilton form our triumvirate of natural orators.

Allusion to Phillips recalls to mind

THE LECTURE OF WENDELL PHILLIPS

only last Tuesday evening, on "The Political Outlook," which was delivered before the Fraternity Course. His criticisms upon public measures were what one might expect from such a watchman on the towers of our political Zion. The lecture in question abounded in telling points of characteristic pertinency and suggestiveness, illustrated by richness and aptness of anecdote that kept his audience good naturedly on the *qui vive* to its very close. His defense of the Labor Reform party, with which he is at present personally identified, was as unanswerable as it was complete.

Mr. Phillips was one of the earliest and soundest advocates of Woman Suffrage, but of late his voice and pen have been silent concerning this paramount theme—possibly, however, by absorbed attention to other necessary questions of reform. I have greatly desired to hear his clarion voice demanding their immediate and unconditional privilege of woman to the ballot.

Wendell Phillips is our foremost public critic. His prominence arises as much from the fact that we have not a second one equally pronounced, as it does from his universally conceded ability. He is a *Tribune* in himself. Long may he continue to bless humanity. ST. ALBANS.

HORACE GREELEY'S NEW COOK BOOK.

WHAT HORACE KNOWS ABOUT COOKING.

EDITOR OF WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: It is currently reported here in the West, that the philosophical Horace has recently "invented" some new discoveries in political and domestic science, which are significantly important to the race of mankind, if not to womankind. He has lately declared, with almost the egotistical assurance of a "Thus saith the Lord," that "we do not need women voters, but we do need 500,000 good cooks." These philosophical declarations are both infernal and suggestive.

From the rhetorical arrangement we infer that Horace is not in favor of woman suffrage, and that his philosophical opinion is that the feminine intellect has a special functional adaptability to the art of cooking, while the numerical exactness with which he states our present necessity domestic culinary force suggests—what Horace knows about cooking.

As a philosopher, poet, statesman, preacher and prophet, he is supposed to know the exact gastric demand and stomach capacity of our race, and exactly the kind, quality and quantity of culinary force essential to meet this demand. Besides all this, Horace knows just how to cook, just what to cook, just where to cook, and by whom it should be cooked. He can tell to a scientific demonstration just how to cook and combine brown bread, beefsteak and potatoes—to produce philosophers, statesmen, poets, prophets, Tammany Hall Democrats, and Greeley Ring Republicans.

Cooking with Horace is a very fine art and a very profound science, as its influence molds the politics and religion of a nation. The feminine intellect being imitative and not reflective readily adjusts itself to the practical work of this art. Hence she is born to cook. But the deep things of this science are not revealed unto her and never can be, for God has pre-determined this by making her incapacitated to comprehend. The wisdom of this world and of the world to come is only revealed to the masculine intellect, and through man to woman only so far as he understands her needs. All that woman at present knows about cooking she learned from man; all that she is to know she is to learn from him, and any attempt at getting knowledge outside of his mediumship is eating of the forbidden fruit, and sure to bring "death unto the world with all our woe." Hence the imperative necessity for Horace writing a true Cook Book to guide these 500,000 new women cooks into the straight and narrow way that leads to a life everlasting among pots and pie pans. In "What I Know About Cooking," by way of introductory, Horace could administer philosophical admonitions, reproofs, instructions and suggestions to the whole sisterhood, and thus prepare their minds for the serious duties which involve upon them in their labors of preparing the elements which are to enter into and influence the minds of those who are divinely appointed to rule over them. He could explain to them wherein it is easier and more appropriate for them to run cook-stoves and bake ovens than for them to sit in an editor's chair and run a newspaper.

He could explain why they should handle pots and why they should not handle ballots. How it would be easier for them to make men purer, wiser and more philosophical through the silent processes of heat and steam in the laboratory of the kitchen than by speaking to them words of purity and wisdom from rostrums and pulpits. He could also give personal experience in domestic life as to the proper method of cooking to perpetuate domestic felicity on all occasions. All this could be explained so logically, forcibly, pathetically and philosophically, that the feminine mind would modestly acquiesce to rebel against Greeley and Providence never again. Such useful knowledge in a cook book would be a "new depart-

ture" in the art and science of cooking. "What I Know About Cooking," or "How women with Tin Pots and Provender are more useful and powerful than women with Ballots," by Horace Greeley, would attract the attention of all philanthropists and philoplayers as well as of the rest of mankind who live, move and have this being by eating. Besides being a grand literary production, unexcelled in philosophy, inspiration, poetry and elegance of diction since the day that old Deborah wrote her famous war song on the battle-fields of Kishon, it would be an unprecedented financial success. I would buy one, George Francis Train would buy one, Theodore Tilton would buy one, Mrs. Woodhull would buy one, Whittier Reid would buy one, Mr. Stanton and Miss Anthony between them would buy one, Brigham Young would buy one for each of his wives, Barnum one for his museum, Grant one for the White House; Josh Billings would buy one to put in his "New Aladdin." All Tammany Ring, who are now supposed to be able to procure and enjoy good cooking, would buy one; Horace Greeley would buy one; indeed, everybody interested in fun, philosophy and good digestion, would invest; and we are not quite certain but what the fun would be almost as promotive of good digestion as the philosophy, unless we take it for granted that in the philosophy would be the fun. Horace can write fun in philosophy—for who has not read "What I Know About Farming" without an audible smile at the innocent experience of the man. Cozen Sparrowgrass' rural experiences in agriculture are not more enjoyable; and the only difference in the experience given by each author is in the motive which prompted them to write. Horace very innocently and unknowingly writes fun for philosophy, while Sparrowgrass knowingly wrote philosophy for fun; and this is why the efforts of Horace are so fully appreciated. His innocent philosophy abroad is just as entertaining to the fun-loving world as Mark Train's "Innocents Abroad."

It is in view of all these facts that we wish Horace to write a cook book. There is a direful dearth of properly prepared provender. Dyspepsia is on the rampage, ruining the souls and bodies of untold thousands. Dyspepsias are full of hell, and hell is full of dyspepsias. Horace holds in his hands (or head) the keys of our physiological heaven, and unto him the nations of the earth look for physical redemption. Napoleon once, standing amid the majestic pyramids of Egypt, electrified and thrilled his mighty army by saying, "Soldiers, forty centuries are now looking down upon you." So Horace Greeley, standing at the head of one-half million trained cooks, amid the decaying splendors of our civilization, can proclaim with impressive truthfulness, "Ladies, sixty centuries are now looking down upon us, expecting and praying us to save and perfect our American civilization;" and this proclamation would be the death-knell of war, pestilence, famine, free lust and dyspepsia; and over their graves would rise the "Golden Age," proclaiming the advent of "free religion" and "free love;" and thus the mad philosopher's philosophy would be made to praise the Lord. Will Horace write? DOCTOR.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE LAND.

In my endeavor to establish the above thesis I shall divide my theme into three different parts, and examine,

Firstly: Are women persons?

Secondly: Are they citizens?

Thirdly: Have they a right to vote as such?

The words "persons" and "citizens" in ordinary conversation are well understood. But in defining the rights pertaining to these words something more is wanted, and they have to go through the crucible of judicial interpretation; for not all human beings are persons, and not all persons are citizens. Even among citizens may different rights prevail.

But before I can enter into the examination of the three different parts above enumerated it is necessary to establish

THE RULES OF OUR DEFINITIONS.

whereby we are guided in the interpretation of ambiguous words and sentences. And here it may be as well to state at once that the laws and adjudications interpreting our highest instrument, the Constitution of the United States, are furnished by

THE COMMON LAW OF ENGLAND.

The Constitution of the United States was framed under the editorship, so to speak, of the Common Law of England, and all words, meanings and doubtful passages therefore ought to be interpreted according to the same. The ancient sages considered it the "perfection of reason and the best birthright and noblest inheritance of the subject" (Kent Com., 464). The colonists, migrating to America, brought the common law with them, as far as applicable to their new situation, and it was made a part of the charters and a condition of the grants under which the colonies were founded and settled, that the law of England should be the law of the land.

Senator Spencer says: "The flexibility of the common law consists not in the change of principles, but in the application of old principles to new cases and in the modification of the rules flowing from them to such cases as they arise, so as to preserve the reason of the rules and the spirit of the law."

In the United States vs. Wonsen, 1 Galis, 20, it is decided "that the common law mentioned in the 7th amendment of the Constitution of the United States is the common law of England." In the United States vs. Coolidge, 1 Galis, 489, it is decided "that the Constitution and laws of the United States are predicated upon the existence of the common law." And although Judge Blackford (1 Blackford, 295) says: "that the common law of England is not in force in the United States as a federal government," still the current of opinion seems to be in acknowledgment of the existence of the common law, even in the federal government, at least as far as it is applicable to the altered circumstances of our own government. (Patterson vs. Winne, 5 Pet., 241. 1 Bald., 559.)

But the most conclusive authority of the fact that the Constitution was framed with the view of the practice and adjudication under the common law can be found in the King of Spain vs. Oliver, 2 Wash., C. C. R. 429, as stated in Dwarries on Statutes, p. 249, which reads as follows:

"When the Constitution of the United States declared that the judicial power should extend to the cases then specified, it did not define what was judicial power. It was doubtless regarded as unnecessary to enter into a detail of the specific power of the judiciary. Courts did not originate in constitutions; they originated in the common law, and their powers were then as well established and under-

stood as any other question. Their powers existed and were known at common law. By adopting a judicial department, they, by implication, adopted their powers, and to whatever extent the Constitution, or statutes enacted under it, conferred a new or limited an existing power, the authority of the judiciary was so extended or restricted as the case might be. Without such extension or restriction, the Constitution and statutes are to be interpreted by the common law."

Story on the Constitution, sec. 377. Kent Com., Vol. 1, 513, are to the point. The Federalist, No. 81 (McLean's edition) even shows that the common law principles went extensively into the Constitution itself.

Having established the rules of interpretation, we now may enter into the examination of

ARE WOMEN PERSONS?

And first: Who are persons? Webster defines "person" to be "the corporeal manifestation of a soul; a body; a self-conscious being; a living human being; a man, woman or child; an individual of the human race."

None of these definitions is satisfactory for our purpose; for we all remember the time when a negro, although being a person as above defined, was not a person in the contemplation of law, but property.

The legal definition of the word "person" would be:

"A living human being, able to be endowed with such rights and subject to such duties as the fundamental structure of the society whereof he may become a member has established."

It will be apparent that under this definition persons may be classified and each class may be endowed with different rights. Male persons may well have more enlarged privileges than female persons.

Our examination now turns upon the question: Who under the common law of England were understood to be endowable with the full franchise of a member of the community?

Are women persons? The common law of England is a conglomerate of old Briton law, Norman feudal law and ecclesiastical civil law, which in the course of time were so blended together that they appear as a homogeneous mass.

Of the laws of the old Britons we know very little. Tacitus tells us that they received their constitutions and laws from the inhabitants of Gaul, and the latter had not only a very high regard for women, but allowed them to sit in the councils of men and to take part in their deliberations.

After the Norman conquest and the introduction of the feudal system, the rights of women, if they had any, were swept away. The feudal warrior system did not acknowledge women as of any concern, for they could not bear arms and consequently were unable to uphold a fief. The land went to her sons or reverted to the donor.

When in the course of time the rigor of that brutal warrior system was tempered down and fies became inevitable, the position of women changed, and they could take lands by descent and become seized of it in fee-simple. And

THE FRANCHISE OF SUFFRAGE

in England depends upon the possession of freehold property. It is less a right appertaining to the person, but an incident of the fee (1 Blackst. Com., 173 and notes), and when, therefore, women were admitted into the fee, they were able to be endowed with all rights, privileges, offices and franchises pertaining to the same.

The word "person" under the common law implies, undoubtedly, women, for they were able to be the bearer of rights and duties. Blackstone, in the volume above referred to, says: "Our constitution (speaking of England) steers between the two extremes. Only such are entirely excluded as can have no will of their own; there is hardly a free agent to be found who is not entitled to a vote in some place or other in the kingdom." A stronger language in favor of the equality of women property-holders with men property-holders can hardly be applied.

ARE WOMEN CITIZENS?

This is the second consideration, and has partly been answered, as far as their common law position is concerned, by the foregoing examination. Women, under the common law practice, if property holders and "free agents," are allowed the exercises of the highest privilege of citizenship—"suffrage."

But to find out who are citizens of the United States we must lay down as evident that whenever the same words appear in the same instrument or the statutes of the same body, these words should be understood to mean the same thing, if not a clear intention to the contrary is expressed or manifest.

In construing ambiguous words and sentences "much also may be gathered from contemporary history and contemporary interpretation" (Story on Const., 286). The same author, p. 287, says: "The Constitution was adopted by the people of the United States; and it was submitted to the whole upon a just survey of its provisions, as they stood in the text itself;" and p. 288, "Nothing but the text itself was adopted by the people." "The words are not, indeed, to be stretched beyond their fair sense; but within that range the rule of interpretation must be taken which best follows out the apparent intention," says Rawle on his work on the Constitution, ch. 1, p. 31.

Armed with these quotations we may now examine the Constitution of the United States and find out what is meant by the words "people," "person," "citizen," "inhabitant."

I hold that these words must be interpreted in the same manner as the words "judicial power," "jury," "felony," "attainder," &c.; words so specific English that they only can be understood by consulting the common law of England.

Webster defines the word "citizen" to be "any native-born or naturalized person of either sex, who is entitled to full protection in the exercise and enjoyment of the so-called rights."

We have interpreted the word person as a living being able to be endowed with rights and subject to duties and in consonance with it. We shall define the word "citizen" to be "a living being actually endowed with rights and subject to duties according to the fundamental structure of the society whereof he is a member."

Under the common law of England, as we have seen, women, if unmarried and owning freehold property, for that is to be understood under Blackstone's words already quoted, were citizens in the full legal sense of the word. And reading the Constitution of the United States, subject to the common law definition of words, the word "citizens" appearing therein can only be understood as including women. And not enough that no statute ever abrogates it is full and sweeping definition of the term citizen, they in the contrary affirm it in plain language, unable to be misunderstood.

The act of May 8th, 1792, "An act more effectually to provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform

militia throughout the United States," (passed in the sessions of the first Congress) begins as follows:

"SECTION 1. Each and every free, able-bodied, white male citizen of the respective States."

Can any recognition of the existence of female citizens be stronger?

In *Reilly vs. Lamar*, 2 Cranch, 344, it was decided: "The inhabitants of the District of Columbia ceased to be citizens of the States of Virginia and Maryland respectively, by its separation from those States."

This undoubtedly means all inhabitants, women included. And now we come to the third consideration, to wit:

HAVE WOMEN A RIGHT TO VOTE AS CITIZENS?

Societies have an undoubted right to prescribe regulations and qualifications for the acquirement of membership. Such regulations and qualifications enter into the organic structure of society itself; for without members there is no society; without citizens there is no State.

Before the adoption of the Constitution, each Colony had a right to establish its own naturalization laws. Under the federal government that right ceased, in so far as the United States did guarantee to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States, and further, in declaring that citizens of the United States shall be citizens of the State wherein they reside. (6 Pet., 761; 1 Brock, 391; 1 Paige, 1832.)

THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

of citizens of the United States are all the common law privileges, beside some additional ones, pertaining to the higher development of our Government over that of England. Chancellor Kent in enumerating the rights of persons, adds to the rights of Englishmen one more, to wit: "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship."

Under the rights of citizenship, besides the rights enumerated, is the right to the elective franchise as regulated by the States. (4 W. C. C. R., 380.)

This last limitation clashed with the federal idea of citizenship, for under this regulation a citizen may have the qualification to vote in one State, but not in the other, while the Constitution secures to each citizen the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States.

This clash, most probably, leads to the doctrine of a United States citizenship as distinct and separate from the States citizenship.

The question naturally turns now upon

WHO ARE UNITED STATES CITIZENS?

And here the Fourteenth Amendment steps in to explain it. All persons native-born or naturalized are citizens.

The constitutions and amendments are predicated upon the existence of the common law. The latter gives women, if free agents and freholders, suffrage. Consequently, American women and freholders and citizens in the contemplation of the common law, if properly qualified, are entitled to the franchise of suffrage.

WHAT ARE THESE QUALIFICATIONS

entitling to suffrage in the United States of America?

CITIZENSHIP.

Our government is based upon Universal Suffrage. "Eligibility by universal suffrage, as modified by the Constitution, is the one crowning franchise of the American people," says W. H. Seward. The Constitution modifies the universal suffrage by limiting it to citizens. Women are citizens, as we have seen, in the contemplation of the common law; the Constitution is to be read subject to the common-law interpretation of the words, consequently women are entitled to suffrage, and

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE LAND.

In concluding this examination I am well aware that I have repeated what men profound in the learning of constitutional law have said. The question of woman suffrage, desired, as it is, to become one of the leading questions of the future, will well allow me to contribute my mite to its general understanding. Having been an anti-woman-suffragist, the study of the question, at least, convinced me, that if the doctrine of a distinct and separate United States citizenship is a correct one (which I am not prepared to doubt), woman suffrage follows as a logical consequence.

VON TRONK.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept., 1871.

THE IDEAL WOMAN AND THE DOMESTIC DRUDGE.

ABBEY OF THELEME, August 27, 1871.

DEAR VICTORIA: I thank you, dear sister in reform, for the scathing way in which you have shown up farmer Greeley, whose unwarranted attack upon you deserved the lesson. That notable individual may be as good an agriculturist as George the Third of England, of whom Byron says:

"A better farmer ne'er brushed dew from lawn."

or have

"—that household virtue, most uncommon of constancy;"

but he

"—Compounds for sins that he's inclined to,

By damning those that he's no mind to!"

is temperate in the use of drink, but intemperate in the use of words; and in his love for vegetables, forgets *la deliciouse plante femme*; as a French philosopher designates woman.

But do you not do injustice to Socrates, whose profound philosophy of Free Love you will find related in Plato's *Banquet*, though otherwise your parallel between him and Greeley holds good? You ask, "Who has ever troubled himself to inquire how much philosopher Socrates or philosopher Greeley has had to do with souring the temper, unstrung the nerves and completely disorganizing the sensitive machinery of a delicate woman's organization?" I have taken the trouble to inquire, and flatter myself that I can throw some light upon the facts, as well as their reference to the philosophy of Free Love.

That idea of Greek life, disclosed in its classics, has, from my earliest youth, been my worship, as it was that of M. Roland, and Socrates, my idol; and I have taken pains to inform myself of every particular of his life. About Mr. Greeley, I have been told by a lady who was very intimate with the family that Mrs. G. is, from physical infirmity, of somewhat uneven temper; not from Mr. G.'s intemperance of speech, which he does not carry into the household, for he is there, says this lady, a model of good nature.

On the other hand, the whole life and thought of Socrates are so illustrative of the difference between restraint and freedom in the relations of the sexes, that you will pardon me for dwelling upon it a little. In Plato's exquisite *Dialogues on Love*, the whole theory of the Greek idea of the relations of the sexes is glowingly descanted upon.

Xantippe was a natural born shrew, and Socrates, aware of this, married her, as he frankly confessed, even to her, to exercise his patience. He no doubt accomplished his object; for he bore with exemplary kindness her continual assaults; as when she threw out of a window upon him the unclean contents of a vessel, eliciting only the philosophical reply: "After a storm comes a shower." She, probably, was as frank as Socrates, and talked to him in some such words as Katherine's, that

"—her care should be
To comb your noddle with a three-legged stool,
And paint your face, and use you like a fool."

But, like Katherine and all her kind, she was undoubtedly a woman of wonderful force of character, and she is said to have exercised great influence upon the thinker. Her shrewish qualities, which have given her name as a type—

"—as a first and shrewd
As Socrates' Xantippe—"

were unquestionably compensated and balanced by some engaging attributes, or else Socrates would not have married her so deliberately as a trial of temper.

If he did not pay her much attention, the reason for it is to be found in the fact that it was the fashion of those days for married and respectable women to be kept in an exclusion like that of the Eastern harem; debarred from the society not only of strangers, but even of their nearest relations. As is said in *Becker's Charities* (which by the way, I found in the apartments of a young, beautiful and accomplished hetero of this city), "The men lived more abroad than at home, and even at home inhabited their own apartments. The women were regarded as a lower order of beings, neglected by nature, in comparison with man, both in intellect and heart, naturally prone to evil, and fitted only for propagating the species and gratifying the sensual appetite of the men." (There is no perceptible difference in the male opinion and treatment of woman between that day and this.) None other than a sensual love was acknowledged between man and wife. Respectable women in those days were totally uneducated, except to spin and weave. Indeed, before marriage, the maidens were kept in a great seclusion and under lock and key. (?) How, then, could a man of so large a soul as Socrates find converse and sympathy with a woman like Xantippe, though he might recognize and be grateful for her executive ability in the household, and for the opportunity she afforded him for cultivating that wise meekness for which he has become celebrated? All the great men of that time had wives, but spent most of their leisure hours with the hetero, a habit to which no disgrace was attached, its philosophical necessity in the development of the soul being then intuitively recognized. Socrates himself declares that the hetero is for the satisfaction of the ideal, the wife for the household drudge.

