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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

It would seem as though everything conspired at once to bring them and their views before the public. First, the *Tribune* paraded them as the champion free-lovers by way of attacking its old enemies, the woman suffrage women; then one branch of the suffragists attacked them, while the other wing as vehemently upheld them, and lastly they were brought bodily before the public in the recent trial. These conflicting elements of notoriety were enough to have made any one famous for the moment, and ought to make their books sell. The chief element of curiosity, however, was in the fact that they were denounced so bitterly by the *Tribune* as free-lovers, while they were, on the other hand, 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.

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

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

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

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

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Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Each per copy.....	10
per 100.....	5 00

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Steinway Hall, N. Y., Monday, Nov. 20, at 8 P. M., on "The Principles of Social Freedom."
 Corinthian Hall, Rochester, N. Y., Wednesday, Nov. 22d: "The Great Political Issue."
 Bartholomew Opera House, Dunkirk, N. Y., Thursday, Nov. 23: "The Great Political Issue."
 Case Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, Friday, Nov. 24th: "The Principles of Finance."
 Young Men's Hall, Detroit, Mich., Saturday, Nov. 25th: "The Great Political Issue."
 White's Hall, Toledo, Ohio, Sunday, Nov. 26th: "The Great Political Issue."
 St. James Hall, Buffalo, N. Y., Monday, Nov. 27th: "The Great Political Issue."
 Farrar Hall, Erie, Penn., Tuesday, Nov. 28th: "The Great Political Issue."
 Mercantile Library Hall, Pittsburg, Pa., Friday, Dec. 1st: "The Great Political Issue."

SUFFRAGE CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

The National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee will hold a Convention at Lincoln Hall on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January, for the purpose of urging upon Congress the passage of a "Declaratory act" during the coming session.

Friends of Equal Rights are earnestly invited to make early arrangements for being present at this most important gathering.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President.

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, Chairman of Ex. Com.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.

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.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Nov. 18, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11:30 A. M., on Wednesday at 6 A. M., on Thursday at 6:30 A. M., and on Saturday at 7:30 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

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.

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).—Sunday, 3 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.

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

Section 12 (American).—The second and fourth Sunday in each month, 8 P. M., at No. 44 Broad street.

Section 13 (German).—The first and third Tuesday in each month, 8 P. M., at No. 301 East Tenth street.

MEETINGS OF THE SECTIONS.—Joint meeting of German sections in West Thirty-ninth street, Sunday eve, November 12. Nothing done; but a warm discussion was indulged in relating to the platform of the organization, and the need of a German newspaper devoted to its interests.—Section 2 (French), 100 Prince street, at 2 P. M. Here, also, there was lively debate, resulting in the unanimous revocation of a vote of censure passed upon its delegate to the Central Committee at a previous meeting, and his re-election to the office that he had resigned. This was an act of justice, performed with commendable promptitude. All honor to Section 2!—Section 6 (German), Friday eve, November 10, at No. 10 Stanton street. The report is long, and must be deferred. There was some discussion concerning the best means of reorganizing the Central Committee, whose functions terminate by limitation on the 1st of December next. Finally, the Section approved of a proposition that the new Central Committee shall consist of fifteen members, five from each nationality, to be elected at a mass meeting. The Section also approved of the Address to the Workingmen of America proposed by Section 1.—Section 12, at 44 Broad street, November 12. Unusual numbers of members of other sections were present. No business of importance, however, was transacted, except the adoption of the following paper, proposed by Mr. West, disapproving of the "Address to the Workingmen of America" referred to the several Sections by the Central Committee:

PROTEST OF SECTION 12.

Section 12 having heard read and duly considered the Address to the "Workingmen of America," emanating from Section 1, and submitted to the several Sections of the I. W. A. by the Central Committee, are reluctantly compelled to withhold their approval, for the following, among other reasons:

1. It unconstitutionally limits, by implication, membership of the I. W. A. to workingmen (so called), meaning thereby only those who work for wages. There is nothing in the proceedings of the several Congresses that warrants such a limitation. It is explicitly condemned by the letter and spirit of the Rules and Administrative Regulations issued by the General Council. It is not true, therefore, that the "common understanding or agreement" of the workingmen of all countries, of itself, standing alone, constitutes the Association. Into that understanding or agreement there enters another element, embracing the co-operation of everybody that will sustain the principles of the I. W. A., and those principles are all summed up in the statement of its object, which is simply the emancipation of working men and women by the conquest of political power. The founders of the organization were far too wise and sagacious to blame individuals for the conditions resulting from subsisting relations of capital and labor, which have been inherited. Accordingly, they sought to change those conditions by invoking the help of all that have been the victims of such relations, without imputing personal guilt to any one. There is, indeed, no guilt involved, except that in which all alike have participated; for if there were no subservience on the one hand, there would be no tyranny on the other, and although the statement that the emancipation of the working classes can only be conquered by themselves cannot be denied, yet it is true only so far as it describes the fact that the working classes cannot be emancipated against their will. It is not true in any sense which would exclude the co-operation of individuals of any class. That co-operation is invited, not repelled by the I. W. A., remembering that first of all, and above all, working men and women are human beings, before they are either laborers or capitalists—that their conditions of today are the result of the working of the whole of society of yesterday, even as their conditions to-morrow will be the result of that work of today.