The hetero (what the world now call prostitutes) were, the better class of them, distinguished for their wit and vivacity, intellect and powers of fascination. They were the scientific and learned women of that day, and prided themselves upon their mental powers. Such were Aspasia, mistress of Pericles; Lais, the love of Diogenes, the cynic; Lais, the most exquisite flute player of antiquity; Phryne, who offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes at her own expense; Leona, whose sad fate should silence those who accuse woman of not being able to keep a secret, as she died in defense of that principle; Leontium, whose writings are so praised by Cicero; Rhoiope, who gained so much money by her charms that she built one of the Pyramids; Thais, inspirer of Alexander the Great; Lasthenia, pupil of Plato; and Gaia, famous for their wit.

Aspasia, the idol of the wise men of Athens, was the greatest woman of that day, and one of the greatest that ever lived. It has been my good fortune to have had the intimacy of such female types among the hetero of San Francisco and New York, and I have found in them a goodness of soul and tenderness of nature scarce known among the so-called respectable. This tenderness of nature is developed through the misery they suffer in being expelled from society and contemned by it. They are the saddest of humanity, and from the agony of soul which I have detected beneath the external display of hilarity I have always felt for them the liveliest interest. One of these women, through my compassionate and sympathetic influence, was induced to abandon this, to her, disagreeable mode of livelihood. These modern hetero differ from those of antiquity solely in this, that they lack education. Among the Greeks they were the only women to whom intellectual culture was possible. Other women were not allowed to go out, while they attended the public lectures of Diogenes, Epicurus and the different philosophical schools.

Can men of genius be blamed for seeking the solace of wit and the inspiration of these incarnate muses as relief to the monotony of the household? Had Xantippe been a great woman she would not long have remained where Socrates found her, but would have been a free lover and a friend of Aspasia. Let us congratulate ourselves, dear sister, that we were not born among the respectable of those days!

How could Socrates the wise dwell in loving communion with Xantippe, the ignorant and turbulent? He needs no sympathy, however, for his fate was of his own choice. He developed patience through Xantippe; his reasons among his philosophical friends, and under the tuition of Diotima, whom he constantly speaks of as having been his mistress; and his imagination at the feet of Aspasia. Our pity is rather due to the unfortunate drudge, Xantippe, the type of a numerous family not unknown in our day, whose force of character exerts itself in household labor or supervision, till what might have been under culture, artistic enthusiasm, is perverted to temper and sourness of disposition. One of the best and loved of Woman's Suffragists, Martha Loomis, used to often say, "I wonder that woman, with all the disadvantages of her position, is as good as she is." Deprived of freedom, and harrowed by depressing circumstances, like flowers without sunlight, or like the Cretins of the Alps, woman has not had opportunity to manifest or develop the better part of her individuality.

If the world has done the memory of Xantippe injustice, without that thought and reason that looks at the cause of human frailties, I beg that her dear shade will look approvingly on what I have said of her, and with the humane spirit of her great husband, forgive humanity its errors.

Affectionately your sister reformer in the cause of love and freedom,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: Apropos of progress, in view of the present crisis and the influence for good or ill that will be exerted by Congress during its next session, it may not be out of place to republish the account of the Morse banquet, clipped from the columns of the New York

Tribune two or three years since and transcribed verbatim from my scrap-book:

"A banquet was given in this city on Tuesday evening to Professor Morse as a recognition of the service he has rendered to his fellow-citizens of the great service he has rendered to telegraphy and through telegraphy to civilization. The occasion was an interesting one, in that few great inventors or discoverers have ever had their claims on the gratitude of the human race as fully acknowledged as Professor Morse has had his, or have seen as earnest efforts made by those who have profited by their inventions to discharge the debt."

His own contribution to the oratory of the dinner was very happy, and he rendered Congressmen a great service by reproducing a portion of the report of the House in 1843 on the bill to appropriate \$30,000 to test the merits of the Morse Telegraph. "It was cruel to recall it, and yet there is no present Member of Congress who may not be the better for reading it. The bill was treated as a joke, and Mr. Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, proposed that one-half the amount should be given for experiments in mesmerism or animal magnetism, a field in which he evidently thought exploration would be just as profitable as in Professor Morse's. But then he was not half as severe as Mr. Houston, who bitingly suggested that 'Millerism' should also have some benefit of the appropriation." And then there was an exchange of pleasantries between the wag from Tennessee, Mr. Johnson, and another wag from North Carolina, Mr. Stanley, the latter offering to support the vote if Mr. Johnson were to be the subject of the mesmeric experiments, and Mr. Johnson playfully offering to submit if Mr. Stanley were to be the operator. Mr. Mason, of Ohio, objected to the mesmeric amendment as 'not bona fide,' or, in other words, as a bad joke; but the Speaker gravely ruled against the point of order, on the ground that there was no slying without actual experiment whether the magnetism of mesmerism was not analogous to that which Professor Morse proposed to employ in his telegraph."

It is Congress in 1843 made such grave mistakes, assuming an attitude with regard to a subject of vital import, that, to the enlightenment of the present appears not only unstatesmanlike but absurd, should it not cause our present lawmakers to pause before they pronounce adversely upon questions that involve the destiny of a race?

L. C. S.

Port Huron, Mich., Oct. 23, 1871.

ANNA DICKINSON ON TRADES UNIONS.

"It's a pity that charming woman
Talks things that she don't understand."

And that is just what is the matter with Anna, who contrasts the condition of workmen in England with those in America in a slipshod manner, arriving at a conclusion that is totally fallacious.

Miss Dickinson, in her late assault on trades unions, mentions a strike in England in which the men demanded an increase of pay to the amount of eight cents a day, which increase would make their pay amount to a total of sixteen cents a day. Did Miss Dickinson quote this example as a proof of the unreasonableness of trades unions? Does she not think that it was time for trades unions to inaugurate a strike against men working for eight cents a day? But let that pass; it is an exceptional case. I propose to deal with the average of pay to workmen in England and the United States, thus: The largest class of artisans in England is the machinist class. Now let us compare their standing with the standing of machinists here:

Pay in Eng and in gold per week.....	\$7 68
Pay in United States in paper per week.....	15 00
Rent in Eng and of a 4 roomed cottage, per week.....	1 00
Rent of 4 rooms in New York City per week.....	5 00
Balance of wages left to English artisan after paying rent, will purchase at English retail rate of 24 cts. per 8 lbs.....	216 lbs. of bread.
Balance of wages left to American artisan after paying rent, will purchase at retail rate of 19 cts. per loaf of 1 1/4 lbs.....	15 lbs. of bread.

So much for Miss Dickinson's comparison. She says: "Here is a man whose work is worth \$5 a week; here is another man whose work is worth \$50 a week, and the union puts them both on the level of \$20 a week." Very well, what is the result. The employer gets by this means \$55 worth of work for \$40. Now let us see how the employer treats these men: The five dollar man gets a job, employer pays him what he thinks the man is worth; if that is \$5 only, man gets discharged, being not worth shop room. Then the \$50 man gets a job; employer says, the highest rate of wages I pay is \$3 25 a day; employer pay any more than that; the workman agrees to give his \$50 worth of work at that rate, but on pay-day receives only \$3 a day, being told by the boss that it is only old hands who get the \$3 25 a day. This is the everyday experience of workmen. Suppose a workman has, emulating Quixote, to try to alter this state of things, and being worth more than the regular rate paid to new hands, refuses to take that rate, how long would he remain out of work? Conclusions are decidedly wrong, of course, Miss Dickinson. Well now, when an employer issues a notice to reduce all his workmen's wages ten per cent., don't you think that being thus treated as a body, they will resist or acquiesce as a body?

You assert that the workmen do not support the rich. In reply I suppose you will admit that there is nothing produced in this country unless at the hands of workmen. I think that, glancing down the items of our national substance, we shall not find an item but arises from labor. Such being the case, your assertion is tantamount to a statement that the rich do not gain their wealth from dealing in any item of our national substance; thus, then, their existence is deprived of its last vestige of excuse—nay, worse than that, for they certainly consume the product of labor, rendering nothing in return.

The rich live off profits; nothing returns a profit save labor. As to hand and head work you are all at sea, Miss Dickinson. Take the machinist's business as an example. You can learn the business in seven years. It will take two years' good brain work to learn to make a finished drawing and two years to learn sufficient mathematics, trigonometry, Euclid, etc., to be able to earn \$18 a week.

Isn't it particularly funny, also, that of all these terribly brain-worked people not one in the history of the world ever took up a tag of tools and took to a happy workman's life in preference to his brain work?

Isn't it strange that these foolish rich men can't see that it is better to get up at 6 A. M., go to work at 7 A. M., carry their dinners in a piece of paper, pull on some sticky overalls, than to ride down at 10, lunch at Delmonico's at 1, and return home at 5 P. M.?

Foiled workmen, too, what do you want? Don't these fine rich people treat labor as a dignity worthy of all respect? Aren't there pawn-shops for you to pledge your cloths in when you get out of work, and a nice potter's field for you when you die? And if you do totter to work when you are

aged, and get paid a miserable pittance, what do you live to such an age for; you are no use, the work is nearly all taken out of you, and you are only in the way. You evidently don't like your work, and work clearly don't agree with you; but you are better off still than those brain-workers. You only work for subsistence; brain-workers are so terribly put to it that they work to get still richer; work when they are not obliged to do so; work just to get a little more money. Oh, workingmen are the best off; brain-work is the most arduous task. Anna Dickinson says so.

J. ROSE.

SPIRITUAL PHENOMENA.

DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: On the morning of the 3d of October we found written in pencil on one of our sham pillows quite a number of names of friends who have passed the shining river, and on one corner a message from a stranger spirit and directed Leicester, Vt. This message was forwarded as directed and since verified.

On retiring for the night, the 10th of same month, I examined said sham thoroughly and placed it with the other on a chair near the head of the bed, laying a pencil on the top. In the morning I found written on the under side of the same pillow the following:

"Christianna Taunk, to my dear son, Dr. M. Taunk, New Orleans, La.; I died in 1821, at Sterility, Germany."

I copied this message and forwarded same to Dr. M. Taunk, New Orleans, La., on the 12th of October, but have received no reply as yet.

I solicit the publication of this in your paper in hopes that it may meet the eye of Dr. Taunk or some one who may know of his locality.

Since then I have noticed among the "Questions and Answers" published in the *Banner* dated October 28, a question by Dr. M. Taunk, inquiring about a haunted house in Germany. This may be the same man, although the name is spelled different.

Will the doctor please respond, either to this paper or to Mrs. M. M. Hardy, 135 West Concord street, Boston, Mass.

It is of common occurrence for Mrs. H. to have similar messages given through her organism, but this writing on the pillows after we have retired is a new phase.

Yours, for the truth, JOHN HARDY.

TRUE MANHOOD VS. TRUE WOMANHOOD AGAIN—MILITARY SUFFRAGE, ETC.

In an indirect appeal to the patriotic ladies of Santa Clara valley, in your issue of the 14th instant, it appears from several communications that I did not make myself understood, and quite a number of questions are propounded which I ask your indulgence to answer. First, it is declared that women often confide in men and suffer sorrow for their folly, etc. This all amounts to

"When lovely woman stoops
To folly, and finds too late
That men betray," etc.

But folly is not confidence; if so it were folly to confide. This writer is evidently a devotee to those who would build themselves up upon an antagonism between the sexes that God and nature forbid. I know a certain class of papers teem with the wrongs and horrors of the world. It is about like a person who would go through our fair valley and see nothing but the dead trees and mud holes. If these persons were true philanthropists it might be excused; but reasoning by analogy that as a rotation of crops is good for the soil, a rotation of office is good for society, they wish to rotate some one else out and themselves in; and I submit to those matrons of the country whose hearts have not been scorched with ambition like a hot breath from hell, did not ten honest young men make known in one way or another their love where one heartless libertine tried to mislead? And I submit to the honest, outspoken men of the country, is there one in one hundred among men who would have upon his mind that he had broken the heart of some confiding woman and started her down the road to ruin? Talk with any old man, and he will dwell fondly and minutely upon the time when his young heart felt the first strange thrill of affection. And I submit to the young women of the country, can you not by stammering, sighing, blushing, hanging down your heads, and thus going through a pantomime of love, distract from business and often alienate from their country, the smartest men in the country? From the foregoing it is plain to be seen that the troubles these papers complain of are the direct outgrowth of woman's short-sighted selfishness, and that the women who are thus trying to alienate our school girls and farmers' boys have little or no practical knowledge of the great common life of the people, and forget that it was the virtuous affection of such "that has made and preserved us a nation," and that upon the happy union of such depends our future greatness. Still, the same people tell us that in the not very distant future, reproduction is to be scientifically controlled. By whom, pray? Mostly by women who never had any children, or whose minds are so active when they should be passive that their children do not know anything. Forgetting that the way to promote the health, happiness and progress of mankind is to let them severely alone and nature will never make a mistake, and those women who would cherish men as they would beasts of burden that they may be able to carry a greater load, are the ones who have the most trouble with them. Second, Do I believe in woman suffrage? Most assuredly I do! "Let them suffer," but I do not believe it to be the panacea for all human ills; yet I am willing to grant it upon any other basis than this useless, heartless and unnatural antagonism between the sexes, fomented mostly by persons whom misfortune has deformed (God pity them!), and who have had no youth, or green spring-time of life, and who have lived amid the ultra civilization of great cities, to the exclusion of any practical knowledge of the great common life of the people they have undertaken the hopeless task to modify. Woman cannot force man to "let her suffer," and if he grants it and thereby suffers by her folly, she must expect to suffer the loss of her suffrage. Government is the science of expediences. Now, is it expedient that woman be placed in the position of dictator in the next election? The party of progress, i. e., the party in power, struggled long years with the ballot-box and bayonet to secure their present position. They control the U. S. Supreme Court, and women cannot expect to get in without making concessions. (Just here let me state that our editor evidently does not believe that the party of progress is the party of progress, and I make a direct appeal to his patriotism, to give me a hearing.) Practically there are but two political parties in the country, i. e.,

the party in power and the party out of power. The former controls the U. S. Supreme Court and can "let women suffer," the latter does not, hence cannot. (It remains to be seen if the leaders among women are willing to forego their ambition for one election. That is the only practical issue before the country now on the question of suffrage, for the party in power will surely furnish the required judicial decisions if women will vote as they tell them to), for ever since I can remember the constitution has meant what the power in party in power says it means. Third, Will not the communes merge all governments in one, and would it not be for the best? No, it would not be for the best; and the cowardly manner in which they acted in France bespeaks blind and rascally leaders. They were afraid of Napoleon, an old man who was weary of power and willing to resign, and hence fomented a foreign war. They were untrue to France, for had they come up like men at Gravelotte inundation would have been checked, and France saved her territory, honor and credit. They have issued a circular to form a national league in this country, to extend to every hamlet in the nation, which will do us no harm if it does not provoke crusades from the standing armies of Europe and Asia, which are some six millions strong. Fourth, What is my own opinion upon suffrage? Here I must appeal to the patience of the printer. (Come out and see me). "Oh! had I the wings of a dove." First, then, the country is practically ruled by force, and the able men from eighteen to forty-five are that force; to them God and nature has confided the care and protection of the country, and the power to compel obedience at home and respect abroad; hence all government is by their consent, and I would confine the right of suffrage to them, for as it is a serious privilege it should carry serious responsibilities with it. Let such elect officers without regard to sex or nationality; but every voter should be able to carry arms, and in war soldiers and officers should have clothes and rations, but no pay or bounty, and no voter should be exempt from "draft." So when the army went out for battle they would carry the ballot-box with them, as Israel did "the ark of the Lord," and they could confide the care of the country to men and women, who could be trusted, and not have to fight the enemy in front and politicians in the rear. Who would be aggrieved by this military suffrage? Voters would not be eligible to office during war, and for one year thereafter. This would not saddle our lands with "feudal tenures" and would give us a great army in time of peace without expense, and would in nowise provoke unnecessary war, and force us to pile up a vast national debt as the price of our political organizations. Men and women who wish to hold office would have as good an opening as they do now, and there would be no fraud in elections. Oh, but would not such men become heartless and tyrannical? Are they so now? Were they so at the close of the rebellion.

"Go watch the foremost ranks in
Danger's dark career, and be
Sure the hand most daring there
Has wiped away a tear."

Question—Does not this power lie dormant in their hands, and will not policy or emergency sooner or later call it into action, and then will they cease to be your fathers, brothers, husbands or lovers; that is, if you will let them love you. Very truly,
San Jose, Cal. GERRY E. DANFORD.

THE NEWSPAPER—THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE.

BY A. G. SPALDING.

That most ancient and venerated document, entitled the Holy Bible, is idolized by the church-going world, and, claiming to come direct from Heaven, it is considered the book of books, and the source of all wisdom and perfection to mankind. Our schoolmaster in past generations, it is now getting so old that, like the deciduous tree, its sacred leaves are fast falling to the ground, and its trunk and branches are withering with age and decay. As a natural result, its pupils are now rapidly graduating out of the old Bible into the new, styled the newspaper, or people's Bible.

The old Bible is losing respect everywhere, and in the best society, being seldom used except on funeral occasions and for Sunday worship, and sometimes in family prayer, it is read only as a very solemn duty, having reference to preparation for death. Then it is laid away on the dusty shelf.

But the new Bible—the newspaper—is a daily and hourly visitor and companion, welcomed by all—old and young, grave and gay, church members and non-church members. It is found in parlor and kitchen, in store and shop, in city and country, and in every man's pocket. It is our guide and instructor, our preacher and lecturer, our lawyer, doctor and farmer.

All the very best things in the old Bible are copied into the new, leaving out only the mythical and traditional, and the rubbish and old fogysm, about war and slavery, murders and seductions, polygamy and concubinage, and woman's subjugation; also the great frightful devil, the awful brimstone hell and everlasting damnation. But so much as relates to truth, right, love, justice, humanity and brotherhood are most carefully preserved.

The old Bible teaches the duty of blind faith, independent of the five senses, and of reason. The new Bible is a book of demonstrated truth, appealing to the highest thought and sense of man, to which there can be no infidels; for a man always believes his own wide-awake senses.

The world's past progress is a prophecy of the future. The human race is progressive, and all that is beautiful and good in heaven will be realized by mankind on earth; because the condition of the heart makes heaven, and is heaven. This new Bible is progressive, being filled weekly with the fresh and glowing inspirations of God through the human soul.

The worship taught in the new Bible is that of friendly deeds and a good life. It requires no Sunday show of long faces or long sermons, nor God-houses, nor sacraments of wine, nor baptisms of water, for the sake of passing the soul safely through death. Therefore it is a cheap religion, and does not cost a hundred millions a year for the nation, and six thousand dollars per annum for a half dozen churches in a small town.

In the days of the Apostles no printing press had been invented. Therefore itinerating preachers and lecturers were quite proper and necessary to instruct the people. But the printing press at the present period is the Archimedeal lever of the world. Like our Western threshing machines, which will do the work of five hundred men with the old flail, one printing press is equal to a thousand clergymen,

aye, perhaps many thousands, to teach and enlighten mankind. What farmer on our prairies would go back to hand-threshing? His grain would not pay the cost. So with the press. This is the wonderful thought machine, which saves the need and expense of oral professional speech, that costs a hundred times as much. The cheap avenues of all knowledge—religious, legal, medical, scientific and literary—is through newspapers, books, magazines and tracts; and what sensible man will pay a hundred dollars for a certain amount of information when he can get the same by another method for one dollar? Or who will contribute to erect a ten thousand dollar church, when all the knowledge to be got in it can be obtained at home for nothing? No reasonable man, of course.

All wealth comes from productive labor. The professions generally produce no wealth, but only consume it. When working people come to realize this fact, it may tend to change their course of action. They will appreciate themselves more highly, and protect their own interests. No laboring man of good sense will give his hard and honest earnings to a professional minister, attorney or physician, for him to live in style and ease, when he can be his own preacher, lawyer and doctor. That he can be, and let these professionals raise their own potatoes and manufacture their own broadcloth.