2. It limits the action of the I. W. A. within a sphere not contemplated by its founders nor sanctioned by the proceedings of any of its hitherto recognized Representative bodies. In the enumeration of the Rules of the Association, the most important of them all, namely, that which says, "The economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means," is entirely omitted from the Address; this, too, in face of the fact, which is self-evident, that the "Normal Work-Day," "the new point of departure (so-called) of the working classes," cannot be attained until politics are made subordinate to the rights of labor by the substitution of the State in the place of the individual, and the power of the Almighty Dollar in the hands of poor men and women, in lieu of the Almighty Dollar in the pockets of rich men and women.

Section 12 would therefore recommend that this Address be returned to the Section in which it originated, for revision in accordance with the above-recited facts.

THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE I. W. A., HELD IN LONDON, ENG.

Through the delinquency of somebody, either on this or the other side of the Atlantic, the official account of the action of the above named Conference has been withheld.

The subjoined account of a meeting of the London members, which we find in *Reynolds' Newspaper* of Oct. 29th, may, however, afford some explanation of this interruption of communication:

A numerous meeting of the London members of the International was held at the central office, 256 High Holborn, W. C., to take into consideration the advisability of forming a Federal Council for England.

Mr. M. Maltman Barry was elected chairman, and saying, "he was glad to meet so many of his fellow-members to discuss the question of organization," called upon the secretary, Mr. John Hales, to state the object of the meeting.

Mr. Hales said it was the custom of the members of the general council to address each other as citizens, believing it to be the highest title that should be given to any man. The International claimed for every man the right of a citizen, and required every man to perform the duties of one. No duties without rights, and no rights without duties, ran through principles of the International. He trusted the English members would remember this, and would adopt the only prefix men should use to each other. The work of the general council had increased at a corresponding ratio with the progress of the association, and it was found impossible that it could devote its time to matters purely English, without the interests of the association as a whole being neglected. The late conference, therefore, after carefully discussing the matter, passed a resolution requesting the London branches to proceed to the formation of a Federal Council for England, so that the English members might undertake the direction of the English movement themselves, and bring the influence of the International to bear with greater force upon the labor struggle. This resolution had been communicated to the branches, and they had instructed him to call the present meeting.

Mr. Canham said he was glad the meeting had been summoned, for there never had been such a favorable opportunity before for making propaganda in England. The part played by the International in the Newcastle struggle had opened men's eyes to the great value of the association. He was an engineer himself, and was on the London Council which had been formed in support of the Nine Hours' League, and he could testify to the important services which had been rendered by the International, and he felt certain that if the proposed Council was formed, the progress of the association would be rapid.

Mr. Chaddocks agreed with Mr. Canham. There never was a stronger feeling in the country than at the present time.

Mr. Bradnick said the International was the only body that saw the importance of uniting the political and social struggles in one movement. In reality, the two were but different phases of the one struggle for emancipation.

Mr. Elliott thought the double struggle should be conducted by the International.

Mr. Roach said he quite agreed with the importance of taking immediate action. The privileges of the capitalists and landowners "were doomed." He would only give one bit of advice to the Council, and that was to avoid all religious controversy.

Mr. Mitchell said one thing proved the necessity for immediate action, and that was the continual inquiries that were being made from all quarters for information. The people recognized the fact that the International advocated the interests of labor.

Several other members also spoke, upon which the following resolution was carried unanimously:

"That this meeting accepts the instruction of the late conference, and resolves itself into a provisional Federal Council for London, to become the Federal Council for England, when the adhesion of the provisional branches is obtained."

Mr. Barry was then elected provisional chairman, and Mr. Hales provisional secretary, and the meeting adjourned.

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.]

PSYCHE ATTEMPTING TO VOTE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

ABBAYE OF THELEME, Nov. 5, 1871.

DEAR VICTORIA: "Our doubts are traitors, and make us lose the good we oft might win, by fearing to attempt."

"Faint heart never won fair lady," nor will a timid and timid soul ever obtain those rights of women which, like the touch of nature our sex symbolizes, will yet make the whole world kin.

Thus soliloquized I, as I determined to register my name as a voter, on the morning of Saturday, November 4, the last day of registration prior to the grand fight against Tammany on the ensuing Tuesday. In this frame of mind I donned my jaunty hat, adjusted to my Byronic collar a killing tie, after the sedulous manner of Beau Brummel, and with a fixed purpose decided to break through the thick array of strong legions of impudent men that surround the polls with blackguardism and tobacco fumes and juices, as if to exclude all decent spirits from voting, like the infernal incantations and vapors with which Hecate and her crew protect their vilest orgies. *C'est le premier pas qui conte*, and that step I screwed up my courage to the point of taking. I did not hesitate to consider whether success or failure would attend the attempt, for I had made up my mind that reason and argument would fail, and that only the most captivating smiles, bewitching glances, and sugared speech, would soften masculine force and positiveness.

I tell the girls that in this fight for our right, reason cold and hard must not be our only logic. I do not wish to see women dangling fawningly round the necks of men and suing to vote. We must take our claims so gracefully, charmingly and naturally that manhood will forever after be ashamed of having excluded truth, gentleness, grace and beauty from the hitherto unchivalric arena of politics. Above

everything in the world, do not let us, in assuming rights heretofore held to be exclusively male, forego for one moment the more refining attributes of our sex, nor spe one iota the angularities of the ungracious and awkward monster man. If woman is to acquire more force of intellect, more firmness and determination of purpose, let it be the strength of artistic beauty, touches of a sculptor's hammer, yielding at each blow another grace.

I undertook my morning's expedition with enthusiasm, for however Quixotic my attempt might seem in the eyes of casual thinkers, it was sublime in purport to me who dream of voting as the most exalted of duties to be consecrated hereafter by intellect and art. Nature marked the occasion with one of the halcyon days of the characteristic Indian summer of North America, just cool enough to bring a natural ruby to the cheek, and remind fashionable ladies that the tinge of the *Carthamus tinctorius* is a superfluity outvied by the delicate blending of warm blood and cool oxygen. I drank in with pleasure and exhilaration the ethereal champagne that seemed floating in the vivifying atmosphere as I hurried along with a gentleman friend who had, like Parker Pillsbury, determined not to register his name nor vote if mine should be refused.

The choice of places of registry seems also to have been dictated by a desire to exclude all elegance and sensitiveness therefrom. The one in my district was in the aristocratic shaving shop of a Teutonic Figaro, wherein the great unwashed of Third avenue are unharmed of their shoe-brush appendages. But this fact rather animated me with courage, as my memory reverted to recollections of the gentle Jasmin, the barber poet of Agen, whose verses have been the admiration of France, while he gains his bread by titivating the rustic Hodges of his native town; and to Olivier Le Dain who barbered, and at the same time inspired with his great political schemes the wily and far seeing Louis XI. Who knows but I might here encounter another Jasmin or some Figaro discarded by Almagro and condemned to minister to lesser souls? And what more appropriate place for the polls in these days than the place where polls are manipulated?

Not a whit intimidated, therefore, by the fear of the razor, I opened the door, entering a long, narrow, somewhat dark room, along which were ranged a file of high-backed chairs, in which were seated a corpse-like looking crowd enveloped in white shrouds, with their faces so besmeared with lather that I was not able, with all my psychical, physiognomical and craniological acumen, to discriminate the scale of these animals (undergoing their weekly Saturday's tonsorial absterion) in the ladder of Darwinian progress toward a truly conscious ens. This was not an appalling sight to my woman's nerves, and perceiving no formidable obstacle to my advance, not even so much as a knight of the chestnut club, I tripped along to the rear of the shop with my most graceful tete, praying my Ariel (I have one, like Belinda of the stolen lock) to suffuse my features with beguiling graces, and touch my tongue with siren-like eloquence, and dart from my eyes such fatal and magnetic *willados* as those ascribed by Moore to the lass of Killarney when he said:

"From the glance of her eye
Shun danger and fly,
For fatal is the glance
Of Kate Kearney."

Arrived at the very back of the room, running the gauntlet of these night-capped heads, like walking the hospital, I found myself in presence of these guardians of the sacred ballot. There were two men at the register table, with large, open books before them, while several others sat around—one in his shirt-sleeves, a black-eyed, humorsome-looking wight, the barber, as I afterward learned, and who really proved himself the most polite of the company, since when I declared my mission, forecasting some discussion, he offered me a chair.

With a Semiramis-like resolution, I was prepared for the worst; though not for the perpetration of so naughty a deed—no, not I—as that of the Duchess of Devonshire, who threw aside her dignity to grant to a huge and uncouth butcher, for his vote in favor of her candidate—oh horrors!—a kiss. The register who represented the Republican party, an exceedingly good-looking and gentlemanly person, smiled amiably as I told him I came to register my name. He said that it was the first call of the kind that had come before them and required consideration. I took from my pocket the law of New York on the subject, which provides that every citizen, without any male qualification shall be entitled to vote, and handed it to him to read. He seemed to have already considered the matter, and consented most willingly, as far as he was concerned, to accepting my name. But he could not do so, he said, without the approval of his coadjutor, a youthful and obtuse agent of Tammany, who sat opposite, with his face turned sullenly away, and whose sturdy and obstinate features reminded one of what Schiller says: "The lightning of the intellectual gods plays ineffectually upon the head of the *Dummheit*," his head being manifestly a non-conductor of thought. At this juncture the polite barber offered me a chair. I sat queen of the occasion. But how to mollify Tammany, in the person of my Hibernian antagonist, was my now perplexing thought. I looked at him entreatingly. I could not catch his glance. Unconsciously to himself, he instinctively shunned my psychological eye. Now to my wits, thought I. What the eye cannot accomplish, the tongue of blandiloquence must.

"For when success our politics attends,
Few ask if fraud or truth attain'd the ends."