The Press is like the blazing sunlight to the mental and moral world, and its rays are for every human being. And if it is to bless mankind, now is the time. Let no one be cheated out of it. The world is like a beehive—the working-bees making all the honey; but the drones eating the most of it. The drones must be killed off, or forced to join the workers. That drone class consists of many sorts: military drones, political drones, clerical drones, legal drones, gambling drones, speculating drones, fashionable drones, etc. These favored ones always stand in the places of queen-bees, kings and rulers, while the workers are merely their cringing servants.

But a revolution is at hand—a war portends. The wars of the old Bible, and of all past time, have been brutal and bloody—covering their fields with the mangled dead. But now we wage a new style of warfare. It will be bloodless. It will leave no widows nor orphans in its trail, nor confiscate nor destroy any man's property; for our battleground is the printed Newspaper. Our powder is Printer's Ink, and our bullets the leaden Type. Every thinking man and woman is a brave soldier, who will discharge most effective shots of flaming Ideas into the heavy brains of the stubborn enemy. Victory to our cause is *sure*. Yet no one can possibly be hurt, for it is a harmless battle of IDEAS.

"The pen is mightier than the sword!"

Then all hail to the New Bible! Magnify the Newspaper! It is a thousand-more power machine for Thought and for Preaching. And it is so cheap! Dismiss the old minister machine, and lay it away with the old barn flail. It belongs to the dark age, before the Printing Press was known. Circulate the good Newspaper in every family, and it will teach every man to be his own minister, doctor, lawyer, etc., and save the foolish waste of money, which belongs to the old Bible system. Disband the bloody army of the dark and cruel past, and fight henceforth, with peaceful weapons only, on the battle-ground of the Newspaper. Carnal weapons are the old Bible style.

The question now is—The Old or the New; the Right or the Wrong; the Dark or the Light; the old Error or the new Truth; blessings for the Few or the Many; Equal Rights or Monopoly; Man and Labor, or Capital and Oppression. Let it be settled by that glorious tribunal of our glorious era—the Newspaper—the PEOPLE'S BIBLE.

ARE YOU NOT CONTENT?

BY WILLIAM BRUNTON.

Content! I guess I'm not content, can't calculate such statements yet. My sweet solemnized coz, I've half creation owing debt. Don't come the gentle green-horn trick, with wiseling nothings stale and trite.

Let's have the gist of human wish, what Mother Nature says is right. No use to build on shifting sand, the rignarole you parsons say. But granite rock shall be the ground that Noah's flood can't wash away. You talk and prate and hinder men from doing work they ought and can. Then vilify our common lot, and put the universe in ban! But that won't stand the whistling wind, the spars are gone, the bulk's no use.

Then let it sink to Davy Jones, with all such weather-worn abuse; And let us have essential good—the constant stream to turn the wheel. Not cold concatenations clack, but pent-up-bosomed heart appeal. I'm not content with much I have, discordant screeches noways in tune. Old Pharaoh's lean and hungry kine, December days transposed to June. I hanker after this and that, as boiler-fool to run the train.

To civilize conditions, sir, upholding joy, outvoting pain. I want to hear our singers chirp, to see our bull-frog actors play. To go the ticket's topmost round, which democratic dollars may. I want the woodbine twined home, poetic minds in soaring seek. With table-board of princely sort, and welcome guests from week to week.

I want some park outstretched beyond, some meadow land to till with care.

And farming stock of class A 1, and things nobility might share. I want a steed prepared to trot, a little faster than we walk, And some few foreign things of mark, the neighborhood can see and talk. Now, sir, no balderdash again, that humble-pie will nicely do. My carnivorous appetite requires the genuine article to chew.

My thin sown grain of sense declares, in thunderation square and flat. That lanky bones and bits arm't mine, and yours the savory scented fat. It says the world belongs to none, but each may claim a goodly part. A sphere of joyous usefulness, without destroying head or heart. Then let me try for free-born rights and win my paradisaical piece. And bless myself from top to toe with rounding personal increase. Forbid not feathers fine and smart, if philosophic fate so choose. Nor money banked in golden bonds, that floating ventures else might lose.

And give me children round my knee, with wife that bears a smiling face. My sons to shine as men of state, my daughters rise as stars of grace. Thus let me have possessions dear to give my constitution mold. To meet the Spring-tide wants of youth—the Autumn pleadings of the old!

And then, dear sir, I'll be content, and teach my family the same. And show simplicity fall-blown, with peace, and property, and name; And how at last it ventures out to help the weary traveler still. With our spare horses help him up this rising steep, that rugged hill! With these I'd preach redemption, sir, to some perhaps akin to you. Man's glorious possibilities—the active ages yet remain to do! But take the thoughts at random cast, if poorly said they're kindly meant.

And aim to reach from more to more the pleasant heights of sweet content.

A GLANCE BEHIND THE CURTAIN.

We see but half the canoes of our deeds,
Seeking them wholly in the outer life,
And heedless of the encircling spirit-world,
Which, though unseen, is felt, and sows in us
All germs of pure and world-wide purposes.
From one stage of being to the next
We pass unconscious o'er a slender bridge,
The momentary work of unseen hands,
Which crumbles down behind us; looking back,
We see the other shore, the gulf between,
And, marvelling how we won to where we stand,
Content ourselves to call the builder Chance.
We trace the wisdom to the apple's fall,
Not to the birth-throes of a mighty Truth
Which, for long ages in blank Chaos dumb,
Yet yearned to be incarnate, and had found
At last a spirit meet to be the womb
From which might be born to bless mankind,—
Not to the soul of Newton, ripe with all
The hoarded thoughtfulness of earnest years,
And waiting but one ray of sunlight more
To blossom fully.

But whence came that ray?
We call our sorrows Destiny, but ought
Rather to name our high successes so.
Only the instincts of great souls are Fate,
And have predestined sway: all other things,
Except by leave of us, could never be.
For Destiny is but the breath of God
Still moving in us, the last fragment left
Of our unfallen nature, waking oft
Within our thought, to beckon us beyond
The narrow circle of the seen and known,
And always tending to a noble end,
As all things must that overrule the soul,
And for a space unseat the helmsman, Will.
The fate of England and of freedom once
Seemed wavering in the heart of one plain man;
One step of his, and the great dial-hand
That marks the destined progress of the world
In the eternal round from wisdom on
To higher wisdom, had been made to pause
A hundred years. That step he did not take,—
He knew not why, nor we, but only God,—
And lived to make his simple oaken chair
More terrible and grandly beautiful,
More full of majesty than any throne
Before or after, of a British king.

Upon the pier stood two stern visaged men,
Looking to where a little craft lay moored,
Swayed by the lazy current of the Thames,
Which weltered by in muddy listlessness.
Grave men they were, and batlings of fierce thought
Had trampled out all softness from their brows,
And plowed rough furrows there before their time;
Far other crop than such as homebred Peace
Sows broadcast in the willing soil of Youth.
Care, not of self, but of the commonweal,
Had robbed their eyes of youth, and left instead
A look of patient power and iron will,
And something fiercer, too, that gave broad hint
Of the plain weapons girded at their sides.
The younger had an aspect of command,—
Not such as trickles down, a slender stream,
In the shrunk channel of a great descent,—
But such as lies entwined in heart and head,
And an arm prompt to do the 'hefts of both.
His was a brow where gold were out of place,
And yet it seemed right worthy of a crown,
(Though he despised such), were it only made
Of iron, or some serviceable stuff
That would have matched his sinewy, brown face.
The elder, although such he hardly seemed,
(Care makes so little of some five short years),
Had a clear, honest face, whose rough-hewn strength
Was mildened by the scholar's wiser heart
To sober courage, such as best befits
The unsullied temper of a well-taught mind.
Yet so remained that one could plainly guess
The hushed volcano smouldering underneath.
He spoke: the other, hearing, kept his gaze
Still fixed, as on some problem in the sky.

"O, Cromwell, we are fallen on evil times!
There was a day when England had wide room
For honest men as well as foolish kings;
But now the uneasy stomach of the time
Turns squeamish at them both. Therefore let us
Seek out that savage clime, where men as yet
Are free: there sleeps the vessel on the tide,
Her languid canvas drooping for the wind;
Give us but that, and what need we to fear
This Order of the Council? The free waves
Will not say, No, to please a wayward king,
Nor will the winds turn traitors at his beck:
All things are fitly cared for, and the Lord
Will watch as kindly o'er the exodus
Of us his servants now, as in old time.
We have no cloud nor fire, and haply we
May not pass dry-shod through the ocean-stream;
But, saved or lost, all things are in His hand."
So spake he, and meantime the other stood
With wide gray eyes still reading the blank air,
As if upon the sky's blue wall he saw
Some mystic sentence, written by a hand,
Such as of old made pale the Assyrian king,
Girt with his satraps in the blazing feast.

"Hampden! a moment since, my purpose was
To fly with thee,—for I will call it flight,
Nor flatter it with any smoother name,—
But something in me bids me not to go;
And I am one, thou knowest, who, unmoved
By what the weak deem omens, yet give heed
And reverence due to whatsoever my soul
Whispers of warning to the inner ear.
Moreover, as I know that God brings round
His purposes in ways undreamed of us,
And makes the wicked but his instruments
To hasten on their swift and sudden fall,
I see the beauty of his providence

In the King's order: blind, he will not let
His doom part from him, but must bid it stay
As 'twere a cricket, whose enlivening chirp
He loved to hear beneath his very hearth.
Why should we fly? Nay, why not rather stay
And rear again our Zion's crumbled walls,
Not, as of old the walls of Thebes were built,
By minstrel twanging, but, if need should be
With the more potent music of our swords?
Think'st thou that score of men beyond the sea
Claim more God's care than all of England here?
No: when he moves His arm, it is to aid
Whole peoples, heedless if a few be crushed,
As some are ever, when the destiny
Of man takes one stride onward nearer home.
Believe it, 'tis the mass of men He loves;
And, where there is most sorrow and most want,
Where the high heart of man is trodden down
The most, 'tis not because He hides his face
From them in wrath, as purblind teachers prate:
Not so: there most is He, for there is He
Most needed. Men who seek for Fate abroad
Are not so near his heart as they who dare
Frankly to face her where she faces them,
On their own threshold, where the souls are strong,
To grapple with and throw her; as I once,
Being yet a boy, did cast this pany king,
Who now has grown so dotard as to deem
That he can wrestle with an angry realm,
And throw the brawned Antaeus of men's rights.
No, Hampden, they have half-way conquered Fate
Who go half-way to meet her,—as will I.
Freedom hath yet a work for me to do;
So speaks that inward voice that never yet
Spoke falsely, when it urged the spirit on
To noble deeds for country and mankind.
And for success I ask no more than this
To bear undimmed witness to the truth,
All true whole men succeed: for what is worth
Success' name unless it be the thought,
The inward surety, to have carried out
A noble purpose to a noble end,
Although it be the gallows or the block;
'Tis only falsehood that doth ever need
These outward shows of gain to bolster her.
Be it we prove the weaker with our sword.
Truth only needs to be for once spoke out,
And there's such music in her, such strange rhythm,
As make men's memories her joyous slaves,
And cling around the soul as the sky clings
Round the mute earth, for ever beautiful,
And if o'er clouded, only to burst forth
More all-embracingly divine and clear:
Get but the truth once uttered and 'tis like
A star new born that drops into its place,
And which once circling in its placid round,
Not all the tumult of the earth can shake.

"What should we do in that small colony
Of pinched fanatics who would rather choose
Freedom to clip an inch more from their hair
Than the great chance of setting England free?
Not there amid the stormy wilderness,
Should we learn wisdom; or if learned, what room
To put it into act—else worse than naught?
We learn our souls more, tossing for an hour
Upon this huge and ever vexed sea
Of human thought, where kingdoms go to wreck
Like fragile bubbles yonder in the stream,
Than in a cycle of New England sloth
Broke only by some petty Indian war,
Or quarrel for a letter more or less,
In some hard word, which, spelt in either way,
Not their most learned clerks can understand.
New times demand new measures and new men,
The world advances and in time outgrows
The laws that in our fathers' day were best;
And doubtless after us, some purer scheme
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth.
We cannot bring Utopia by force;
But better almost be at work in sin,
Than in a brute inaction browse and sleep.
No man is born into the world, whose work
Is not born in him; there is always work
And tools to work withal, for those who will;
And blessed are the horny hands of toil!
The busy world shoves angrily aside
The man who stands with arms akimbo set
Until occasion tells him what to do;
And he who waits to have his task marked out
Shall die and leave his errand unfulfilled.
Our time is one that calls for earnest deeds;
Reason and Government, like two broad seas,
Yearn for each other with outstretched arms
Across this narrow isthmus of the throne,
And roll their white surf higher every day.
One age moves onward, and the next builds up
Cities and gorgeous palaces, where stood
The rude log huts of those who tamed the wild,
Rearing from out the forests they had felled
The goodly framework of a fairer state;
The builder's trowel and the settler's ax
Are seldom wielded by the selfsame hand;
Ours is the harder task, yet not the less
Shall we receive the blessing for our toil
From the choice spirits of the after time.
My soul is not a palace of the past,
Where outworn creeds, like Rome's gray Senate quake,
Hearing afar the Vandal's trumpet hoarse,
That shakes old systems with a thunder fit.
The time is ripe and rotten ripe for change;
Then let it come, I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind;
Nor think I that God's world will fall apart,
Because we tear a parchment more or less.
Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.
He who would win the name of truly great
Must understand his own age and the next,
And make the present ready to fulfill
Its prophecy, and with the future merge
Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave.
The future works out great men's destinies;

The present is enough for common souls,
Who, never looking forward, are indeed
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age
Are petrified forever; better those
Who lead the blind old giant by the hand
From out the pathless desert where he gropes,
And set him onward, in his darksome way.
I do not fear to follow out the truth,
Albeit along the precipice's edge.
Let us speak plain; there is more force in names
Than most men dream of: and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair seeming name.
Let us call tyrants tyrants, and maintain
That only freedom comes by grace of God,
And all that comes not by His grace must fall;
For men in earnest have no time to waste
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth.

"I will have one more grapple with the man
Charles Stuart: whom the boy o'ercame
The man stands not in awe of. I, perchance,
Am one raised up by the Almighty arm
To witness some great truth to all the world.
Souls destined to o'erleap the vulgar lot,
And mould the world into the scheme of God,
Have a fore-consciousness of their high doom,
As men are known to shiver at the heart,
When the cold shadow of some coming ill
Creeps slowly o'er their spirit unawares.
Hath good less power of prophecy than ill?
How else could men whom God hath called to sway
Earth's rudder, and to steer the bark of truth,
Beating against the tempest tow'rd her port,
Bear all the mean and buzzing grievances,
The petty martyrdoms, wherewith Sin strives
To weary out the tethered hope of Faith;
The sneers, the unrecognized look of friends,
Who worship the dead corpse of old king Custom,
Where it doth lie in state within the church,
Striving to cover up the mighty ocean
With a man's palm, and making even the truth
Lie for them, holding up the glass reversed
To make the hope of man seem farther off?
My God! when I read o'er the bitter lives
Of men whose eager hearts were quite too great
To beat beneath the cramped mode of the day,
And see them mocked at by the world they love,
Haggling with prejudice for pennyworths
Of that reform which their hard toil will make
The common birthright of the age to come,—
When I see this, spite of my faith in God,
I marvel how their hearts bear up so long;
Nor could they, but for this same prophecy,
The inward feeling of the glorious end.

"Deem me not fond; but in my warmer youth
Ere my heart's blood was soiled and brushed away,
I had great dreams of mighty things to come;
Of conquest, whether by the sword or pen
I knew not; but some conquest I would have
Or else swift death; now wiser grown in years
I find youth's dreams are but the flutterings
Of those strong wings wherewith the soul shall soar
In aftertime to win a starry throne;
And so I cherish them, for they were lots
Which I a boy, cast in the helm of Fate.
Nor will I draw them, since a man's right hand,
A right hand guided by an earnest soul
With a true instinct, takes the golden prize
From out a thousand blanks. What men call luck
Is the prerogative of valiant souls,
The fealty life pays its rightful kings.
The helm is shaking now, and I will stay
To pluck my lot forth; it were sin to flee."

J. RUSSELL LOWELL.

MRS. GRIFFIN'S "NATIONAL RECITAL."

Last evening, Mrs. J. S. Griffin, the American elocutionist, gave the first of her second series of "national recitals," in the Wellington Hall, Camden street. There was a large audience, composed principally of Irish people, some of whom wore green favors at their breasts. The programme consisted almost entirely of Irish pieces, among them being "Gerald Barry, a story of '93," "Caoch, the Piper," "The Green Flag," (a poem by Hogan, the Bard of Thomond, written on seeing a green flag raised over the walls of Limerick in 1861); "The Execution of the Brothers Sheares," and other poems of a similar character. In the "Green Flag," the composer, evidently an "advanced nationalist," praises the green flag as being superior to the red flag of England, which he views as a symbol of slavery and Saxon tyranny, and he calls upon Irishmen to uphold the green. Such observations as these, and all others that were at all denunciatory of British rule in Ireland, were cheered loud and long, and re-demanded. Mrs. Griffin, who wore over her shoulders a bright green sash, also recited "Sheridan's Ride from Winchester," and "The Polish Boy," by Mrs. Stevens, prefacing the latter poem by remarking that "every Irishman sympathizes for Poland. Show me an Irishman who does not, and I will show you a traitor to his country," a remark that called forth a prolonged outburst of cheering. During the evening Mr. H. Garvey performed a fantasia on Irish airs on the violin; and Misses Rimmer, Harris, Sinnott and others sang several songs and duets in a very mediocre style.—*Liverpool Daily Courier*, May 24.

"Every one is the son of his own works."

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WHAT CONSTITUTES RELIGION?

Perhaps no other single question has been so much discussed, within the last two thousand years, as this significant one; and certainly none has had so much effect for good and ill. Nearly all the great revolutions upon which the different epochs of civilization have been based, grew out of the agitation of this question. Indeed, all successful revolutions have had religious ideas as their stimulus. No movement can hope for success unless it embody some spiritual idea. The spiritual or the religious nature of man is at the foundation of all his other capacities. Divorced from all relation to this, the tendencies of humanity are always in direct lines instead of in perfect circles, as illustrated by the daily revolution of the earth upon its own axis and its yearly revolution round the sun, neither of which ever goes in straight lines. So neither does real advance in anything in the universe go in direct lines.

There are in the world a vast number of religious sects, each claiming to be the representative of the true religion. And each is a representative of the true religion, if the question be properly analyzed and understood, since each gives expression to, and receives the ideas and sentiments in harmony with, the religious development peculiar to its conditions.

A wise man of this age has said, "There is a germ of truth in all erroneous things," and thus, if the peculiar idea upon which each religious sect builds, be taken and carefully scrutinized, this germ will be found to be a part of the grand religious fabric, which, as an ideal whole, is complete, and which, when constructed by the harmonization and adjustment of the several ideas entertained by the various sects, will become a real whole.

This paradoxical statement may be clearly understood by comparing the tenets of two of the most diametrically opposite religious ideas, to wit: Eternal Damnation and Universal Salvation. No two statements could be made that would apparently be less possible of reconciliation. And yet they are both literally true, requiring only to be considered after the strictest rules of logic to become the two parts of a great truth.

Eternal Damnation, which is interpreted to mean the various kinds of unceasing retribution for sin, from the unquenchable hell-fire to the eternal torment of consciences, has a germ of truth in it, which, being recognized by minds unaccustomed to severe analysis, is clothed by them in the various imageries of which we have evidence. Now, what is this germ of truth which has been tortured into the horrid barbarities of an endless fire of brimstone, compared to the torments of which all human inventions for torture sink into insignificance? It is this, and plain it is, and only requires to be fairly reviewed to be at once comprehended by almost a child. A person may spend an hour, a day, a week, a year, a decade, or the whole of his earth-life in a

manner that would seem to be time worse than lost; that is, he may throw his time away upon worthless and injurious things. Suppose that he spend ten years of his life in pursuit of means to gratify the lower propensities of his nature, to the exclusion of all spiritual things. He can never make up for that loss of time; even in a million years he will fall just so far short of being the perfected man he ought to have been, as he lost in growth during those ten years. And here is his eternal damnation, since it is an eternal loss, impossible of being regained or made good.

Universal Salvation is also equally possessed of a germ of truth; but it is not consistent as explained by illogical Universalists. It is as impossible that a person living a degraded and unworthy life, to be at death immediately transported to a condition of perfect salvation or happiness, or to the heaven which they describe, as it is that he should suffer the untold agonies of "the fire that is not quenched." Each as an unqualified statement is simply an absurdity, each equally impossible, since they both ignore the universal fact of cause and effect; and each equally is at war with common sense and reason. This must be so obvious that we consider it superfluous to extend the argument.