I told how the Democrats had favored the cause of women; that we expected more from them, in the way of our demands, than from the Republicans. Five years ago, in Kansas, when Stanton, Anthony and Train were there, the Democrats were willing to give them the vote. This concession to Democracy enabled me to engage the attention of my Irish opponent, and a faint smile diffused itself over his stolid features. My Republican friend, well-versed in political history, and familiar with the numberless demonstrations since given to the woman's cause by the Republicans, talked eloquently for his party. Inwardly pleased with his arguments, I could not deny them, yet with Talleyrand strategy I questioned his statements and sustained the Democratic side, manifestly to the mortification of the bucolical journal of the Tammany tribe, who shook his head with milder dissent. "Enough of argument," said the Republican; "will you take the lady's name?" "I am opposed to woman's voting," he answered. I asked, in my most dulcet and winning accents, "Why are you opposed?" He was silent. Men either are without reason or boast of too much. Fie on men's powers of ratiocination! Where is the man whose reason has taught him that there is for humanity no progress until woman's thorough freedom is established. *Lais*, a Corinthian courtesan,

one of the most famous musicians of antiquity, and a favorite of Diogenes and Aristippus, used to ridicule the wise men of her day. "I do not understand what is meant by the austerity of philosophers," she said, "for, with this fine name, they are as much in my power as the rest of the Athenians."

The old Rosicrucians held that to think of a spirit was to invoke and obtain its magnetic influence, and perhaps it was this vision of the fascinating *Lais* in my mind, which the occasion had called up, that may have instilled some sense of gallantry into the souls of the bystanders. "Put the lady's name down," said several of them, reiteratedly. I leaned over and looked coaxingly into the face of the savage of Tammany and said, "I will allow the gentleman to reconsider his decision." More argument ensued and discussion. The Republican decided, in these words, "I shall take the lady's name if even you refuse." Both gentlemen took up their pens and on their books inscribed my humble cognomen. *To triumph*, I gratefully muttered, and said, "Now, gentlemen, since I have given you my name, I beg to ask for yours, which shall be recorded lastingly in my remembrance. Having received their names, curtseying most profoundly, I bade adieu to the scene of my first public effort to obtain a vote.

P. S.—Nov. 10.—Of my after attempt to vote, I have but a few words to say. On presenting myself at the polls the Democratic Inspector of Election told me that my name had been erased from the registry by a majority of the Board, though the Republican said that he had retained it upon his book. It was in vain to protest against this tyrannical act, the only answer I received being, "In my opinion you are not entitled to vote." F. R. M.

"PERSISTENT REMAINDERS"—WOMAN AND CIVILIZATION, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Editors Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

LADIES: I send you the following, as received by me from a spiritual source; it seems to have a direct bearing on your work. I am not aware to what extent the views taken as to the connection of woman's inferiority in culture with the decline of ancient civilization can be historically sustained; those better informed can, perhaps, give an opinion.

ALFRED CRIDGE.

"Persistent remainders" is an expression calculated to convey ideas entirely inaccurate. We are not "remainders," we are the *whole*, with a change of form—a loss of what is comparatively dress, and an addition of power to be ourselves for which you vainly strive. * * * While we have no desire to trench on the prerogatives of those in the flesh, we are not aware of having ceased to have a right to intervene in the affairs of a world which is ours as much as yours, and which we did as much to shape as you. I know not why our rights should be considered lessened by an extension of experience, nor why centuries, during which we have added lives to our previous life, should be deemed a disqualification for judicious counsel. The man can be a counselor of the boy even in his sports; and we know not why continuity of observation and a larger experience should debar us from aiding in bringing about certain results. Doubtless observation of an advanced society should not disqualify us from attempting to place your society on the same plane. An experience which is akin to prophecy is not the least desirable qualification for a reformer; and if there can be imparted that which is virtually an experience of the future to those whose experience can only be that of the past, who says nay? We have seen in other worlds those social conditions which this world, as it progresses, must near in a parallel route, and we hail with delight the opportunities thus presented to help you to such conditions. Thus there is a use, not inapt to the occasion, in even the orators and philosophers of an ancient civilization operating upon a modern one. Knowing experimentally the rocks on which the former went to pieces, we are better prepared to navigate so that the latter may not do likewise. * * * Institutions versus men were then, as they are now, the impelling cause of disability in the direction of self-reliance. Society then demanded the inferiority of women in one form, now in another; but the principle is the same, and can be met now but could not have been then. Inferiority of woman was the main cause of the fall of the ancient civilization, operating by the introduction of an effete religious system, which introduction was possible because women were open to influences which men had nearly outgrown, but to which they were afterward compelled to succumb. Of proved inefficacy in India, this religion reached in another modification to Europe, and produced the dark ages. It is still strong enough to blight almost every progressive idea, and can be overcome only by educating the sex which is most open to its influences to a political, intellectual and social equality with man. Knowing this, seeing this, we move the lever which moves the world; and well may we exclaim, as did Archimedes on another occasion of another principle, that we have found it! This lever is *woman*—woman educated, woman freed, woman participant, become not only mightier but holier, stronger to work, stronger to be free, stronger for the inauguration of a new civilization ere the old shall decay. She alone can renovate the civilization which is perishing into one that is imperishable. She alone can impart to it a vitality enduring as the heavens; she alone can unite the tangled threads separated in endless convolutions amid the social complications of a mixture of races and religions. She alone is mighty to unravel by her intuition that which intellect can only confound. Intuition and knowledge go together, and thus fulfill the rounded law of completeness.

This fulfillment is indispensable to the security of that amount of civilization which has been acquired; and must

undoubtedly be achieved only by a union of the sexes in the work. They who would introduce any antagonisms of the sexes are the worst enemies of both; for in the enlargement of the sphere of uses and of action, lies that harmony of both which is essential to completeness. Tyrant and slave are no more in the aura of a holiness which is beautiful and a freedom which is the very essence of order; and when the artistic, the spiritual, the perfect and the strong are blended, the task is achieved; the foundations of a new heaven and a new earth are laid. Thenceforward there is no retrocession, no declension from a false civilization to an untutored nature; no recession into the depths of anarchy to obtain the raw material for reconstruction, but all is growth, all is life, all is peace. It is nature's growth, which is noiseless; it is nature's life, which is imperceptibly unfolded; it is nature's peace, which is boundless, ceaseless, endless activity.

As the azure sky to the green forest, as the rippling waters to the granite banks, so shall woman be to man—glorious in her gentleness, powerful in her purity.

From the Baltimore Sunday Telegram of October 29 we clip the following:

"It is Victoria Woodhull who has been pronounced insane. Queen Victoria has only rheumatism in the foot."

We feel the same in regard to Mrs. Woodhull's insanity as the Irishman did about his friend's sickness: Pat's friend being drunk, and after coaxing him till he was tired, he resorted to rather rough measures to get him home, an old lady who was passing remonstrated with him for treating a sick man in such a cruel manner. Pat, looking at her with a cunning grin, said, "Be gorra, it's myself that would look to have half his sickness."

Let me here add that I think it would be a great benefit to the world if more of our women had half Victoria C. Woodhull's craziness. E. G. G.

LAWRENCE, Kas.

EDITORS WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: The following, which is an extract from a letter written by a friend of woman suffrage from St. Louis to the *Kansas State Journal*, after the general election in 1868, should be reproduced in your excellent paper with proper notice:

"Leavenworth should be occasionally reminded of the glorious stand she took in advance of all others in this movement. This may save her people from lukewarmness in our cause, and encourage other parts of the State to do their whole duty in this regard." Respectfully, etc., G. E. C.

COLUMBUS, August 21, 1871.

The "noise to be heard round the world" is already echoed all over this continent, and, like the sound of many waters, is passing in this direction toward the setting sun. All hail the Victoria league. We pass the most friendly greeting all along the woman's rights line, and bid Madam Woodhull and the good cause God-speed. Arm, arm, we throw a bold defiance in the enemy's teeth. Your friend and fellow-citizen,

RICHARD OF YORK.

WENDELL PHILLIPS AND ANNA E. DICKINSON.

The difference between these two reformers, judging them by their latest utterances on the Labor Question, is mostly a difference in range of vision. Phillips is a long-range telescope which sees objects afar—the moons of Saturn and the planets beyond. Dickinson is a shorter-range telescope, whose powers of vision stretch to Venus and the planet Mars. In exact proportion to their powers of sight both are intense Radicals; critics, also, of the most incisive sort. Among Labor Reformers, Phillips is transcendently the iconoclast of the western hemisphere. Dickinson sees mostly the unwisdom and shortsightedness of the Labor Reform party. Phillips excites these, beholding them as a means to an end—the incipient beginnings of a mighty revolution. Phillips suggests a remedy for the ills we bear and is affirmatively and profoundly sympathetic. Dickinson suggests a remedy, but is only negatively sympathetic. Phillips plants his eyes on the central cause of the distress of nations; but as yet has only partially revealed it. Dickinson suggests cooperation only, but does not see the central cause of our woe. Phillips puts the case in this fashion:

"The man who with his hands digs clams out of the sea shore, or climbing a tree gathers apples; or one who fashions a hoe out of hard wood, is a pure, simple laborer, and is entitled to what he gets and makes. The man who makes such a hoe one day and, working with it the next day, digs twice as many clams as when he used his hands alone, is capitalist and laborer united. He works with a tool, which is capital, the result of past labor. He too is an honest laborer and entitled to all he gets. The man who works a week and makes ten such hoes, then joins nine less skilled men with himself, and they, the ten, share fairly the product of his hoes, and their toil, introduces co-operation and a just civilization, a system which seems to hold within itself every possible safeguard against misuse, and to be full of the seeds of all good results. The man who, having made such a hoe, lets it to another less skilled man to dig clams, receiving an equivalent for its use, is a capitalist. Such a system has no inherent, essential injustice in it, and, if it can be properly arranged and guarded serves civilization. The difficulty is to guard it from degenerating into despotism and fraud."

It is thus seen that, in two squares of type, Phillips has focalized the vast range of his mental telescope and pitifully presented to our vision the wages side of the labor problem. One thing he has failed to do, namely, to show us what is a fair equivalent for the use of the hoes. Do this, and the vast problem is solved. I will do it presently. But before I make the attempt, I will present Phillips' view of the capitalists' side of the question. I beseech the reader to note how admirably he does it:

"The man who, getting possession of a thousand such hoes, sits with idle hands and no mental effort but selfish cunning, and arranges a cunning network of laws and corporations, banks and currency, interest and 'corners,' to get seven out of every ten clams that are dug, is a drone. We mean by an honest system to starve him out and compel him to work. The man who sits in Wall street, and by means of bank credit buys up all this year's clams to raise the price, who, taking fifty thousand honestly-earned dollars, makes a 'clam-digging company,' bribes newspapers to lie about it,

creates ten banks and locks up gold, or arranges a corner to depress its stock, then buys up every share, makes ten more banks and flows the land with paper and sells out, retiring after a week of such labor with a fortune, is a thief. Such thieves of the past we propose to leave undisturbed. Our plan is to make such thieves impossible in the future."