Then the germ of truth in the doctrine of universal salvation is not that all people by death are made equally good, great and happy, but that there is no such thing as the utter loss of a single soul; that no spirit, no matter how undeveloped in misery and crime, can be forever fixed in them, but that every individual throughout the whole world is constantly being saved from the condition in which they severally are, at any given time, by the law of eternal progress, and that with each succeeding epoch, humanity, as a whole, is advanced on the way toward all knowledge and perfection.

In this way these opposite doctrines are seen to be parts of a great truth, which, if the world but comprehended, a great deal of the time now devoted to the attempt to prove them false might be given to more profitable pursuit. In fact, all the real differences between Christian sects are upon points of doctrine. None of them are disagreed as to the practical life which should be lived. They all affect the precepts of Christ, and profess to live the golden rule of Confucius.

It comes out, therefore, that the whole Christian world, and, for that matter, the heathen and pagan also, is divided into numerous factions, in constant contention about matters that have next to no importance when compared with the deeper, graver and grander matters of practical life. It matters but little what a person believes except in so far as such belief has influence upon his relations to humanity. In other words, religion is not a matter of theory, but of actual life.

The Bible itself, by which nearly all Christians profess to be guided, declares this fact in unmistakable terms: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and man is to visit the widow and the fatherless in their afflictions, and to keep unspotted from the world." This language is figurative, of course; that is: to do those specific things is not all there is of religion, but they illustrate the character of the deeds which spring from religion. If a man do such acts, live such a life, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Christian or pagan, then, according to the Bible itself, he is a possessor, if not a professor, of religion.

It is works, then, and not any mere subscribing to theories, dogmas and church tenets, which possess only an undeveloped germ of truth, that constitute religion. And all men and women, to whatever church they may belong, or whether they belong to no church, or even if they do not believe in the existence of a God, are religious just in proportion as they do the works which constitute religion.

It is to be observed, however, that nearly every existent religious theory is founded upon the fact of "revelation," that is, something communicated from an unseen source, and which is relied upon, in the absence of demonstration, to predicate a future existence, or an existence after the death of the Physical Body. It does not matter how great a variety of theories there may be as to what or where that life is; the fact stands that all Christians profess to believe there is such a life. Indeed, there is something in the consciousness of every individual, undefinable, perhaps, yet there, that speaks to him of the "immortality of the soul."

Upon that fact all are agreed; thus how small a difference is it over which Christendom wrangles as to the specialties of which it is made up. The fact is too palpably apparent that the world holds fast to the mere formula of religion, forgetting or neglecting the weightier matters of its spirit. Why, then, cannot Christians, dropping their contentions about indifferent matters, unite in support of the precepts of a true religion of works, and thus, instead of proving their works by their faith, prove their faith by their works? If it be admitted that this is the best religion none can question as to the duty of professed religionists. No teaching, profession or prayer divorced from works will add a single cubit to their stature as true Christians. It may be seriously questioned whether those persons who make the greatest pretensions to being the only true Christians are not in reality the very worst religionists. Certain it is, if tried by the standard laid down by Christ himself many of them would fall far short of meeting the highest requirements; but as we have before said, every person is a Christian and a follower of Christ in just so far as he practices the examples and teaches the precepts of Christ, who, of all pure religionists, perhaps, "spake as never man spake." In this day and age even it may not be impertinent to ask the various Christian denominations if they ever trouble themselves as to "Who is my

neighbor?" or if "we are children of a common parent," and thereby a "humanity of brothers and sisters?" A tree may assume all the external appearances of perfection, as do many Christians, and yet bring forth either no fruit or that which is corrupt. Verily: By their fruit shall ye know them. And this fruit is to be "known" by the standard of a true religion instead of by that of a bigoted and time-serving public opinion, which never rises into a conception of grand religious idea.

SENATOR CARPENTER'S LOGIC REVIEWED.

NO. V.

Having followed Mr. Carpenter until he has led us to the supremacy of negro citizens over all others, since they alone of all citizens may not, as he declares, be excluded from the right of suffrage, and to the conclusion that the Democracy should make him their candidate for the next term, as a legitimate recompense for this high service, let us examine the position and see if even this small amount of right which he would have respected really has any foundation.

It is always a dangerous experiment to attempt to escape inevitable conclusions by seizing hold of small subtleties. They invariably precipitate the availer into still more impenetrable depths. We shrewdly suspect, before making the examination, that the land upon which Mr. Carpenter has deposited the Republican party will prove to have a quicksand foundation, and sink them into the depths of an eternal oblivion.

Mr. Carpenter declares that the Constitution grants the power to the States to exclude all citizens from suffrage for any cause whatever, except race, color or previous condition of servitude. 'Tis true that the South, and the North too, excluded negroes from suffrage because they were negroes; that is, because they belonged to the African race. But it is extremely unfortunate that Mr. Carpenter had not simultaneously with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment delivered his "unanswerable argument" as to States' rights; since when the Constitution forbid the demand of the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, the States might have invented other reason by which the negro could have been prevented from voting. The property qualification required of naturalized foreigners in Rhode Island, for instance, would have excluded every Southern, as well as nearly every Northern negro, from voting. And every negro in the country might have been, and still may be, excluded from suffrage on account of the peculiarity of hair, language or some other natural quality, which equally with sex is impossible to be overcome; and Senator Carpenter says there is no relief.

If this position that the States have acquired all this power from the single word male in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment is correct, we repeat there is no escape. All women are excluded; all white men may be excluded, and so also may all colored men; but not because they are colored, though for any other reason whatever it may be necessary to invent. No white man can be excluded, because they belong to the Anglo-Saxon, Teuton or Celtic races; but there are a hundred other causes for which they may, or, as Mr. Carpenter says, any other cause whatever, may be set up, and there could be no appeal.

Now we challenge Mr. Carpenter, and the admirers of his argument, to show any fallacy in this line of reasoning or in the conclusion; and if they cannot, we desire to inquire of them what has been accomplished by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, over which there has been so much wrangling for the past six years, and for which the Republican party have struggled so fiercely?

We wonder if Mr. Carpenter will proclaim these doctrines from his place in the Senate the ensuing winter, and whether his Republican brethren will stand by him. He has seized hold of the only escape that gave any hope of relief, but this will surely prove his destruction.

But in conclusion we desire to call the attention of our readers, by the means of a little common sense and logic, to the consistent construction of the Fifteenth Amendment, and especially in regard to women. It is said that, though the right to vote cannot be denied on account of race, color or previous condition, it may on any other account; say on account of sex. Now, if we are to make any profession whatever to having a government securing equality, or that has any regard for that principle, we must construe the terms and the text of the Constitution after this rule, rather than upon the supposition that it is the intent of the government to proscribe instead of to extend freedom. Franklin considered a condition of absolute slavery to be where there were people over whom others appointed governors, and nearly every one of the early fathers made equally sweeping assertions against proscription and in favor of freedom; while all the holdings of courts and legislators has been that to be a citizen was to have a direct interest in and connection with the government. Indeed, the derivation of the word itself is proof complete that a citizen is a component part of the body politic; and the Supreme Court of the United States, in one of the most important cases that was ever decided before it, held that the term citizen conferred "the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political," the force of which cannot be broken by the lame attempt to make a distinction between privileges and rights as against the latter.

With these as a basis, if we desire to be reasonable, we can

easily find the proper construction of all constitutional law touching the right to vote. It is obvious that there must be some way to regulate the exercise of the elective franchise so that its purposes shall not be defeated. But in making efforts to secure proper regulations we should ever guard against too near an approach to prohibition. The duty of regulating cannot be construed into the right of excluding. All means that are necessary to properly guard the suffrage from abuse are legitimate, and may be resorted to; but they must not be of such a character as to operate unequally upon any class of citizens. It is not necessary to guard the rights of one class of citizens that the rights of another class shall be denied exercise. Can anybody presume to say that it is necessary to guard the right of men to vote that the right of women to vote shall be denied to them? Then why such denial? Is there any excuse or reason, legal or otherwise, that can be legitimately assigned for this arbitrary exercise of power? They are denied the right to vote because they are women, not because it is necessary that the suffrage may be regulated by it. The construction of all parts of the Constitution should favor, instead of limit, this extension of liberty and self-government; and it should never be administered unequally. But it is assumed that men may exclude women because they have the power to do so, and because the Fifteenth Amendment does not limit that power. It is possible that Man-made courts may take this view of the case, but it certainly is not in harmony with sound logic. We admit that under our present development of civilization and a representative government there must always be unrepresented minorities; but there need be neither minorities nor majorities who are deprived of the right to endeavor to be represented. If a person have and exercise the right to give expression to his dissent from existing things by his vote for measures looking to their overthrow, and find himself in the minority, he has no ground of complaint; but if he dissent and be refused the right to express that dissent then he has good ground for complaint.

Now just here is where the Woman Question stands. Women are in the majority in the country. Their votes, if added to those of men who favor impartial Suffrage, would foot up a majority of not less than two million in the country. And yet the six millions of male voters defy the eight millions of female suffragists, and prevent women from either assenting or dissenting to any law or to any policy of government! And such a Government Senator Carpenter has the hardihood to call a Republican form of Government, with which Congress has no right to interfere! And his admirers quickly cry out, "Unanswerable argument!"

WHAT DOES MR. GREELEY MEAN BY THIS?

We have repeated almost too often to bear it again—but the continued inconsistencies of Philosopher Horace compel it—that whoever stands not upon the principles of truth is ever tripping himself—is ever liable to be caught and condemned for reversing to-day what was declared yesterday; that is, he forgets to make his present logic square with his past reasoning. Of all positions imaginable, this, to us, seems the most undesirable one to occupy.

Endeavoring to analyze the present condition in Utah, Mr. Greeley says:

We wait with a good deal of curiosity to see whether the conviction of Hawkins in Utah will prove the death-blow to polygamy it was meant to be; or, indeed, any blow at all. By an odd legal whim, the scales of justice in that much-married community are placed, not in a blind woman's hands, but in those of a wife whose eyes are sure to be either crooked with jealousy or love. As a man can be indicted for adultery only at the suit of his wife, the decision in Hawkins' case has introduced a dilemma of exceedingly nice proportions into every family circle. Every first wife sits down to the breakfast table this morning with the proud consciousness that she can oust at will the whole detested lot of her husband's affinities from under her roof, as Sarah did Hagar; but with the slight drawback of the fact that her Abraham goes with them; for no man will be likely to return to the sweetness of love's young dream for the elderly lady who has condemned him to fine and imprisonment for three or twenty years. After all, there was perhaps no practicable recompense for the Mormon first wives but that of this possible revenge; the affection which has slopped over into a dozen unclean ways cannot be legislated back into its first fresh fountain. It remains to be seen in how many cases resentment will induce the wife to give up the small part she yet retains of her hold on her husband for the sweets of vengeance. The number, we suspect, will be small. The woman who has borne day after day contact with her rivals in her own house is not likely to pluck up courage to wage public warfare against them. But the law will be a terrible weapon in the hands of young wives in future, whose territory is threatened with invasion.

We cannot believe that when Mr. Greeley penned the above he remembered the attack he lately made upon the "Woodhull-Claflin crowd," in which he held up the awful grandeur and divinity of the law of marriage as something quite too holy—too sacred—for such wicked persons as ourselves to even dare to question. In this case, which is but a few days removed from the other, the law has descended from the realm of dignity and sanctity to be the means of a woman's revenge for conditions into which she voluntarily passed; "the only practicable recompense" for a "Mormon first wife" being the possibility of locking her lord within prison walls from "three to twenty years." And Mr. Greeley has doubts about the potency of the law to legislate affection back to its legal position. Why, Mr. Greeley, we were led to believe that the law, as expounded by Sam Johnson & Co., could do anything and everything. But so soon we find its most persistent advocate doubting its effi-

cacy. When doctors lose hope where shall we fly for comfort? Mr. Greeley even has misgiving as to whether the first woman will not make the most of the presence of her successors rather than to run the risk of a complete estrangement of their lieges by endeavoring to free themselves of them. Really this legal business seems an awkward and crooked mess of it, resulting in little that is honorable and in nothing that promises well for the future. And even the *Tribune* staggers under its dead-weight. It is indeed sorrowful to see the pitiful wreck of the former *Tribune* tossing about on the contradictory billows of an ever-varying ocean's depths, maintaining a full spread of canvas; it has from time to time cast overboard its ballast of common sense, logic and consistency, until it is at the mercy of whatever gale it may encounter; sometimes diving deep below the surface, but not to reach bottom, and anon scraping over some rough rock, and all the time barely escaping shipwreck. But Mr. Greeley remains steadfast at the helm, sternly refusing to permit a clearer eye or a calmer head to bring it before the wind or to anchor it in any safe port.

A WORD TO WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.

We desire the immediate enfranchisement of women. We believe them to be as well fitted to make good use of the ballot to-day as men are, and much better than a large class of our present male citizens. We presume you, equally with us, are desirous to vote for the next President; but have you considered the probabilities of being able to do so? Of one thing you must be well aware: that if you rely upon a Sixteenth Amendment to give the ballot, you will not get it in time. If Congress was even to propose a new Amendment, no one can be insane enough to suppose that the Legislatures of the States would ratify it. You all know they would reject it. If women were permitted to join in the test, we would not complain; but to exclude those who are directly interested from all participation in deciding it, has been, is, and will be, to suffer defeat.

If you turn to the other alternative of amending your State constitutions, the prospect is still worse. None of you can name a State upon which you can rely to vote an Amendment to its constitution. If States like Nebraska and Minnesota, where the men would be most likely to do everything to induce women to become residents, will not grant them Suffrage—what can you expect of States in which women predominate as to numerical strength, even if you could force the proposition through its Legislature?

Now consider, for a moment, the very different position of claiming the right under the Constitution as it is. The argument is clearly concise and unmistakable. The Constitution has forever settled the question as to women being citizens. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that to be a citizen is to be entitled to equal civil and political privileges; the right to vote is a political privilege, and the Constitution forbids the State from denying or abridging it; this construction has gained the approval of the best legal minds both in and out of Congress, as well as decisions in the United States Courts; but not yet in the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is probable that it may require two or three years to reach a case in point in that court.

In view of these facts, is not your course plain? We unhesitatingly declare that if the entire suffrage movement will combine its whole strength in urging this matter upon Congress the coming winter, it will pass an act declaratory of this interpretation of the Constitution, which would forever dispose of the whole case and relieve us of the tedious and vexatious delays that must inevitably meet us by any other course. You cannot imagine that a hundred legal minds, equal to any other hundred that could be named, can be mistaken about this matter. It is impossible that it should be so. Listen to them then, and turn to their support, and our word for it, you will soon be convinced that those who cry out "it is a farce," are really unfavorable to immediate suffrage for women.

WHAT HAS COME OVER THE SPIRIT OF THE TRIBUNE?

We find the following very remarkable paragraph in the *Tribune* of the 2d inst. We say remarkable, since it was not many months ago that the same paper declared that the courts would not trouble themselves about the suffrage business, but would tell the women who should come troubling them about voting, to go home and mind their own business.

But here the philosopher approvingly quotes:

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE COURTS."

The opinion of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on the woman suffrage case lately argued before that court will be delivered within three or four days, and will be adverse to the women. Chief-Justice Cartter will probably prepare the opinion, which will be brief, and confined to a discussion of the subject wholly as it falls under the organic law of the District. That instrument provides in so many words that all male citizens shall have the right of suffrage, and the court will hold that these terms are equivalent to an express limitation of the right to males and exclusion to women. The court will, however, along with this denial of the right of suffrage to women under the constitution of the District, intimate distinctly and directly that the privilege is doubtless secured to them by the Constitution of the United States, and that it only remains for the legislative power to define and properly limit it to entitle them to full exercise. The court will not, however, hold that the privilege of suffrage is a natural right, but that it is a legal and

conventional power to be exercised by all persons whom the Constitution declares citizens of the United States. The counsel for the advocates of woman suffrage will appeal from the District to the Federal Supreme Court, and the problem is thus in a fair way for adjudication by the highest and final tribunal.

Chief-Justice Cartter, though admitting away his whole case, makes the same error against which we have so often quoted the Constitution of the United States. "This Constitution, etc., shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Justice Cartter ignores this Constitutional provision by saying that the organic law of the District is "an express limitation of the right to males and exclusion to women." But the press seize hold of this and cry out that the decision is against female suffrage; but it seems to us that it is about the last cry they will have an opportunity to make, hence we can indulge them in it and even wish them joy of it. But we must set this decision where it logically belongs, alongside of Chief-Justice Howe's, of Wyoming, and that which Justice Underwood, of Virginia, will render when the cases in his court shall come to issue, since "the court will, however, along with this denial of the right of suffrage to women under the constitution of the District, intimate distinctly and directly that the privilege is doubtless secured to them by the Constitution of the United States," and the court also holds, "that suffrage is a conventional power to be exercised by all persons whom the Constitution declares citizens of the United States." This is all we want; Mr. Greeley may have all the State constitutions and laws, and carry them in his carpet bag if he please, we will stick to the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND and laugh at him as their weight submerges him beneath the rising wave of woman suffrage.

THE PECULIAR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

In the *World* of the 30th ult. there appeared a column article, consisting of ridicule of, flings at, and attempts at argument on, the Woman Suffrage question. The argument was sufficiently thin to be seen through by any one at all acquainted with the subject. But this subject has been studiously shut out of the Metropolitan press, except where place has been given to some such article as the one now in question. Hence the constant readers of the *World* were liable to accept its sayings as law and logic, without stopping to inquire into its consistency.

We happen to know that there was an answer prepared, and its publication in the *World* requested, so that it might reach the same readers before whom the other article went, and expose its shallowness; but the most honorable and just *World* refused it, on the plea that it was not upon a subject now before the people for settlement—a most remarkable reason, since we remember that within two days its columns had contained the article to which it referred. Failing to obtain its mention in the *World* it was sought in other papers, but with like success. The press is closed against all arguments in favor of the right of women to suffrage under the Constitution as it is. They must realize the danger of its advocacy to be thus unjust and ungenerous. But the time will shortly come when "ignoring" the subject will not avail our would-be masters any longer.

But there is another form of injustice of a still more despicable character, which is well illustrated by a late instance. Gen. Hawley, of Connecticut, editor of the *Hartford Courant*, wrote and published an infamous attack upon a woman, but refuses to publish her reply, which proves him to be what Mr. Greeley would call a liar, unless she will conform to his requirements. This is but one instance in a hundred that might be cited, all growing out of the fact that women have dared to speak and act without consulting their would-be masters. They infamously and libelously assail women whose lives, so far as they, at least, can know, are blamelessly white and unsullied, and rudely shut the columns of their paper even to a simple refutation.

But, gentlemen (?), you are having your day. The time will come when the pendulum will pass to the opposite extreme before finally finding its mean.

HARRIET S. BROOKS.

This talented lady and able advocate of woman suffrage and general equality has, for many years, been a quiet and unassuming worker in the cause. She has performed a great deal of service, richly meriting the acknowledgment of those benefited, but others have sought and obtained the honor. She is a deep thinker, a clear reasoner, and a concise writer. Her writings may be found in nearly every liberal journal in the country, but always anonymous. Even leading editorials in some papers are from her fruitful pen; and, we are sorry to say, are sometimes little better than purloined. A person acquainted with her vigorous style can never mistake her handiwork, though her extreme delicacy and modesty prevent it appearing over her signature. A late paper on the Chicago Fire, which appeared in these columns, attracted very general attention, as will also one from her in the present number. She is one of those persons ever ready to do what everybody else shirks or is unwilling to undertake; and, consequently, has been obliged to devote almost the whole of her time for the past few years in ways that have not yet come to be properly acknowledged. But when the inner history of the Suffrage Movement shall be written, her name will occupy a conspicuous position in it.

THEORY OF THE CURRENCY.

BY A. BRISBANE.

No. 2.

In the first article some abstract and general ideas in relation to the Currency were presented. I now take up the practical proofs of the falseness of the Specie currency, and the Paper, which is a representative of it. I will endeavor to make the subject clear to minds the most prejudiced and the most indifferent.

DEFECTS OF THE SPECIE CURRENCY.

1. It is an expensive Currency, as it costs a vast amount of labor to mine, work and mint the metals of which it is composed. This expense is useless, as it could be saved by employing a material like paper, that costs comparatively nothing.