Yes, Phillips, that's the plan. But there are others besides Wall street thieves that must be made impossible in the future. There are profit thieves, rent thieves, interest and dividend thieves. There must be an end of these also. But how to do it. This brings us to the question—*What would be a fair equivalent for the use of the hoe?* The answer is—The cost of making them, if they should be used till they are worn out. If but half worn out, but half the cost should be paid. If but one-fourth worn out, but one-fourth the cost should be paid. If there be no perceptible wear by use, then nothing should be paid.

From these self-evident truths it logically follows: 1st. That when the rents paid for the use of property amount to the cost of the property, such property should revert to the renter.

When the interest paid for the use of loaned money amounts to the money loaned, indebtedness to the lender is canceled, after he is paid for his service in loaning the money. Hence, all national debts should be obliterated when the interest paid amounts to the debt and the lenders are paid a fair remuneration for their service in lending.

3d. When dividends amount to the cost of the interest, in which such interest—whether it be a railroad, a cotton mill, a foundry, a farm, a coal, copper, silver or a gold mine—should revert to the people, and henceforth should be run at cost for the benefit of the people.

4th. Hence, all goods and merchandise of every sort should be sold at cost, and service only in selling should be paid.

5th. As the land and all that is beneath its surface, the water courses, the fishes of the sea, the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, the air we breathe, the forests and sunlight, are the gifts of nature to the human race, and therefore cost nothing, nothing should be charged for their use, nor should they be monopolized. Therefore, whatever interests have been allowed to grow up by a monopoly of these gifts of God to the race, after they have been equitably paid, as they should be, such interests should revert to the people, for the benefit of the whole people and their posterity.

This article will be continued, when I shall make a specific application of these fundamental principles, to Rents, Interests, Profits and Dividends. W. HANSON.

COMMUNAL MARRIAGE.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: Sir John Lubbock, in his "Origin of Civilization," gives numerous facts to show that among the aboriginal tribes, marriage, as now defined and recognized by law, had no existence. Couples mated according to fancy and separated without scruple when either lost a partiality for the other. Sometimes this freedom took the form of Communal Marriage, no one individual having special and exclusive claims to another in marital relations.

Now, it seems that "civilization," as we call it, instead of refining and spiritualizing the "institution" as it thus presents itself crudely and imperfectly in the state of nature, has artificially and arbitrarily substituted something radically different. It has not improved the freedom which nature dictated, but has thrust servitude into its place.

Now civilization is an improvement on the savage state. Note the word—*improvement*; implying that the germ is presented in the primitive experience; which knowledge and culture are to ripen and perfect. But our legal marriage, an indissoluble bond, is not, does not pretend to be, a perfecting of that germ. On the contrary, it roots the germ out, destroys it entirely and in its place plants a seed wholly foreign to nature, and legitimates its growth by law and ceremony.

On the other hand, Free Love, by no means taking as perfect and complete the natural Communal Marriage, accepts it as germinal only, and so cultivates and purifies nature's own growth. Who cannot see in this obvious distinction between an institution of nature in its crude and in its cultivated state a solid difference between free love and free lust, and between free love and constrained love—rather, marriage apart from love? E. J.

THE FALL OF MAN.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: There is one argument urged in favor of man's right to rule in the political world, and against woman's right to participate in the business of legislation, that has never been fully met, so far as I have observed, by the advocates of woman's enfranchisement. I mean the doctrine of the so-called "Fall of Man." This has always been the most effective weapon the believers in the divine authenticity of the Scriptures have wielded against the recognition of her equality. Indeed, it is the only basis of nearly all they have to say on the subject. Remove this, and what would become of the anathemas of the Pope and the thunders of the Heekers, the Todds and the Fultons?

Now this is just what I propose to do. I aver that the Bible does not teach any such doctrine. It matters not that the assertion has been made many millions of times; that hundreds of millions believe it, or, rather, assent to it; that the doctrine has been current in the Christian Churches for centuries without being questioned; is now taught by nearly all the Christian denominations; is reiterated from a hundred thousand pulpits every Sunday, and still forms the staple stock of all the damnation sermons that blaspheme the Most High and profane humanity. The doctrine is not in the Bible.

Were such an abominable doctrine taught in that book I should be obliged to regard the book as a fiction or a fraud. My reason could never accept it. Nor does any one's reason accept it. Those who assent to it do not pretend that it is reasonable. But they say it is taught in the Bible, and therefore must be assented to, reasonable or unreasonable. Will there not be joy unspeakable in millions of souls when they understand that their cherished "Word" contains nothing of the kind?

I am prepared to show that the Bible contains no such dreadful and pernicious doctrine, and is, indeed, a better book than its best friends have ever imagined.

The doctrine of the "Fall of Man" rests on the following propositions, either of which being untrue, the whole doctrine falls: 1. The Bible teaches that the devil tempted Eve to sin. 2. The Bible teaches that Eve tempted Adam to sin. 3. The Bible teaches that Adam, when called to account, accused Eve of tempting him to sin.

Now the Bible makes neither of these statements. All of these statements must be found in the Bible to make the doctrine of the "Fall;" but not one of them is there.

There is no language employed in the Bible which, properly interpreted, can be made to express any such meaning. No fall is mentioned, no devil is named. Eve does not say that the devil tempted her; Adam does not say that Eve tempted, misled, or in any manner deceived him; on the contrary, like a true gentleman as he was, when called on to give an account of something which had occurred, he justified both himself and his "better half." Moreover, what the serpent (not the devil) told Eve turned out to be literally true. By what strange perversity of judgment can a truth told by the serpent be tortured into a lie told by the Devil?

Some ingenious writer has remarked, in view of the horrid dogmas and monstrous absurdities taught by college-bred theologians, that "the best religious creed is that which a child would approve." We need some unsophisticated child to interpret the Bible to us. Surely no such mind, young or old, on reading Genesis, would ever suspect any devil, temptation, fall from grace, and a curse on all posterity for all ages.

I repeat, the doctrine of the "Fall of Man" is not taught in the Bible, and if the readers of your WEEKLY will appeal from these theologians who so flippantly quote the Scripture on this subject (and invariably misquote it) to the record itself, they will find no such doctrine there.

What then, it may be asked, are we to think of this tremendous bugbear of "original sin" by woman, which has "seducing" her for ages? Think what you must. It is my present purpose only to explain an error, not to find a substitute for it. If the doctrine of the "Fall" is not in the Bible there is the end of that matter.

But I wish to say, in conclusion, that I am a believer in the "Mosaic account of creation." I am not very sure that Moses wrote it, but whoever did write it told the truth, not literally, but allegorically. In this sense the allegory which brings the first pair, or man and woman, to the knowledge of each other in the sexual relations, represents a philosophical truth most beautifully to those who can penetrate the mystic dress of the language to the real life and spirit of the story. It is not my purpose, however, to expound the Scriptural teachings in this article, but simply to relieve the cause of "woman's rights" (which I believe to be the cause of man's salvation) of the disadvantage and odium of being "contrary to the Bible." DOCTOR.

POLYGAMY vs. FREEDOM.

I am not a believer in Mormonism nor in all that is recorded in that book called the Bible. But the course our government is pursuing toward the Mormons in Utah should arouse the serious attention, if not the indignation, of every enlightened mind in this country. The orthodox creedists tell us that the Bible is infallible in every respect, and to doubt its divine inspiration is to be stigmatized as an infidel. According to that book ten passages can be found to sustain polygamy to one against it. It is a part and parcel of the Mormon religion, and they have as good a right to enjoy it as any other denomination of so-called Christians, so long as they do not interfere, or injure others. It is conceded by all that not only Salt Lake City, but Utah as a Territory, is the most moral, temperate and virtuous place on the continent. Is not their religion, then, the most exemplary? But there is something deeper and darker that underlies this whole movement. It is an attempt to strike a death-blow to religious liberty in this country; to overthrow that liberty of speech and thought that our forefathers shed their precious blood to sustain. If this Mormon persecution is tolerated, Heaven only knows where it will end. The moment man's religion is proscribed, just that moment will be introduced one of the most bloody wars that was ever known in the world's history. For one, I am free to declare that I never will cast a vote for an administration that proscribes what religious views I must entertain; and I call upon all spiritual and liberal minds to look at this matter in its true light, and to repair at once to the ballot-box and assert their sovereignty, and hurl such demagogues from office. WHITE.

WOMAN AT THE POLLS.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: Well, our votes have been refused after registration. But we have demonstrated one fact by our efforts—that women may visit the polls, unattended by father, husband or brother, with the same security and freedom from insult that they do the Post Office.

Being advised that my late protracted visit to the South might vitiate my resident qualifications as a voter, I did not offer my own ballot, but attended the polls at the Second District of the Twenty-second Ward with a lady friend who had all the qualifications of residence. On entering the small, crowded shop, the gentlemen present made room for us to pass to the rear of the apartment. Here a police officer requested those standing around the voting boxes to allow the ladies to approach the table—which they did at once. Here I inquired if they would accept our votes. The answer came promptly, "We cannot accept the votes of women." I responded, "Very well," and we retired without encountering a look or a word that was not respectful. Indeed, I feel assured that officers and people, from the sympathy they have manifested, are ready to admit that women are citizens, and, as such, are entitled to the franchise, and only the Declaratory act is needed to convince the most sceptical that it is just as practical and proper for a lady to drop a vote in the ballot box as to drop a letter in the post office.

The many abuses in our government call loudly for the aid of women to redeem the country from the evils inseparable from a purely male administration.

Give us the "Declaratory Act" and we pass peaceably into the exercise of the duties and the enjoyment of the privileges of citizens; refuse us this, and I speak advisedly when I say that the next move will be *revolution*. Injustice and oppression are ever lulled by a fancied security, but the condition of involuntary servitude is favorable to the development of all the vices of secrecy and deceit. As women, we have been schooled in hypocrisy and duplicity until our deep souls revolt against the oppression that compels us to so belie our sincere and earnest natures. The most docile wife has that hid in her heart which only needs the "Sesame" to pass to a flame. Many seemingly contented wives would almost risk the salvation of their souls to make their masters feel for one day the humiliation they have endured unconsciously for years.