2. It withdraws from the arts two valuable metals, which could be employed more usefully in other ways.

3. It is an arbitrary and fictitious Currency, for, instead of representing the products of industry and other exchangeable values, which it is the function of a true Currency to do, it represents the value only of the two metals of which it is composed.

4. It is a *Monopolizable Currency*; that is, it can be absorbed and controlled by capitalists and bankers, who, controlling it without any restriction, employ it as they please, and in loaning it to the speculating and intermediate classes. *This monopoly and control of the currency by individuals and corporations is a violation of a fundamental law of the true Currency, which is that it should be under the control of the collective Interest, represented by the State, and be regulated entirely according to the requirements of productive industry.* This fifth characteristic gives rise to most of those which follow. (What we say of the specie currency applies to our present paper money.)

5. It gives to Capital the control of Labor and its interests; it enables it to fix to a great extent the rate of wages, to give or withhold employment, and to determine the rates of rent of lands and houses.

6. It gives to Bankers the control of Credit and the issues of Currency, which enables them to speculate the industry of countries by usury, to give or withhold the facilities necessary to effect the exchange of products, to expand or contract the circulating medium, and, in so doing, to stimulate and depress alternately trade and industry, producing constantly convulsions and disasters.

7. It gives to the Commercial Classes the control of the Exchange of products, which enables them to fix arbitrary prices, to charge large profits, to monopolize and adulterate products as they pass through their hands, and to practice innumerable frauds in the industrial world.

8. It is the source of Interest and Usury. They who have the monopoly and control of the Currency can, in loaning it, charge for its use; this charge is called Interest and Usury—the former when the rate is fixed by law; the latter when it exceeds that rate—but interest and usury are in principle the same thing; namely, the price paid for the use of money. The tendency of the monopolists of the currency being constantly to charge high prices for the use of money, governments interfere and fix the rate, which is then called *Legal Interest*. If governments would create and control the currency, and charge for the use of it just enough to cover the cost of issue and management, the principle of interest could be abolished and that of *cost of management* established in its place.

9. It flows into the large cities, where it is employed in commercial and financial speculations, and in gambling in stocks and the public funds. It is thus withdrawn from industry, and especially from agriculture, which is often paralyzed for want of it.

10. It gives to the Banker the power of refusing Credit, and to the Merchant the power of refusing to buy. If for any reason—from fear of political commotions, short crops, revolutions, war, etc.—they choose to exercise their power, they can arrest all business operations, paralyze industry, produce wide-spread disasters and convulse industrially a whole country.

11. It enables Capital to live without labor; and by means of Interest, commercial Profits and Rent, to accumulate in its hands the wealth of society. It is the despotic power in the industrial system, as was the sword in the old military system; they who wield it are the masters of Commerce and industry.

12. It inverts the true order of things in human society, for it creates those influences which render Idleness honorable and Labor dishonorable, by enabling a privileged few who accumulate the wealth which industry produces to live in idle ease, avoiding and despising labor, while the laboring classes live and toil in poverty and ignorance.

13. It is indirectly the Source of the Rental system. As money draws interest when loaned, it must, when invested in houses, draw rent. As a general rule, rents in different countries are regulated by the rates of interest. Under the rental system, labor pays perpetually for the use of capital (which is simply accumulated labor) without ever obtaining the ownership of it.*

Such are the leading defects of the specie Currency and the paper based upon it. We will now point out the leading characteristics which a true currency should possess, and the conditions it should fulfill.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A TRUE CURRENCY.

1. It should be made of some cheap material—one that costs comparatively nothing. As money is merely the representative of real wealth, it is not necessary that it should possess intrinsic value in itself, as do gold and silver. Our paper currency illustrates the possibility of using a material for money that costs a mere trifle; it thus fulfills one condition of a true currency, but it is not to be inferred from this that it is the true currency. Men go to the ends of the earth to obtain at great expense two metals to be employed as money, when any material under their hands would answer the purpose equally as well.

2. It should be created and issued under the supervision of

* A house that has required, for example, a thousand days' labor to build, or has cost \$2,000—allowing the day's labor to be worth on an average \$2—is rented, we will suppose, at \$200 a year; the renter thus gives one hundred days' labor each year for the use of the house, and continues this for years, until he has paid in labor the original amount of labor which was required to build the house; he owns, however, at the end of the time no part of it, while the owner of the house owns his thousand days' labor, with which he can build another and rent it in the same manner. The rental system is evidently false in principle. If interest were abolished, the rental system would follow it, and be replaced by a system of payments in installments.

governments, and managed in the interests of productive industry, which, as the sole source of wealth, should be the first object of protection and encouragement. Governments reserve to themselves the exclusive exercise of one right connected with money, that of coining it; why not reserve the exercise of all others, and thus prevent the control of the currency and its consequent abuse, by individuals and corporations.

3. It should represent *exactly* what money ought to represent—namely, the products of industry, which require to be exchanged. The Specie currency represents only itself, that is, the value which the properties of the metals of which it is composed give it, not the products that seek exchange and circulation.

4. It should be loaned without interest; that is, at the cost of management. As governments would have no motive to speculate in the Currency and make of it an instrument of extortion and spoliation as have individuals, they would loan it at cost price. Thus the Principle of Interest—that is, the arbitrary and speculative price now paid for the use of money—would be abolished, and be replaced by the only just one—the cost of creation and management.

5. It should be loaned on such Security as will furnish a true basis of Credit—that is, security that will guarantee both the safety of the currency and regulate the amount to be put in circulation. This security will consist in the products of industry, annually produced and exchanged. The basis of credit is at present personal security or the indorsed notes of supposed responsible individuals: this system gives rise, first, to excessive and irregular issues of currency; and, second, places credit almost wholly at the disposal of the speculating and commercial classes, shutting it out from the great body of producers.

6. It should be redeemable in *Products, not in Specie*; it should purchase all products, all kinds of property, be a legal tender and receivable for taxes and other government dues; it would thus serve every purpose and function of money. Gold and silver would be set aside as a currency, classed with other products, and be valuable only in the useful arts.

7. It should secure credit at all times to the producers and owners of products, and furnish the means necessary to effect their exchange and the other legitimate business operations of society; it would thus maintain a regular and uninterrupted movement in the industrial system.

8. It should expand with production—that is, with the increase in the amount of products to be exchanged; and it should contract with Consumption—that is, with the withdrawal of products from circulation for the purpose of being consumed. The true Standard by which the amount of currency in circulation should be regulated, is the amount of exchanges to be effected.

9. It should lead in an indirect manner to the investment in useful and productive enterprises of all surplus capital. As the abolishment of interest on money would abolish interest on notes, mortgages, etc., capital would not be hoarded and employed for purposes of interest and usury; it could only be rendered productive by being invested in useful industrial enterprises. This change of policy would increase greatly the wealth of a country.

10. It would abolish interest on all notes of hands, bills of exchange, drafts, and, in fact, all payments in the future; if the currency did not draw interest, they would not. What an immense burden would be lifted from the industry and business of a country, if such a reform could be effected, if a system of *Cheap Credit* were inaugurated. It would save to the industry of the United States alone hundreds of millions annually.

11. It would abolish the Rental system and replace it by payments in installments. Houses draw rent because money draws interest; if the money invested in the houses was retained and loaned, it would produce a certain amount of income; it must do the same if invested in a house. Now, with the aid of a true Currency, a credit system could be established by means of which payments for large amounts of property could be made in installments; this would facilitate the purchase and sale of houses, farms, etc. Under such a system, every family would in time become the owner of a house, for each pays in the course of years rent enough to buy a homestead. If a suit of clothes cost \$500, most persons would have to hire one, and would pay in the end three and four times the original cost.

The two tables we have given, in which the characteristics of the two Currencies are contrasted, will convince, we think, reflecting minds that there are substantial grounds for believing that the Specie currency is a false one, and that a true Currency remains to be discovered.

LET US SEEK THE TRUTH.

A LECTURE BY M. S. TOWNSEND HOADLEY.

Every noble person is desirous of gaining true knowledge and applying the same to the means of progress for a suffering human race; consequently, when observing that misery fills the life-cup of many individuals, will seek to understand the causes which have produced the effects, and aid in their removal, that, by so doing, they alleviate human misery and bring peace where once was but sorrow and discontent. No observing person can look at society as it exists to-day without discovering the yawning chasms of crime into which thousands are constantly falling.

Not that by nature they are depraved and inclined to evil, but because, being ignorant of the laws of nature, as applied to their being, they are thrown into inharmonious conditions, as a person going on blindly falls into a pit. Finding themselves in these unpleasant and unnatural places, they struggle to extricate themselves, and often get deeper and deeper in the mire. The ignorant, without experience and philosophy, will cruelly condemn, and often cast upon the already burdened soul additional miseries, until abused nature can bear no more and sends her boiling currents of indignation over their heads. This true and natural resentment is labeled crime, and laws are established by man for its punishment. Natural currents of feeling are obstructed, and as waters increase in their flow by opposition, so human feelings under opposing influences increase, and finally burst all before them, flowing wildly, madly on, until the force of opposition has been removed and the natural current gained. But devastation has been spread along the banks, and time only can restore the former beauties. Nature is so very faithful to her laws, however, that amidst all these outbreaks she remains true to herself and gives to every current an increase of strength in time. Left to herself she brings all seeming irregularities into harmonious proportions and out of darkness produces light, out of hatred love. He who learns the creative law of one organic formation finds the

key that unlocks all other mysteries, and has only to rise from one plane to another to understand creation.

Man is an animal, with instincts like all other animals, which are his guides to a true physical life, when rightly understood and controlled; but, in his pride of superiority over the brute creation as an intelligent being, he has almost entirely ignored these guides and trampled on their holy teachings, until every true instinct is lost in crime, which is disobedience of nature's divine commands. Consequently, society is a cesspool of immorality, and too often are human homes but dens of infamy and shame, where Love's holy angel sits with drooping head and folded wing, weary and sick of this weight of woe. The precious germs of her pure soul overlaid with brutal passion, and hidden beneath the dark pall of selfishness and lust.

Nature teaches that marriage is a central union between two spiritual forces, collecting around them by attraction, elements of matter, until an organization is the result.

I have been told by naturalists who have made the nature of birds and animals a study of years, that all higher order of birds and animals instinctively mate and marry without the interference of priest or magistrate, and unlike most marriages solemnized by human law, remain true to their troth.

No deviation from the perfect fidelity taught by nature in all her unperturbed manifestations.

If separated by death, they marry again.

In these marriages the nature and desires of the female control all sexual relations. She is not constantly insulted by the unbridled lust of her companion until both soul and body loathe his presence, as is too often the case among human animals who are licensed by law to indulge in this awful prostitution and licentiousness. The germ intrusted to her maternal organism is held sacred from sensual approach, and she goes on her quiet way unmolested, giving natural sustenance to it, until fitted to come forth. Notwithstanding all their boasted knowledge, men and women rush into marital relations without any knowledge of their adaptation to each other in any departments of their being, drawn by a desire for companionship, which is purely natural.

Seldom are temperaments considered at all, no analyzing the different qualities of mind and affection, to see if there is harmony and unity between them in all things, but man in choosing a companion is too apt to think only of self-indulgence as an animal being, of having an ever present means of gratification, and woman, of having a home and means of satisfying that false pride with which ignorant parents curse their children all over the land.

Thousands of marriages are daily taking place where there is no more natural union than between oil and water, and after the effervescence of the seminal fluids has taken place, bringing their faculties into a more normal state, they are instinctively repulsed from each other. What God puts assunder, let not man try to keep together. Crime is the natural result of compulsion, and when such parties find themselves separated by the divine law yet bound by the human, they render outward obedience to the human, "to be seen of men," but violate every moral sense of the divine by rushing recklessly into all manner of licentious indulgences. Thus, thousands of men who are labeled respectable in society, because they are legally bound to a woman, of whom they have grown weary, perhaps, because they have exhausted all the vitality of her physical nature to indulge their own selfish lusts, and thus perverted what might, under nature's true commands, have been a response to all noble demands, and, perhaps, because no natural relations ever existed—who are degrading their manhood by seeking the poor victims of human lust who swarm in the accursed brothels of our Christian country, or keeping some reduced female as mistress, pouring upon her nature those soothing magnetisms that belong to the real wife whom he may never find on earth, because of disobedience to the true law. Let every man ask solemnly of his own soul, if it does not demand fidelity from its chosen companion, whether legal wife or mistress, and he ever finds an affirmative answer.

Why, then, shall not he who professes to be the stronger sex, and superior of woman, set the example and bring into practical use the "golden rule" of doing as he would be done by? In woman's deviations has she not followed the example of her lord and master?

But the horror of this awful perversion of law is revealed to medical men of thought and investigation, who find society rotten with the legitimate curse of promiscuous sexual indulgences, and yet lack the moral courage to stand boldly forth denouncing these broadcast elements of moral death. Permit me to quote the language of one of our country's noblest men and best thinkers, one, too, who has been the recipient of national honors:

"The poison of syphilis, which is destroying so many thousands, is a secretion in unnatural relations, as the saliva of a dog or man, when angry, will make the bite poison and produce hydrophobia. Syphilis, then, is God's judgment upon those who have committed the crime of degrading divine love into lust."

Not only are consciously guilty ones subject to this mark of crime, but innocent men, women and nursing babies are inoculated with the infection.

Perhaps you will lift your hands in holy horror and place them over your mental nose as I stir the filth of these sewers so long hidden in your midst.

The pleasure of the task lies only in the thought of future cleanliness and purity; then the strength of a spiritual giant floods every muscle of my being, and I long for a voice like thunder to sound these truths all over our sin-cursed land. According to Dr. Foote in his "Plain Talk and Common Sense" (a work that should be in every home), there are 100,000 prostitutes in the United States—from 10,000 to 12,000 in the city of New York. If this be true, there must at least be 100,000 libertines (God grant there be no more) who are passing this inoculating virus of hell from one to another, and among them, we have a moral right to ask, how many of them have loving wives bearing children, the recipients of syphilis, more fashionably denominated scrofula? Alas! it is too true that hell is paved with infants' skulls! Domestic hells, where innocent germs are ruthlessly plunged into the scorching flames of human lust, to be held upon the tongs of nature's wrath until they turn and spit venom in her face. Who can but shudder to enter this burial ground of loving hopes, born in the spiritual chambers of divine aspirations to be plunged deathward through this unnatural sea of crime. Woe unto you physicians who, seeing these things and understanding their causes, speak not and labor not for reform. Woe unto you law-givers, who sanction crime under the name of law, knowing that you are recognizing an unnatural condition.

Woe unto you savants, sages and philosophers, who, reasoning from effect to cause, speak not boldly concerning

these things. And woe, woe unto you ministers, who, in the name of Christ pretend to save souls when you pay no regard to the body, but, on the contrary, too often prostitute to your base lusts not only the woman you call wife, but seduce young, innocent females, the tender lambs of your flocks, and then seek to shield yourselves with falsehoods and long prayers.

Woe unto you fathers, who spend your precious time, and perhaps hard earned money, in seeking to improve your stock in the animal kingdom, and then plunge headlong into the indulgence of your own lust, never giving one thought to the healthful and harmonious propagation of your own species. Know you not you are sending the curse of your own sins down, down through generations to follow you? Thus visiting the sins of the parents upon even the third and fourth generations? Every day might you learn lessons from the unperverted animal kingdom to be profitably applied to your own lives. Woe unto ye, oh, women! Oh, ye mothers, who spend your time in vain pursuits, bowing as votaries at the shrine of fashion, leaving your homes and children to the poor care of ignorant servants, and your husbands to go whither they will, vainly searching for that to satisfy the heart which can alone be found in a well regulated, harmonious and virtuous home. Who should be more the lover, the devoted worshiper of her who has given all to his keeping, than he who calls her wife, and yet, because he possesses her, and in ignorance abuses her, he becomes disgusted with the results of his own selfishness, and thus sends her love from the holy home altar, causing her to turn to the little beings, born, not of love, but of lust, to find satisfaction for those conjugal emotions which have been so unnaturally thrown back upon her loving heart. Failing there, as naturally she must, she goes forth either as a walking fashion form or turns to other men. Mad with her disappointments in him who promised so much, and ignorant of the awful consequences of her rashness, plunges into vice and prostitution. Thus, oh, woman, where human laws have shielded man in making thee prostitute to his lusts, thy nature has rebelled, and because Divine laws have been mocked, until human beings know not what they are, thou hast been prostituted all thy days. It is common for people to claim that only the poor, the uneducated and lower classes of beings are inclined to these terrible vices, but no more loathsome brothel is gazed upon by those who walk the starry floors of Spirit Land than the United States Capitol, because it is a monument to those struggling souls of the long ago, who claimed that freedom and virtue were the birthrights of humanity, and when its rooms are so shamefully desecrated by men who profess to be a nation's safeguard, as propagators of just and equitable laws, who fill the very air with the stench of their licentiousness. It is, indeed, enough to make angels weep.

Men, having wives and children sharing the worldly honors of their political position, envied by the ignorant because they do not see the covered rottenness and crime eating away the physical body until the very ground almost cries out in loathing when obliged to take back this perverted dust. Facts are stubborn things, but the truth must be spoken, for the age demands it; and if it is not applicable in your own case, surely you can feel no hurt, for only wounded birds flutter. We visit a sick, suffering brother or sister of the great human family, and witness agonies indescribable—contracted limbs and sores are holding them in awful bondage, and nothing but death can bring relief. Physicians say it is an aggravated case of scrofula, and write in their private diaries, "Another natural effect of human crime—promiscuous sexual intercourse." A wife becomes a mother, and the little body she has brought into the world, through untold misery, naturally designed as a pure temple for an immortal spirit, is but a mass of disease, unfitted for its divine tenant, who, as though disgusted with such a habitation, passes to a cleaner sphere to extract from human magnetisms the elements which pure nature, undefiled, would have given in a natural, healthful body. Physicians say: "The poor little things inherited scrofula." Write in their diaries, "Murdered by the sins of its parents."

Aye, so it did inherit scrofula, and perhaps either father or mother know just how the seeds were sown.

Infidelity to the marriage relation, the base indulgence of lust with women for whom he had not the slightest respect, to say nothing of love, may have been the cause from the father, or the mother may have been driven to reckless relations with other men. Causes, minutely explained, are too numerous to mention. Every human being must expect to "reap as he has sown," sooner or later. A man might stand beside the seed of a thistle, from the moment he dropped it in the ground until it germinates, grows and blossoms, commanding it to be a rose with every breath, but only a thistle blossom crowns his efforts. He might as well undertake to change the ocean's bed, check Niagara's flow, or drain the Mississippi River dry as to think of ultimately changing nature's laws. Her law of retribution is as sure as her law of compensation, and both are immutable, admitting of no amendment or repeal, and this is why we should devote our energies to the solving of her mysteries, that we may avert such consequences as bring misery instead of happiness. Sometimes in sowing the purest seeds we must delve in filthy soil, and thus in sowing seeds of moral goodness we must enter, more or less, into elements of human vice and crime. When human beings see God in nature, read His gospel revelations in every leaf and flower, in every bird and beast, in every human face, and feel His divine inspirations flowing through every human heart, linking it to every pulsating organ throughout all nature; when nature's bible is sacredly and solemnly perused, its commands obeyed, its Christ-spirit lived, indeed, when God's commands in nature's bible are made man's highest demands in his earth-life, we may hope to welcome the dawning of a brighter morning whose golden rays shall flood the earth with gladness, and to see men and women as true to the divine relations of sexual intercourse as are the highest order of animals at least.

People stand aghast in view of the great revolution going on in the marriage relations, hold up their hands in holy horror, as newspapers come laden with accounts of crimes and the great numbers of divorces granted every month in our so-called courts of justice.

Wonder what can be the cause? Everybody condemns everybody, and this spirit of condemnation inspires both judge and jury, who, without even an attempt to reason from effect to cause, deal out their hell-born penalties upon the struggling victims, thus blocking still more the currents of their better aspirations; and they usually go forth ten times more the children of hell than before. I mean by the term hell, unnatural conditions. It is as natural for the soul to rebel against oppression as for water to accumulate its forces when obstructed by rubbish cast into the stream; and

when we remember that marriage is an inviolable law of nature, cementing its objects with pure and holy love, giving them perfect fidelity, we can but understand how it is that by man's tampering, being so ignorant, he would unavoidably bring about extremes which, as before remarked, are labeled crimes. We believe divine marriage is perfect fidelity to the conjugal relation between one man and one woman, and no more. We believe in a perfect union of hearts as well as interests, and that no violation of such a marriage law could possibly take place. The possibility of repeal proves the imperfection of a law. But for the remedy you ask? First, learn what Nature's laws are as applied to all the departments of your own organism, both physical and mental, and then as children are born to you—which, under purely natural conditions, will be children of love instead of lust—teach them, also, the lessons of creation, the uses, and blessings in consequence; the abuses, and miseries in consequence of the whole organic structure. Not an organ of the body but is useful, and productive of happiness when naturally used. Not one but causes misery when abused. In God's image we are creative beings; what more holy than the creative organs? What more divine than the true use? We are endowed with reason and good intelligence, which enables us to study causes, and learn, by reasoning from effect to cause, the laws pertaining to all conditions; and when we resurrect our instincts from the grave of ignorance in which they have so long lain we shall be able to make ourselves more worthy the image we bear. Fathers should be the teachers and guides of their daughters, having their moral culture and spiritual unfoldment constantly in mind, which sacred work will be a safeguard for their own lives, for no father can desire to carry corrupt morals to his daughter. The female nature instinctively turns to the male for strength, counsel, companionship, and when fathers and brothers meet this demand naturally the temptation is removed for daughters and sisters to go among those whose moral principles are not strong enough to insure their safety, because they have not been taught to regard every woman as a sister. Mothers should become the counseling friends and companions of their sons, guiding with true divinity of love their manly natures, teaching them the law of controlling their passions, giving them loving counsel in all their walks, thus exalting their whole lives. Be their confidants, without condemning, though they sometimes err, for oh, how sweet to every man and woman is the memory of mother's forgiving look, mother's kisses and caresses, mother's don't be a bad child any more. Human beings need each other's magnetisms, and when pure in their moral relations find the medicine many times for debilitated conditions. A free mingling of the sexes, governed by the pure law of family love, or the love existing between brothers and sisters, established first by parental communion described, would soon cleanse society from the terrible degradations that so stain our community. Fathers! embrace and kiss your daughters, let them feel the purity of your love for them. Such demonstrations of love's existence are just as necessary to their healthful, affectionate growth, as sunshine to develop the beauty and fragrance of a flower. Change the horrible idea prevailing among so many, that embraces and kisses are only evidences of sensual desires. Hundreds of thousands of good women will testify that they are starving for embraces and kisses from their husbands, unattended by sensual desires and demands, and when at length they get only sensualism, they come to loathe the very touch and almost hate their presence. Let not the pure and spotless nature of a daughter be contaminated with sensualism in the father. Mothers, be ye lovingly affectionate with your sons! for your kisses and caresses will help to regulate the seminal fluid, and prevent the explosive accumulations that hurl so many down the steps of crime. *It is not the restraining of nature's forces that gives purity or safety, but a regulation of all her circulating powers.* Keep the current of the stream free and unobstructed, and its waters will seldom overflow the banks. Cultivating the love of the beautiful, of flowers, the works of art and of nature, and above all the harmony of music in families, will have a tendency to produce a harmonious development in the growth of children rounding out all their faculties. The person whose *one* faculty has been cultivated, to the neglect of all others, is not the truly great man, or woman; but when all faculties are developed, you see the great soul gleaming out all around, and no one, high or low, rich or poor, but gathers sunshine and sympathy from such a presence. Order is said to be heaven's first law, so there is a time and place for everything. To know when and how to act, without intruding upon others' rights or privileges, is of great consequence. To pay the same deference to others, we feel to claim for ourselves, should be lessons daily taught to young minds. To seek to call out others' opinions should be as much taught as the expression of one's own. In short, if the practice of the golden rule be applied to every department of our conscious existence, we shall be more true to nature than we have ever dreamed. Our homes will become more sacred and holy, our loves more pure, and we shall really come to know that peace on earth and good will to man is possible. Angels have no more beautiful pictures to gaze upon in the spheres of the blest, than may be found in an earthly home, where father and mother are naturally adapted and true to each other, weaving into their daily lives all those little tendernesses, pettings and caresses and holy confidences, which are divine manifestations in human life, drawing to the home altar by these glories, the affections of children, who come, not as unwelcome visitors because they are the fruits of lust, but as angels, gliding through heaven's gates ajar, knowing only pure love from the beginning to the end of earth's pilgrimage. Poverty may come to them, they are only drawn more tenderly together in its unfeeling presence. Sickness may come; all are anxious nurses watching with untiring vigils around the sufferer. Hands, charged with love's magnetism, press the fevered brow and cool the heated pillow. Words of sweet encouragement fall like rich music upon the ear. No cold heartedness: No want of sympathy; and when joys come, all share the pleasure, and each is happy in the happiness of the other. Who is not made better by entering the atmosphere of such a home, and why shall we not seek to produce conditions for the establishment of such? When we can be made to understand that our earthly lives and conditions are as soil, from whence will grow, in a great degree, our joys and miseries, for a long time in the life beyond this, that from seeds of tares and thistles we cannot gather the legitimate fruit, that we shall sorrow exceedingly over our negligence, or, in reaping the rich harvest of roses and lilies, or good motives and pure endeavors, we shall rejoice with great joy, then surely we will strive for the attainment of the best possibilities of our natures on earth.

As in this world we build our homes from the timber we prepare, and they are beautiful, or otherwise, just as we have prepared them, so are we preparing our spiritual mansions, not made with hands, but growths from thoughts, feelings, words and deeds. "Our to-days and yesterdays are the blocks with which we build."

We do not ignore the utility of anything in God's creation, but know that all things serve a wise and holy purpose, when properly used. If the farmer desires to fertilize the soil he desires to cultivate, he does not allow the fertilizing compost to lay upon the roots of his fruits, vegetables or grains until it has caused decay, but stirs and mixes all together. The weak soil grows stronger, and the sickening, disgusting compost is resurrected into living beauty and sweetest aromas to fill the atmosphere and bless. All through the fields of society we can find these immense piles of compost, daily rotting the roots of human endeavors over which they lie, and people passing them by with averted faces, because they have not energy and moral courage enough to open and spread them over the barren soil, ready for the great subsoiling plow which the Almighty ever sends in a time of need.

Away with this distasteful indolence; let us to work! What though we soil our white hands and sunburn our fair complexion? What though the owls may hoot at us and the bats flap their wings about our heads? There is health for us in such exercise.

Don the gymnastic suit for Spiritual movements. Count one, two, raise our Spiritual arms, and the angels, who ever practice with us, will put in our hands the magic rod, which, when brought downward, will smite the rock of cold indifference, and, from the fissure thus produced, will gush the pure waters of love, "clear as crystal," cleansing, purifying and mingling these elements for the glorious use assigned them.

Churches bear this inscription, according to the pretensions of their supporters. Hospitals for moral invalids; but when a poor, morally sick creature enters to be nursed and treated, until health is restored, he finds, instead of a soft, comfortable bed and sympathizing nurses, the rack of the Inquisition, and the torturous instruments of the self-conceited dupes of false religions. These applications increase his disease, and either he dies a moral death upon the rack before them or rushes into the street to lay his dying head upon the cold paving stones of human condemnation which lie all along our way. This inscription is upon the United States Capitol, by the pretensions of its inmates. "Security of human rights, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, by the strict administration of justice (!) Practical remedies for moral diseases!" The wronged soul enters and asks for his rights. The means, groans and cursings of the down-trodden poor seen on every hand describe this dispensation of justice better than we can. Others ask for their inalienable right to life. Prisons and gallows reveal how sacredly their lives are guarded, and the demand for liberty is mocked at every step of human progress. Oh, God! increase the power of angels, of noble men and women until Thy Laws are all pre-eminently above all, and Thy Love hath made free and pure and true Thy children.

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.

The following from the Providence Journal is a richly deserved tribute to our esteemed friend who is now abroad at Florence, Italy. Her address is care Maquay & Hooker:

The portrait of Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, by Miss Rose F. Peckham, now on exhibition at Henry T. Brown's, No. 60 Westminster street, needs only to be seen to command immediate recognition as a work of decided genius. Mr. Lowell says: "The highest wisdom of criticism is in the capacity to admire." In looking at this beautiful portrait, there can be few persons who may not congratulate themselves on the possession of this "highest wisdom." It is especially remarkable as the work of a lady who has but recently given her attention to this branch of art. Many persons, during the past summer, have seen and admired Miss Peckham's finished and admirable copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds' charming "Novel Reader," the picture of a young girl reading the story of Clarissa Harlowe, one of the choicest gems now adorning the walls of the Providence Athenaeum.

In the portrait of Mrs. Davis, Miss Peckham's second attempt at delineation from life, she has attained a degree of excellence which gives presage of a brilliant and successful future. To great ideality and nobility of conception it unites firmness and precision of handling, accuracy of drawing and a thoroughly conscientious and careful treatment of details.

The whole tone and coloring of the picture, the pure flesh tints, the delicate cloud-like hues of the costume and draperies, beautifully relieved against a dark background, harmonize well with the refined and elevated expression of the face and the classic repose of the features. It is a picture to excite at the first glance, emotions of interest and curiosity—one of those portraits which unmistakably indicate a history and a career.

Renouncing all the impossible contours of the approved fashion-plate model, the artist has selected from her own fine feminine intuitions a costume which, in defiance of the capricious changes of fashion, can never become obsolete or ungraceful, a costume as naturally and simply appropriate as the verdant mantle of the moss rose on the cool green peplum of the water-lily.

The flexuous curves of the lavender-tinted robe adapt themselves easily to the form without cincture, brooch or ornament, while

"Its delicate draperies, made of point lace," are as exquisitely delineated as are those of Bret Harte's translated heroine.

The rendering of the hair cannot be too highly praised; touched by time to that hue of shadowy silver which fash on to-day esteems the crowning grace of matronly beauty, it enshrouds the fair face

"Like the dim circle floating round a pearl."

Apart from its artistic excellence, the painting is interesting, not only as the portrait of a beautiful woman, but as the portrait of one widely known for her earnest and life long devotion to the enlightenment and emancipation of woman.

Mrs. Davis, as one of the earliest advocates of woman suffrage in America, has attained a position which will make this fine portrait of increased value and interest as the great cause to which she has devoted herself continues to win, more and more, the sympathies and suffrages of all thoughtful minds.

"Liberality may be carried too far in those who have children to inherit from them."

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

CITIZEN GEORGE R. ALLEN, for whose very able address, given below, I gladly yield most of my space this week in the Bulletin, was one of the founders of the New Democracy, one of whose leading lines or policy this address is devoted to expounding. The same parties who were first active in the New Democracy have been also allied with the COSMOPOLITAN CONFERENCE which holds meetings every Sunday afternoon in Bleecker street, corner of the Bowery; and with the new political party now in a transitional state of formation, and which has taken for the time the name of THE WORKING MEN'S PARTY, but which will probably settle upon the name of THE PEOPLE'S PARTY or unite with THE EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY, as all these movements have the same general object in view.

It is so rare to find a clear, well-considered and comprehensive statement of a distinct line of proposed policy in reformatory politics that this address has unusual value, and I bespeak for it dispassionate consideration from the readers of the Bulletin. It is too long to admit of comment at present.

S. P. A.

NATIONALIZATION OF LABOR, ON THE BASIS OF
EQUAL RIGHTS, OPPORTUNITIES AND
COMPENSATION.

SHOWING IT TO BE THE MOST FEASIBLE AND RAPID METHOD
OF ATTAINING UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION—AN AD-
DRESS BEFORE THE COSMOPOLITAN CON-
FERENCE, BY GEORGE R. ALLEN.

[Printed first in *The Cosmopolitan*; revised and enlarged for *The Bulletin of the Pantarchy*.]

The present age is fraught with agitations of reform in many directions, each embracing a class of individuals dedicated to its particular branch, and believing that until such reform is inaugurated man cannot possibly enjoy his rights as a human being.

As in the field of science, one branch so merges into all the others as to lose its identity as a particular science, so all phases of social reform are so linked as to necessitate a corresponding advance before a field of action can truly be found for any. It requires, therefore, some universal plan of action, embodying all the individual reforms before society can be successfully reconstructed upon a homogeneous basis; some plan that will remove all the conflicts of human interests, which the present competitive system engenders, and unite all the forces of human nature into harmonious action for the general good of the race.

The belief in the principle of co-operation, and that it will ultimately become a panacea for all the evils that afflict the laboring classes is rapidly gaining ground in this country and in Europe. For many years efforts have been made in various directions to establish co-operative industries, some proving partial successes, others failures. Those who labor look forward with hope to a time when these societies will spring up in every part of the land, until they finally absorb and unite all the laboring interests of the globe.

The principle of co-operation is true, but the method of beginning with a small model and gradually expanding until the society becomes universal is fraught with so many difficulties as to make success a matter of doubt. Small societies are subject to the competition of outside labor and the conspiracies of capitalists, so that they require the most careful nursing to preserve their existence long enough to become self-supporting.

As the product of a single grain of wheat may by accumulation give sustenance to the whole earth, or the usury of a single penny absorb all the wealth, so there is a simple machinery of action which can gather in and unite all the interests of mankind, and surely and speedily accomplish all that the advocates of co-operation desire to see effected. This machinery is

NATIONAL CO-OPERATION, OR MUTUAL INSURANCE OF
SOCIETY.

There are at all seasons, and more especially during the winter, in the cities, towns and villages, persons having families to provide for who are unable to get employment, and subjected, therefore, to the evils of extreme poverty, virtually becoming paupers, unless, too proud to be dependent, they choose to prey upon society. As society has them to support either directly or indirectly in idleness, would it not be better that it should get an adequate return for its provision, and at the same time place those persons above the condition of dependents or the disquietude of want?

This could be most effectually done by the national guarantee of employment to all such persons as are unable under the present system to find it, beginning where private capital ends, and by the establishment of workshops, farms and various branches of industry, afford labor to all applicants, that none need suffer through enforced idleness.

The Government has given us a precedent, both during and after the war, in the case of the Freedmen's Bureau for the protection and employment of destitute freedmen. The Government took possession of abandoned plantations and continued to work them under the supervision of its agents. Congress adopted last March a resolution declaring the Freedmen's Bureau to have been a most efficient instrument in promoting the well being and education of four millions and a half of people. During the panic of 1854-5 in New York, the unemployed workmen petitioned the Common Council to employ them on public works, which the city did to the full extent of its charter, giving relief to thousands, and preventing a serious riot, to oppose which the military of the city had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness at an hour's notice.

In glancing over the commercial world we perceive that the large capitalists in trade or manufacture are gradually absorbing the smaller ones; that according to the laws of trade, the more the capital invested, the more economy there is in production and a corresponding depreciation in

price, driving lesser capitalists from the field. Allowing, then, the nation to be the greatest capitalist, it is capable of employing machinery and organizing labor upon a larger and more economical scale than any private capitalist or corporation, and not being (like individuals) mercenary, it can afford to dispense its products at cost, and thus successfully encroach upon every individual enterprise, and compel employers to relinquish business and enter the field of productive labor as employees of the nation. At first glance this might seem like a cruel leveling process, but careful consideration will prove it to be founded upon justice. Let us examine into some of the benefits that would accrue from such a system of employment.

FIRST—IT WOULD EQUALIZE LABOR BY MAKING ALL PRODUCERS, AND DIMINISH THE HOURS OF LABOR TO THEIR MINIMUM.

The effect of national competition would be to force all persons to labor. Accepting the general estimate that one-half only of the male population are now producers, this would double the productive force of the country, which is equivalent to a reduction of one-half in the hours of labor.

No just person can be blind to the fact that woman's opportunities should be in every respect equal to man's; that she should possess all the privileges that he enjoys, and receive equal compensation for equal services. Were this accorded to woman, her sphere of usefulness would be enlarged, and she also become a producer. When labor is rifted of its toil and only becomes a healthful exercise, when machinery constitutes the bone and muscle, and man and woman the brain or directive power, woman may be equally useful in the field of industry. It becomes therefore the duty of woman to emancipate the race from toil by sharing the necessary labor, and the duty of man to make opportunities for her to do so. The companionship of the opposite sexes would render labor more agreeable to both, and, by again doubling the productive power, correspondingly equalize and diminish toil. Considering further the increased facilities for obtaining and using machinery that government would have, and the economy of systematized and combined labor, it will be evident that two hours' labor per day of all persons, male and female, would keep the productive industry and wealth of the country at its present standard.

SECOND—IT WOULD RENDER THE LAND WORTHLESS TO INDIVIDUALS SO THAT IT WOULD FALL INTO THE HANDS OF, AND BECOME THE PROPERTY OF THE NATION.

Earnest and philanthropic men labored for years to obtain the "Homestead Bill," which although good of itself, has been rendered almost inoperative by land speculators having located their grants so far out upon the frontier that the actual settler is compelled to go beyond the bounds of civilization, and away from the markets in order to take advantage of the law. Quite recently, too, the Government has complicated the difficulty by enormous grants to railroad corporations, and the land reformers are rallying their forces to prevent, if possible, Congress from voting away the balance of the people's lands in the same manner.

Most of the land reformers would favor a statute of land limitation, so that no individual could hold more than a certain number of acres. As a reform measure, this is not in advance of the Agrarian laws passed by the Romans 2,500 years ago.

Palliatives are but compromises with a system, whereas radical reforms are inaugurations of improved systems.

It all persons born upon the earth are equally entitled to land, wherever they choose to fix their abode, either temporarily or otherwise, then land must be common property; for populations are continually shifting, and it would not be possible to make daily divisions, or to accord each person lands having equal advantage of soil and location. Exact justice demands that lands be held in common.

Were national farms established here and there throughout the country upon a large scale, having all the improved implements of labor, and their products sold at cost, it would render private farming so unprofitable that the surrounding farmers would abandon their lands and seek employment upon those belonging to the nation, and as these extended and multiplied, land would become valueless to its owners and so gravitate into the hands of the nation, thus preventing further traffic in the soil, and destroying landed aristocracies.

Not only farms with their stock and agricultural implements, but all workshops, tools and machinery would in the same manner revert to the nation and succumb to its supervision, making all the accumulated labor of past generations equally available to the present one; for the nation would then be the proprietor and employer, and all its people tenants and employees.

THIRD—IT WOULD DIGNIFY LABOR BY MAKING ALL PARTICIPANTS, AND HEAL THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL.

At present a portion of society exercise their craft by becoming distributors and manipulating the market to suit their interests. Through powerful combinations they garner up the necessities of life and create a scarcity by which they profit. Though in their private relations they may be genial and benevolent, yet really they are no less vampires, who feed upon the blood of humanity, self-constituted and tacitly acknowledged administrators, who take to themselves toll of all that can feed, clothe or sustain life. It is considered an evidence of superior intelligence thus to appropriate that which others, less acute or more honest, have produced; therefore labor is a test of mental inferiority, and so long as such an opinion prevails it will be held in disgrace. This class of human parasites look upon the workman as only a machine; although, being unable to live without his assistance, they profess with their lips to respect labor, thereby to encourage the workman to be resigned to his position.

Another body of persons live by the direct employment of labor. Between them and the employed there seems to be a growing antagonism. Among artisans and laborers this has generated "Labor Unions" for mutual protection and resistance to the tyranny of employers. Workmen thus far have resorted to "strikes" to redress their grievances, but they are entirely futile to accomplish the ends desired. Without national workshops to fly to, they must continue to be starved into submission. All their labors and devices as yet have been useful only in schooling them into a truer knowledge of what constitutes the just and natural relations between man and man.

As the breach widens between these two classes, it is severely felt in the loose manner in which work is often performed. Expostulations upon the part of employers only exasperate the workmen into defiance. This discord has even extended among family servants so as to become a serious source of annoyance to almost every household. Females in cities are gravitating to hotels and boarding houses to

rid themselves of this grievance. Labor will continue to grow more and more unreliable until the labor question is settled. The culmination of this antagonism will be the extinction of employers as a class. When this is accomplished, and all enter the field of labor, man and woman, whatever may be their grade of intelligence, their own self-respect becomes bound with the cause of labor, and the ban of servitude being removed, the long forbidden claims of labor are recognized, and she enters into possession of her birthright.

FOURTH—IT WOULD MAKE WOMAN FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT OF MAN AND RID SOCIETY OF MERCENARY MARRIAGES AND THEIR EVIL CONSEQUENCES.

Woman being now dependent on man for a support, she is hedged in on all sides by false conditions and conventionalities, and subject to so many conflicts between propriety and interest on the one hand and the natural desires on the other, that spontaneity is lost, and she has but little freedom to make an unbiased choice. If her affections are enlisted outside of her social sphere, by following their bent she may lose caste and life-long friends, and if she sacrifices affection to the coercion of circumstances, her life will be equally unhappy. If she is left to struggle alone in the world, she finds the avenues of business so closed that she can get no remunerative employment, and to avoid a life of destitution is often glad to accept of a protector, who under favorable circumstances would not have been her choice. But were she relieved from the burden of dependence and possessed of the same opportunities and compensation for labor as man, she would never have legally or otherwise sold herself for a support. The causes of blighted affection would be ameliorated, and a truer union of the sexes conduce to the elevation of the moral and physical status of the race.

The subjects of marriage, divorce and free love, by being daily forced upon our notice, are brought prominently before the consideration of the public. Unhappy marriages instead of being, as formerly, exceptions, may now, by their frequency, be looked upon as the rule.

The stimulation of intellect by education has been more marked in this generation than preceding ones, giving greater prominence to the cerebralia and increasing the general sensibilities of the individual. Conditions that in past generations were phlegmatically endured, now cause irritation too great to be borne. As the esthetic in humanity is called out, the sympathies and antipathies are intensified. The harness that our forefathers stolidly accustomed themselves to wear, mis-fits us in every particular, galling wherever it touches. Continued efforts to a lapt ourselves to unfavorable conditions, overtax the nerve centres, causing complicated disorders, which the medical faculty are powerless to cope with. Women, being more delicately organized than man, suffers the most. It is only by release from the thug and bondages that restrain her, and living in the true order of natural adaptation, that these diseases will disappear.

FIFTH—IT WOULD EQUALIZE WEALTH, DESTROY ARISTOCRACY, AND REMOVE ALL CRIMES THAT SPRING FROM POVERTY, OR THE FEAR OF IT.

POVERTY IS SLAVERY! Who can estimate its evils? It narrows down the liberty and enjoyments of its victims almost to the plane of incarcerated criminals. Were it not for the stigma attached, prison life, with a certainty of provision, would be preferable to the condition of many of the poor of this city; indeed, persons have been known to commit offenses that they may be thus insured for a time from the harassments of uncertainty and privation. Those who have descended from wealth and position, when they become dispirited in dress and precarious in existence, lose social caste, and in their humiliation, avoid those whom they had known in affluence, and so their social sphere narrows down to a few individuals as poor and unfortunate as themselves. They are restricted in travel, dress and food, and in every department of life—full of wants which they have no means of satisfying. Man is free to act and enjoy when he has the means and facilities; without them he is in chains. Those who are born and pass through life in poverty may not suffer the peculiar mortifications arising from social ostracism, yet they carry with them the burdens of poverty in the shape of ignorance added to want.

Were all equally compensated for labor there would be no excessive wealth, neither would there be any poverty; the evils of both conditions being removed.

Poverty, or the fear of it, causes most of the anxieties and evils of life. He who defrauds community and hoards his millions is striving to build up a guarantee for himself and family from future want. He uses every means that cunning can devise to overreach his neighbor, and grinds the poor to fill his coffers; still the spectre of want is never conciliated. Man's selfish faculties are unduly exercised by being perverted to individual purposes, and his moral sentiments held in restraint by his interests.

Men pride themselves upon a long line of ancestry who have not made the least effort of themselves to enlarge the productive wealth of a nation, but who have required the united labors of many persons to cater to their wants and sustain their respectability. They claim that by virtue of superior intelligence they should be awarded the lion's share of the goods of life; that their time and services are of more value than other men's and should be better compensated. They do not consider that if nature has endowed one with more intelligence than another, he carries the compensation with him by virtue of his possession, and if society is to be partial, it would be more reasonable to compensate him for whom nature has done the least.

If we love justice we cannot desire to continue such a system of rapine and extortion, for it is destructive to the true interests of the wealthy as well as the poor. It creates caste in society, by enabling the few to live in luxury while the toiling millions are wretched slaves. It is an error to suppose that the wealthy few can be happy in their possessions, while the poverty of those whom they have indirectly robbed is continually before their eyes; and they cannot in their hearts but acknowledge the injustice of such inequality. The interests of humanity are so linked that no benevolent man can be happy while his brothers are suffering, therefore the race cannot realize a high degree of happiness until all are equally blessed.

The anxieties and sufferings of the poor are consequent upon the insufficient remuneration, the fickleness of demand for their labor, and the excessive hours of toil which consume all the day, and unfit them, even had they time, for enjoyment and recreation.

For months every year many are thrown out of employment, and they and their families are obliged to subsist upon what is barely sufficient to preserve a miserable existence, while those who may be so fortunate as to keep their situations, know not how soon a dullness in trade, or the

petitions of successful rivals, may deprive them also of their means of support, and make them involuntary idlers and paupers.

It is want, or the fear of it, that prevails upon this class to become thieves and burglars. It is the disgrace attached to labor, and the excessive toil required by employers that cause people to shrink from it and become gamblers and tricksters. It is to drown humiliation and the cares of life that men resort to the intoxicating bowl, for it makes them, for the moment, lords and millionaires.

Without violence to society, all these evils would gradually die out as the nation grew into proprietorship and equality in all things became established. Education in a few generations would vanish ignorance; and cases of intellect would succumb to the enlightenment of the masses.

In the decadence of the old system of labor and commerce, man's selfish faculties, by a narrower sphere of action, would cease to be the preponderating ones, while the range of the moral and spiritual being enlarged, individuals would no longer be designated by the epithets of good and bad, and the basis of religious aristocracies thereby destroyed.

Tyranny of all kinds must cease, because of the change of men's relations to each other. Instead of landlords and tenants, employers and hirelings, masters and slaves, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, good and bad; men would be brothers, bound together by mutual interests, holding the natural wealth of the earth in common, but entirely unrestrained in the use of their personal property and rights. After satisfying the demands of society by all laboring two hours per day, or its equivalent, for which they are paid sufficient for daily support, they are unfettered for the balance of the day to devote themselves to any labor of love in which they are interested.

Under such a system it would be manifestly unjust that any should receive pay for overwork, for when the products are adjusted to the demand, one cannot monopolize labor without defrauding others.

SIXTH—PEOPLE WOULD BE ABLE TO PURCHASE THE NECESSARIES AND LUXURIES OF LIFE AT COST OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, SAVING AT LEAST FIFTY PER CENT. UPON PRESENT PRICES.

It is well known that wealthy citizens of the metropolis and other cities can purchase their produce and provisions at wholesale or directly from the producer, at the most available seasons of the year, and store them up for winter's use. But the poor, having to purchase their food day by day, in very small quantities, are subjected, more especially during winter, when the facilities for transportation are impaired, to the evils of paying almost famine prices to those who have in advance stored it up for the occasion. Food destined for the poor passes through several hands, each taking its profit, before even it reaches the small retailer, so that it may safely be estimated that most articles of food cost the poor from fifty to one hundred per cent. more than the rich.

In 1857, during the suspension of specie payments and the prostration of business in New York, Mayor Wood proposed to the Common Council to issue city script, for the purchase of provisions in the West, to be sold to the working people here at cost. The opposition of bankers, speculators and traders defeated the adoption of this just proposition.

After the capture of New Orleans, General Butler sold Government rations to the citizens at cost, to protect them against the extortions of sutlers, and at Baton Rouge General Banks supplied the people with bread from the Government bakery, when the bakers were charging exorbitant profits, thereby compelling the bakers to limit their prices to a fixed rate.

After the war our Government, through its Commissary Department, distributed food at cost among the poor whites and blacks of the South, thus saving thousands from starvation. Were the nation supervisor of industry and trade it could transport its provisions, coal and manufactured wares upon its own railroads and canals, and in a similar manner distribute in large or small quantities to consumers at cost.

This would be less than the wealthy now pay to individual producers, for national farms, mines and factories could be conducted more economically than private enterprises of the kind. The nation, or the people, which constitute the nation, labor therefore as a whole for the good of each and every individual, making it the duty of society to see that there is no want within its limits, no crime or suffering resulting from poverty. The great burden of rent which now crushes the poor would be lifted when the nation becomes landlord and requires only sufficient rent to keep buildings in repair.

SEVENTH—THE NATION WOULD TRANSPORT PASSENGERS AND FREIGHT OVER ITS ROADS AND THOROUGHFARES AT COST, THUS GIVING THE PEOPLE OPPORTUNITIES TO CHANGE THEIR LOCATION AS OFTEN AS DESIRABLE.

We see at the present time our railroads becoming vast monopolies. Instead of competing with each other, that the public may derive the benefit of cheaper travel, they find it for their interests to consolidate, leaving the people at their mercy. While it was expected that the roads would be built and conducted for the interests of society, they are made to exact exorbitant tribute and become instruments of oppression. Actuated by mercenary motives, their owners disregard the public convenience and safety. Rival companies block the trains and detain the passengers, while the almost daily records of fatal accidents, for which no one is responsible, attest the insecurity of life. By the union of the mining and railroad interests, millions of people depend for their supply of coal upon the option of a few soulless corporations, who by banding together have the power to defraud, by creating artificial scarcities, and charging extortionate rates. A few railroad kings grasp the public lands, buy our legislators and rule our nation.

Were the railroads, telegraphs, canals, expresses, gas works, etc., to become the property of the people, and under their supervision, they would be conducted as the post office system is (except by direct employment instead of by contracts), for their mutual interests. The fares collected would be only sufficient to keep the institutions in good running order.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS.

1. "That all just government is derived from the consent of the governed."
2. That the Laws of Nature require and institute Human Society, of which Human Government is a component part, and a necessary incident.
3. That it is, therefore, a natural right to live and to par-

ticipate in Society, and that the word Rights relates solely to the relations of Individuals in Society, and not isolatedly.

4. That Justice is that which is prescribed by the Laws of Nature.

5. That it is, therefore, a Natural Right to participate in the government under which one resides; and if the instituted mode for exercising such right of participation be by voting, then voting is a Natural Right artificially regulated, but merely as to the method of its exercise. The right to vote is, therefore, essentially, a Natural Right (while yet artificially regulated), and should be in every country so recognized in which the voting of the people is the established medium of governmental administration; and one which no such government has the right to withhold from any class of the people.

6. That this last proposition is modified by nature or accidental incapacity, as in the case of infants, idiots, etc., and leaves a reasonable margin of discretion in respect to foreigners, who may need time to acquire the theory of a new governmental system.

7. That women have, therefore, along with men, the Natural Right to vote, under our form of government, unless it can be shown that their sex incapacitates them, a pretension upon which the argument has been exhausted and which is now being abandoned.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

IMPORTANT NOTICES.

All readers of the Bulletin of the Pantarchy who have become specially interested in the idea of THE PANTARCHY, as an Institution, are requested to write to me on the subject.

S. P. A.

Persons interested in the idea of THE NEW UNIVERSITY, for the Integral Education of all persons of both sexes and of all ages, are requested also to commence a correspondence on the subject, which will be private if preferred.

S. P. A.

If the Bulletin is less filled some weeks with matter directly from my pen than heretofore, the readers will infer that it is only because my time is necessarily employed in the more active work of organization. On the other hand, it is possible that I may have more to say; bolder utterances to make; and broader and more definite programmes of activity to perform than hitherto. My plans of action are, just now, somewhat in a transition state, and whether I shall do more or less through journalism, for the present, is undetermined. But, in any event, I shall be busily and earnestly engaged in some department of the great field of Reform.

S. P. A.

THE BASIC DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSOLOGY, a work which has been announced for several years as forthcoming, will be issued in a few weeks.

S. P. A.

BANNER OF LIGHT.

In looking over the files of this world-renowned paper, we have fallen upon the following editorial. We have contemplated saying something in regard to the service it has rendered humanity in its extended career, but we let it speak for itself, merely remarking that its claims are quite too modest, when we contemplate the terrible battle it has fought and won:

A NEW STARTING POINT.

We open to-day the Twenty-fifth Volume of the *Banner of Light*. Little did we imagine, when we issued the first number twelve years ago, at the impressive behest of the angel world, through what a series of varied experiences we should be compelled to pass. During that term—brief enough to look back over, but long in the prospect—we have faithfully devoted our talents and industry to the momentous work in part intrusted to our keeping. How well we have thus far performed our service, and to what extent we have accomplished our task, the invisible presences all around us are alone capable of fully testifying. The obstacles that have confronted us have been legion, and at times—alas, how often!—our heart has well nigh failed us, and we have earnestly prayed to be relieved. But our sleepless angel-guides have as often cheered us on, promising anew their protection and support while we were passing through the vicissitudes incident to the responsible work to which we were committed. And it is in compliance with their earnest solicitations that we have kept constantly at our post of duty. To-day we are ready and willing to admit the truthfulness of their promises, for they have ripened into unmistakable and visible verities.

We have lived to see the sacred Cause advocated by us years ago, when its disciples were few in numbers but firm in purpose, grow to imposing proportions, so that it already counts its believers and advocates by millions. We are satisfied. Yet we are admonished that we have not at present any right to claim a relaxation from our labors. They are still needed, perhaps more than ever before. We have assurances which beget a conviction, that we are to pass through severer ordeals in the future than any to which our faith and patience have been subjected in the past; and that although we have in a measure overcome ignorance, bigotry and superstition, we are in the future to prepare ourselves to encounter envy, pride and malice. But the promise comes to us, freely and fully, that we shall under all circumstances be preserved from harm, and, with other workers, be instrumental in the final establishment on earth of a free religion, such as the world has never yet been blessed with or even known.

From the very inception of our work in this broad field of labor it has been our effort to show to our fellow-men, by conclusive and comforting testimony, that liberated spirits do in reality return from the higher-life and commune with us; teaching the better way; showing that the avenue to the tomb continues on to the realms of life immortal. Men have

worshiped, through all the past, only from the external; to-day they are learning how to worship from the internal; the circumstance of life has changed to the centrastance of life—from the God without to the God within. We are to be guided by the ever-living Present, instead of the dead Past. The scriptures of Nature are to take the place of written scrolls and parchments. We mean not to tear down any faster than we are able to build up a more beautiful edifice. And hence our thoughts go out only in charity to all who differ from us, and even to those who manifest impatience with our faith.

Upon those who are engaged with us in rearing the beautiful, shining temple, whose foundation-stone was laid by the great medium, Jesus, eighteen hundred years ago, we would enjoin harmony of action, to the end that the glorious fabric of Spiritualism shall stand completed without spot or blemish. We know that "to err is human—to forgive divine," and therefore it should be our constant and prayerful endeavor to educate ourselves more fully in the potency of that irresistible, that crowning virtue, Charity, which endureth long, suffereth much, is not puffed up, and never vaunteth itself. Let our good words find their fittest and fullest illustration in still better deeds, remembering that the world advances at last only by virtue of what is done, and that words are vain, and phrases empty, that fail to find embodiment finally in those humanitarian movements which form the substantial records of Time.

Obeys that spirit alone, the countless thorns of earth will give place to beautiful flowers, and the spirit-world be wholly peopled with well-developed individualities, instead of—as now in part—subjects of ignorance and superstition, spirits in prison, whose baleful influence is yet felt by the people of earth. Spiritualism comes to liberate this crowd of imprisoned ones; and hence, as in acting our parts in life, we descend lower or rise higher in the moral scale, so do those in spirit-life who have not yet risen above earth-influences, rise or fall correspondingly with us. As we perform life's duties well or ill, so shall our condition be in the great Hereafter.

Entertaining views of this character, we enter confidently, but never more seriously, upon another year's labors on behalf of humanity's highest good. Profoundly conscious of the great work in which we are engaged, we pray with reverent humility for that assistance and counsel from the higher spheres which we have gratefully received in such generous measures through the eventful past.

MR. WILLIAM M. TWEED is in that condition aptly suggested in the classic advice: "He's down; he's a Connaught man; he has no friends, kick him." Mr. Tweed used to have a great reputation for charity. He has given away no end of barrels of flour and bushels of coal in winter; has caused all kinds of good works to be done for the poor voters of Manhattan, and especially of his own ward and district. Some of the papers bear these things in mind; but not one paper records his charitable remembrances of Chicago and the West. Oldest friends turn against him, while that good *Harper's*, as usual, illustrates its own charity by showing up the public misfortunes.

THE Cincinnati *Commercial* has a queer story about an attempt to arrest Secretary Boutwell by an Englishman, who claims to be the author of Boutwell's financial policy. Mr. Boutwell's policy is poor and simple enough to have come from any outsider and experimentalist. The payment of the debt by the present generation, the enormous protective and commerce-destroying taxation, and the brilliant idea of rushing an immense loan on the market through a house unknown to capitalists, are not very grand discoveries in financial science. Honor to whom honor. Mr. Boutwell ought to be thankful to this claimant for his offer to take charge of the little responsibility.

AMONG our exchanges we are glad to notice the Chicago *Republican*, reduced in size, it is true, but lively as ever, and with due allowances, with fair paper and print. The "Doomed City" will come up again all right in a little while. Western grit is not to be beaten even by great calamities, and as obstacles in the hands of genius turn to opportunities, Chicago will be wiser, better and more beautiful than ever. As she has been foremost in commercial enterprise and pluck, so now she can set us all an example by using her terrible experience in building a fire proof, well-arranged city, in which it will be possible for the poor to live and retain the health and decency that ought to be an every-day concomitant of civilization.

POLITICAL scoundrelism belongs to no party. Robbery and rascality, lying and cheating, are exclusive to neither party. All the "Ins" are sinners; all the Outs are saints. The root of the matter lies in the indifference of the people at large to political honesty and morality, and to the devotion of the intelligent classes to the pursuit of wealth. A slavish idolatry of wealth, no matter how gained, is distinctive of the age. "Do well for thyself, and all men will speak well of thee!" ought to be the first sentence in every school copy-book.

THE *World* calls Murphy a shoddy rogue, a robber of soldiers—not to put too fine a point on it, an arrant thief; his appointment is an infamy to General Grant and the Radicals generally. The *World* also shows how Tweed, and that other lot, are thieves, cheats and forgers; but that's no disgrace to the Democratic party. This is but squint-eyed justice. The *World* forgets that Tweed is nominated by the Democratic party for re-election.

"WHOM TO MARRY?"—Miss Kate Stanton elucidated this matter in Armory Hall. The lecture was a sensible production, was well delivered, and contained many "home thrusts," which were delicately put, and which were really great truths. Miss Stanton's attractive features, her pleasant and musical voice, won the attention of the appreciative audience, and held it to the last.—*Press, Providence, R. I.*

ART AND DRAMA.

The artists are all back to their studios and their work. The most important matter of the past week is the generous sympathy offered by the New York artists to their suffering fellows in Chicago. A sale exhibition of gift paintings contributed for the purpose was held during the week at the Academy of Design, and also at Schenck's auction rooms. All the pictures were good specimens of the several artists, given in no niggard spirit; and many were very fine productions. A very handsome sum was realized.

There never has been such an exuberant supply of dramatic and musical entertainment as this season. All the theatres are running, with the exception of the Fourteenth Street, which is under repair and will probably be opened by Mr. Fechter at the new year. The patronage at most of them is more than satisfactory. The amusement seeker's difficulty is where to choose.

AT THE FIFTH AVENUE. "Divorce" still tells its story of the chances and changes of married life under existing social institutions. It is true that the drama is not very strong, nor does it teach any important lessons, nor throw any light on this much controverted question. The play ridicules divorce lawyers, an odious race that has already achieved a sufficiently unsavory notoriety, and shows up the absurdity of an unreasonable young beauty who is disgusted with her elderly husband because he is so outrageously complaisant that he will not even quarrel, while the hero of the play has a mania for finding spectres and skeletons where there should be nothing but joy and sunshine. The subject is one that would bear a strong drama, but the public go to the play for amusement; they can have their sermons and lectures elsewhere, and what the public wants the manager must give.

AT BOOTH'S. Miss Cushman has been succeeded by John Owens in his well-known range of characters, in which genuine humor and pathos may be found so powerfully intermingled. Robert Pateman, who had already made such a success as *Quilp*, now appears in "The Cricket on the Hearth" as the crabbed, ungainly Tackleton, another of Dickens' goblin creations, and shows equal power in this delineation.

AT WALLACK'S. Charles Matthews, with the Wallack company, continues his series of light comedy which has delighted the playgoers of two generations and in which Mr. Matthews is himself the last and most finished artist. Mr. Matthews' faults are the faults of a system which finds merit in exaggeration and extravagance, while his excellences are his own. He is an admirable artist in his adaptability to an infinite variety of human eccentricity and the consummate ease with which he invests the extreme character with the garb of probability. His Puff is the finest piece of light comedy known to the stage. What an answer such a play and such an actor afford to those who blame the decadence of public taste for all the shortcomings of the drama. Here is a play that, like the "School for Scandal," has fascinated our great grandfathers, and will seemingly hold the attention of the audience, and a good, full audience, through all time. And why? Because it has true, real nature, and will be applicable so long as its plot and meaning have any reflex in popular forms of life and thought. The public will accept brass for gold if they can do no better, but it is ridiculous to infer that they prefer the base currency.

THE OLYMPIC, with "Humpty Dumpty," who is always being set up again and gathering strength renewed by each judicious change, enjoys perennial popularity. Crowds go to laugh and grow fat at the ceaseless humor of the Foxes, as full of tricks as their "animale" protonyms, while the various features of this exceedingly diversified entertainment are not less gratifying to the audience. In particular, the mock Tyrolean trio and the cat duet of the Martens family are items of unusual excellence. Thorough art and fine musical training have here been brought into grotesque use, and the excellence is such as to elevate an otherwise unpleasant performance and almost to remove the regret at seeing such talent applied in such a direction. In connection with this theatre I notice a squabble with some of the European artists, who thought that a dollar meant a dollar in gold, as it does in Europe, and that living was as cheap in New York as in Bavaria; while, in fact, the wages agreed on wouldn't go half way. Thereupon refusing to act, the manager avails himself of the powers of the infamous arrest for debt, and locks the recusant up in Ludlow street jail. The story, as told, is one of oppression, and calculated to bring discredit on the profession and on American institutions. I hope it is overstated.

AT WOOD'S, the very clever boy, Percy Roselle, is winning golden plaudits for the management.

AT THE GRAND OPERA—"Eileen Oge," with Billy Florence and his clever wife. Despite modern inventions and social friction rollers, the course of true love runs as rough as ever, while Irish wrongs draw tears of sympathy from Irish-American eyes that never have seen, nor ever will see, green Erin's shores.

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC is filled nightly with crowds of New York belles and swells that go to hear and worship Nilsson the divine. To say that Nilsson is not the most perfect singer the world has ever seen would be a heresy, and I don't want to be a martyr; to say that she is not ravishingly beautiful would be blasphemy, and I don't want to prolong my hours in purgatory; to say that she is not graceful, elegant, a good artist-singer, and a very good dramatist with very good action, would be a —monosyllabic Greeleyism. Having heard in the theatre all fashionable epithets of cute, cunning, nice, awful, lovely, and so on, exhausted, it only remains for a would-be critic to accept the verdict of the people—that Nilsson is better, greater, and altogether more, everything, than Grisi, Malibran, Titiens, or even Patti (albeit a marchioness). No one in upper tennon doubts, nor, as in duty bound by such examples, does

VANDYKE.

THE BLESSING OF TO-DAY.

Strange, we never prize the music.
Till the sweet voiced birds have flown;
Strange that we should slight the violets
Till the lovely flowers are gone;
Strange that summer skies and sunshine
Never seem one-half so fair
As when winter's snowy pinions
Shake the white down in the air!

Lips from which the seal of silence
None but God can roll away,
Never blossomed of such beauty
As adorns the mouth to-day;
And sweet words that freight our memory
With their beautiful perfume,
Come to us in sweeter accents
Through the portals of the tomb.

Let us gather up the sunbeams
Lying all around our path;
Let us keep the wheat and roses,
Casting out the thorns and chaff;
Let us find our sweetest comfort
In the blessings of to-day,
With a patient hand removing
All the briars from our way.

—National Standard.

WOMAN ITEMS.

There are thirty postmistresses in Texas.

Mdme. Ristori is at present performing in Bucharest.

A Philadelphia paper says that one-half of the servant girls in that city are drunkards.

"Figures won't lie." Won't they? Does a fashionable woman's figure tell the truth?

In early life the boy masters his opportunities, while the girl generally misses hers.

Mrs. H. B. Stowe probably concludes that her "life among the lowly" pays, inasmuch as she will receive this year \$13,000 profits out of her Florida orange groves.

One of the most touching inscriptions on record is that on a tombstone of a dead wife in the Duxbury (Mass.) graveyard: "Chisel can't help her any, and tears is of no use."

Dr. Jessen and Mdle. Mestorf, two German ladies, have received grants of money from the Senate of Hamburg to enable them to visit England and Italy for scientific purposes.

The Apostle objects to two faces, for this reason perhaps: An African church South recently expelled a female member on the charge of being "double-headed," that is, wearing a chignon.

It is popularly believed that an item not to be forgotten in arranging for a fashionable party in New York, this season, is a generous supply of cigarettes for the ladies' dressing-room.

A Missouri husband, whose wife has applied for a divorce, writes a protest to the judge, in which he says: "This dam thing called divorce has, in my opinion, parted many a man and his wife."

One of the reliable physicians of Chicago states that he has the means of knowing that 500 children were born on the prairie and on the streets during Monday and Tuesday nights, at Chicago during the fire.

Woman's Rights triumphed at Nashville. Mrs. Paralle Haskell was elected State Librarian, without opposition. Mrs. Haskell is the widow of General Haskell, the great poet orator of Tennessee.—Ex.

An exchange says that a French Canadian girl, only twelve years old, neatly and tastefully dressed, has surprised the people of Vermont by her skill in the use of an ax. She cuts and piles up a cord of wood daily.

CHOOSING HUSBANDS.—"When a girl marries, why do people talk of her choice? In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, has she any choice? Does not the man (probably the last she would have chosen) select her?"

Mdme. Adelina Patti completed her engagement at Hombourg on the 21st, appearing in the "Somnambula." She sang in Signor Verdi's "Ernani" on the 14th, an opera in which she has not appeared in Paris or London.

Miss Lillie Peckham, the young advocate of female suffrage, took a Turkish bath at Milwaukee, a few days ago, and was so prostrated by its effects that she died on Wednesday. She was recently appointed to the pastorate of an Iowa Unitarian church.

The strain sheet for the main span of the great International Bridge was calculated and arranged by a young lady, Miss S. Emma Price, who has been engaged in the Engineering Department of the Phoenix Iron Co. for the past six or seven months.

The great coming woman traveler is now a young girl in Salem, Mass., named Annie Coker, who shows a disposition and ability to abscond beyond her tender years, for nine times has she run away from home, and, according to the latest report, she is now upon her tenth tramp.

A matrimonial advertisement in a moral and religious journal of civilization runs thus: "A child of impulse—at present in trouble—would like to be provided for liberally. No objection to a widow in the public line, as he knows a good deal about bars. Address to Editor, or Old Boston Road, large house on right going north."

One of the husbands of Harrison County, Iowa, gives the following warning to the public and his ex-wife, publishing it in the *Reporter*:

"This is to certify that Emily E. Mize, my wife, has left my bed and board without cause, and I hereby warn all persons not to harbor or contract any debts for I will not pay them—and also for her never to step a foot on my premises, for if she does she does it at her own risk."

THOMAS MIZE.

Ida Lewis, since her marriage, bears the name of

Wilson. She prefers and only signs her maiden name, and through devotion to her invalid mother she resides at Lime Rock, where she achieved her fame. She has saved the lives of eleven drowning men, and although the fact was well known to the residents of Newport and vicinity, no recognition of her heroism was publicly made until her last rescue of two men in 1869. Although possessing an unusually delicate and fragile frame no sea has ever proved too rough for the daring Ida to brave.

A speaker at the recent meeting of Pittsburg Woman Suffrage Association remarked that "man is only an imperfectly developed woman." At this an old lady, who sat in a corner, sprang to her feet, and in an excited manner said she "hoped to gracious he wouldn't be developed any more then, for there were too many women in the world now."

A lady elegantly dressed in the "habillments of woe" was met in the street, a few days ago, by an acquaintance, who ventured to remark about her being in mourning. "Y-e-e-s," said the bereaved one mournfully, taking a few steps to trail her dress, and looking over her shoulder at the effect thereof, "I've just lost my husband—don't you think this is a sweet veil? Such a deep hem!" Such resignation in affliction is touching.

Women can go to the registry offices and to the polls without insult and without public commotion or scandal. Let every one go if only to announce her wishes in the matter. The Knoxville *Democrat* tells of a lady appearing at the polls at Pleasantville. She walked into the crowd, and asked a Republican leader for a ticket. He declined, and she asked for one from a Democratic gentleman. He complied, when the lady walked up to the window, and offered her ballot. The judge refused it, when she turned away and left. Not a word was said by the lady, other than to ask for a ticket.

The *Revolution* calls Anna Dickinson a "courageous young orator," because she pleaded the cause of the capitalist against the workman in a lecture which she called "Demagogues and Workmen," and in which she spoke only of General Butler and Wendell Phillips and workmen. The world is full of eloquent speakers who are very brave when they attack classes who are not in power; it does not take much courage to carry on that species of warfare; indeed, we know of no one who is afraid of it. Miss Dickinson is a lost leader; the wealthy now cheer her, but the blessings of the poor are turned to curses.—*Weekly American Workman*.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has addressed a letter to the gubernatorial candidates of that State, asking for an expression of opinion on the subject of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Chamberlin, the Labor Reform candidate, has answered promptly, saying, "I believe in the ballot for women. It is in the platform I stand on." Judge Pitman, the candidate of the Prohibitionists, in a frank, friendly letter, says in substance that he has for many years advocated woman suffrage, and regrets that the Prohibition platform is silent upon the question. Mr. Adams (Democratic) replies that he is "unequivocally opposed." Mr. Washburn (Republican) has not yet been heard from.

The death of Mrs. Frodsham, an accomplished daughter of the favorite actress, Mrs. Seguin, has been announced. The circumstances are distressing. Her husband, Mr. Frodsham, who lived in the North Division of the city of Chicago, was away on the night of the fire, and Mrs. Frodsham, who had been an invalid for a long time, was very ill on that evening. When the fire approached her house she was removed to a church, where she became partially insane. Her husband spent two days and nights trying to find her, and was at last successful. She was removed to a friend's house and died on Sunday. The news reached Mrs. Seguin as she was performing in opera, and she was immediately seized with paroxysms.

I was once walking a short distance behind a very handsomely dressed young girl, and thinking as I looked at her beautiful clothes, "I wonder if she takes half as much pains with her heart as she does with her body?" A poor old man was coming up the walk with a loaded wheelbarrow, and just before he reached us, he made two attempts to go into the yard of a small house, but the gate was heavy and would swing back before he could get through. "Wait," said the young girl springing lightly forward, "I'll hold the gate open." And she held the gate until he passed in, and received his thanks with a pleasant smile as she went on. "She deserves to have beautiful clothes," I thought, "for a beautiful spirit dwells in her breast."—*Little Corporal*.

The fine old spirit of conservatism is not all dead. The following is an advertisement from an English paper: "Discipline—Wanted, the assistance of a kind, judicious lady, used to girls, and accustomed to apply the birch-rod. Part of time only required, and liberal terms arranged. A resident in London preferred." At the same time we doubt not that some Americans would prefer to make haste slowly, and fall back on the blessed memories when "female education in the best families went no farther than writing and arithmetic, and in some few and rare instances music and dancing." When the Boston schools were reorganized in 1790, girls were admitted during the summer months only, when there were not boys enough to fill them. These facts seem barbarous now.

"Few men have any idea of the mental life of women. It is a fashion to say that women don't think; but it is a mistake. My father died when I was twelve years old, and I was brought up with my mother and sisters. I know that they, and the ladies with whom they associated, were thinkers. There is a difference between your sex and ours. A man stands by his thought; carries it openly like a banner, which he is bound to defend, while you, apparently more impulsive, and with a reputation for greater spontaneity, are in reality much more reticent, and, in a certain sense, do your thinking on the sly. Among yourselves you think deeply, and express yourselves with vigor. In the presence of a man you

conceal your thoughts and express his. Whether it is a fault of your education, or of your approbation, I cannot tell, but such seems to be the fact."—*Correspondent*.

Of all the evils prevalent among men we know of none more blighting in its moral effects than to speak slightly of the virtue of women. Nor is there anything in which young men are so thoroughly mistaken as the low estimate they form of the integrity of women—not of their own mothers and sisters, but of others, who, they forget, are somebody else's mothers and sisters. As a rule, no person who surrenders to this debasing habit is to be trusted with any enterprise requiring integrity of character. Plain words should be spoken on this point, for the evil is a general one, and deep rooted. Let our young men remember that their chief happiness of life depends upon their utter faith in women. No worldly wisdom, no misanthropic philosophy, no generalization, can cover or weaken this fundamental truth. It stands like the record of God itself—for it is nothing less than this—and should put an everlasting seal upon lips that are wont to speak slightly of woman.—*Channing*.

A very clever correspondent has sent us a letter containing this query. She says: "I have been married many years; the match was considered a very good one, suitable in every respect—age, position and fortune. Every one said I had made a choice. Why, my dear Mr. Editor, I loved my husband when I married him because he had by unwearied assiduity succeeded in gaining my affections; but had choice been my privilege I certainly should not have chosen him. As I look at him in his easy chair, a huge dog at his feet, a pipe peeping out of one of the many pockets of his shooting-coat, I can but think how different he is from what I would have chosen. My first penchant was for a fashionable clergyman, a perfect Adonis, he was a flatterer, and he cared but little for me, though I have not yet forgotten the pang of his desertion. My next was a barrister; a young man of talent, smooth, insinuating manners; but he, too, after talking, walking, dancing and flirting, left me in the lurch. Either of these would have been my 'choice,' had I so chosen; but my present husband chose me, and therefore I married him; and this I cannot help thinking must be the way with half the married folks of my acquaintance."

In treating of the politics of women it would hardly be a possible thing to ignore the hegira of American women to Paris during the last twelve years. To gain Paris has been the end and aim of the ambitious dreams of many of our infatuated countrywomen. It has been to them what riding in a cart was to Tilly Slowboy—"the summit of human happiness, the highest pinnacle of earthly hopes." And once there, throwing appearances to the winds, these women led a career much more Parisian than that of the Parisians themselves, paying very little heed to the conventions, which are almost always regarded by Europeans. To be admired by the Emperor was a matter of boast—to be talked about became the great earthly good. Three American women, whose names are so well known that they would be immediately called in every club and in every parlor in New York, have a European infamy in this way, and unfortunately their example spread, for they were all handsome and gifted. They bought beautiful dresses for their friends at home—they were much courted by the more decent Americans, very glad to be admitted to the Tuilleries even by the back stairs.—*Lippincott's*.

OUTCAST CHILDREN.—Ten thousand human beings under the age of fourteen years are adrift in the streets of New York. Four-fifths of them are confirmed vagrants, and the majority are growing up in ignorance of everything but the depravity which is gleaned from the city slums, and all of them are being pushed by the relentless force of untoward circumstances into criminal practices in which many have become adepts in the dawn of their blighted lives. The major portion are boys rapidly preparing for the almshouse, prisons and gallows; but hundreds are girls, who have before them the dark horror of prostitution, as well as those appliances of civilization for the care or repression of the pauperism and lawlessness which it creates. It is this juvenile army of vagabondage and crime hanging upon the flanks of society, and occasionally starting it from its propriety by manifestations of immeasurable capacity for mischief, which is a prominent peril and the most sorrowful of the nether aspects of the city.—*Edward Crapery*.

Why the women of the Oneida Community wear the short dress is thus explained by the Circular:

"The short dress belongs to us chiefly because it is a badge of freedom, of freedom from the tyranny of fashion. It is an assertion of the right to occupy the heart and mind with higher things than dress; of the right to listen to God. It has cut us off from any part of the domain of fashion, and made wide the breach between us and those who find their life wholly in outward adornment. This is why the short dress is precious to us. But though we are incorrigible so far as the principle by which we hold the short dress is concerned, and do not care to argue about it, we can say one thing in which its critics ought to find consolation. The first deep motive of woman's adornment, it is generally assumed, is to attract the love and admiration of man. Every thoroughly candid woman, it is said, will confess this, and it is surely nothing to shame her who was 'made to be the glory of man.' It is for the love of man that woman, in following the vagaries of fashion, sacrifices peace of heart with mental improvement, and health and comfort and convenience. But the women of the community do not find it necessary to sacrifice these things to gain the affections of the men. They have the love of the men in the short dress, and much more of it than if they were disguised by fashion. There is no dearth of magnetism between the sexes in the community. If there were we might give some attention to the complaints of those who scold us for

not being more ornamental, that is, more fashionable. But how can we give heed to so small a thing, when our satisfaction in our social life is already so ample? We have the prize toward which all ornamentation aims; why, then, should we cumber ourselves with the inconvenience of fashion? What's the use?"

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. 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 gnarled boughs, and curiously crooked seats, his fragrant flowers and beautifully assorted bouquets. His twig and rustic baskets and flower-holders are justly accounted a charming ornament in the aristocratic saloons of Murray Hill.

BEAUTIFUL SNOW, AND OTHER POEMS, a new and enlarged edition, by J. W. Watson, is in press, and will be published in a few days by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia. In issuing the present new and enlarged edition, several other poems written by Mr. Watson have been added to it, viz.: "The Kiss in the Street," "I Would That She were Dead," "What I Saw," "Please Help the Blind," "Somewhere I Go," and "Swinging in the Dance." The poem which lends its name to the book, "Beautiful Snow," treats a well-worn subject with originality and feeling at once delicate and intense. The despair of the wretched outcast, as she watches the falling of the pure, beautiful, yet cold and unfeeling snow, and remembers that she was once as fair and pure, is depicted with true artistic effect. All the other poems in "Beautiful Snow" possess great interest, and display a lively and pleasant fancy, as well as a genuine hearty sympathy with all the joys and sorrows of humanity. They will take strong hold of the heart and memory, and will live and last, because they touch many chords of human sympathy. They will be published in one large octavo volume, printed on the finest tinted plate paper, and bound in morocco cloth, with gilt top and side, and beveled boards, price two dollars, and will be for sale by all booksellers, or copies will be sent by mail to anyone, free of postage, by the publishers, on receipt of price.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

1. There is a personal God, who ordered and rules the universe. We believe in Him.
2. We are of God—our bodies of His body—our souls of His soul—our spirits of His.
3. We live forever as we are—death is a change of clothing only. The dead, so called, are living. They walk about as we do; in the form, guard and converse with their friends.
4. We are each entitled to as much of the earth as we have need—no more. Whatever we have in excess is the property of others, and should be restored to the owners. So also as to self-control and the management of affairs.
5. Every one should be busy in productive industry. Idleness is a crime to the rich no less than to the poor. The surplus of storekeepers, grocers, brokers, and other middlemen constitute dead weight, and they should be transferred to useful occupations. Like gamblers and prostitutes, they keep the people poor. They cost too much.
6. We ought to be just. We wish to be so. But when we know that nine-tenths of the best men, and nearly half of the finer women, including many matrons, are unchaste, the few remaining pure men and the many pure women ought to place all the unchaste on a like basis. Why close our doors on a "fallen" woman, who fell because she was forced to, and who remains so because she can't help it, while we cordially invite the "teller" man who fell because he wished to, and remains because he desires it? Why deny to woman a part in public affairs, and the control of herself in business, notwithstanding a majority of women are purer, better and wiser than men?
7. There is but one truth. It is the harmonious co-operation of intelligences in maintenance, development and administration. Wherefore, let the living machinery of the world, now out of gear, be suffered to adjust itself. It will then operate harmoniously, and with great strength and beauty of performance.
8. The propelling power is God Almighty. Fear not. He will preserve its movements and direct its uses—keep it oiled, burnished and delightful to look upon. And men and women, old and young—all, everywhere, will be more Christlike, pure and noble, and enjoy more of the good things of life than ever yet was known. The sexes will enjoy more, children more, husbands and wives more, teachers and pupils more; officers, farmers, merchants, divines, physicians, lawyers, painters, poets, philosophers, artists, and, in fine, all, everywhere, will have that which few have ever had—perfect enjoyment of everything natural and sound, and with the approval of good conscience and of God.

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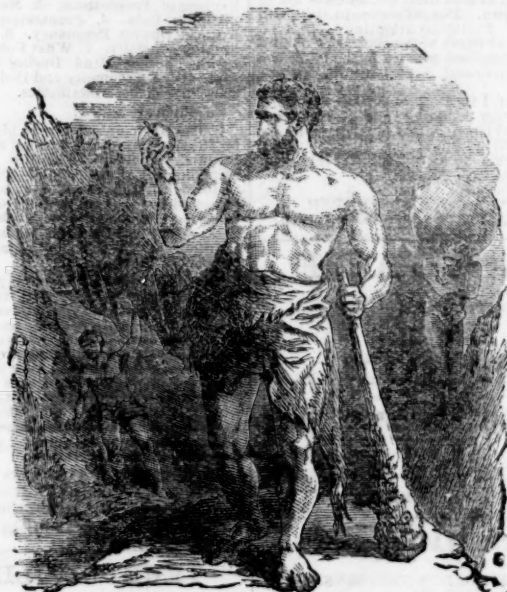
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