If this is true of the favorites of fortune, what may not be said of the great crowd of women who rush into every folly, or are doomed to severest toil, by unjust laws and the oppressive customs growing out of them. Laws

and customs that disfranchise, prescribe their pleasures, limit their fields of labor and curtail their wages all on the plea of sex. We have, gentlemen, very generally arrived at the knowledge that sex is a crime punishable by law. We are deprived of citizenship, taxed without representation, governed without our consent, not allowed a jury of our peers. And in the language of '76, we say, "It is our right, it is our duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for our future security," and woman's heart to-day is ready to re-echo the words of Patrick Henry—"Give me liberty or give me death." Up to this time we have repaid our injustice and oppression with such caricatures and moral abortions as have made you blush with shame. We have given you sons and daughters blind, deaf, dumb, deformed, idiotic; we have given you frail snow-drops who dissolved at the first breath of miasma. All those protests against oppression you have looked upon as dispensations of Divine Providence. You will learn these to be the legitimate fruits of male domination. Our secret service system reaches to every hearthstone, our bond of union is strong as truth, our signs and pass-words defy masculine scrutiny, our communications are independent of the printed page. We point you a safe passage from fancied to real security; from partial to complete republicanism; from the oppression of half of the community to equal rights and privileges in the Declaratory Act.

Yours, to the bitter (or sweet) end,

MARY A. LELAND.

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH.

The following, clipped from the *Western Christian Advocate*, shows the gradual change going on in public opinion in regard to women as lecturers. It shows, too, how willing men are to plume themselves and air their notions of things, while yielding to the impetuous demand for a wider sphere for woman's labor, by admitting that it is possible she may do some good in a "modest, unassuming Christian" way. Some conservative reviewer has said that while attending the Wheeling Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, "the congregation was large and the exercises of a very interesting character. Addresses were made by Dr. T. H. Logan, the President; Mrs. Hagans and Miss Lizzie Boyd. I am no advocate of 'Woman's Rights,' as expounded by Mrs. Stanton and her coadjutors, but while listening to the eloquent and earnest addresses of these two modest, unassuming Christian women, I felt that there was in all our churches women to whom God has given the 'right' and the ability to labor in His cause, but who are deterred by an absurd prejudice or a false modesty."

We would like to ask how long it is since this minister of the Gospel discovered that "God had given the right" to women to make public address, and whether "Mrs. Stanton and her coadjutors" had not assisted him in making this discovery. Who has helped women, even "modest, unassuming women," to speak in public if not Mrs. Stanton? Who has braved the way, even to persecution hour by hour, that women might have broader privileges, if not those who ask for a broader recognition than merely speaking in behalf of foreign missionaries.

We all remember the difficulties with which Mrs. Van Cott met in order to be recognized as a modest, unassuming Christian woman and worker among the heathen at home; and we are all aware too that had not the martyr's cross been borne by brave women, like Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, Mrs. Van Cott and a hundred others would never have attempted to speak in Christian churches, even as modest, unassuming women. ETNA.

A LAST APPEAL TO WOMEN.

Congress is about to assemble; it has the power to compel the States to admit you to suffrage; it remains with you to say whether you will have it or not. A decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia tells you that you have the right to vote by virtue of being made citizens, but that the right is in abeyance until legislation makes it active, and says it is the sphere of Congress to make such laws as are required to bring the right into full and free exercise. Indeed, the Amendment itself provides that Congress shall have the power to enforce the provisions of this Amendment by appropriate legislation. Now, if this Amendment has conferred citizenship on women, what more appropriate legislation than to give action and vitality to its rights?

Every man and every woman, then, should at once sign his or her name, and obtain the names of all neighbors, to the following petition, and send the same to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, 231 North Capitol street, Washington, D. C.:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

We, the undersigned, believing that since women are citizens of the United States, under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, they should be permitted to exercise the citizens' right to vote, which is also acknowledged by the Constitution to be a right of citizens, subject to be regulated and established, and never to be disestablished or prohibited, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to enact such laws as shall in your wisdom be necessary to secure to them the exercise of the elective franchise, subject only to such rules and regulations as men.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

THE WOMAN MARKET.

The idea of a woman as a piece of property is the basis of all the evils of that compacted barbarism we call civilization.

Regarded as property in her maiden or married condition, the widow is the "relict" of her proprietor. The Hindus used to burn such abandoned possessions, not inconsistently with our Christian socialism.

Being a chattel, a thing, a possession, a piece of goods, it is requisite that the landlord and owner use his own, and somehow get the value out of that which is his.

Unfortunately, the only use most men can imagine for woman is a sexual passion one, the charm of cohabitation being in the fact that housekeeping offers supreme facilities for feeding, lodging and coition.

Doubly unfortunate, woman is not less ignorant, even if more dissatisfied, than man; hence they suffer together, the master and the slave engendering mutual damnation, with an outgrowth of perdition. E. S. WHEELER.

THEORY OF MONEY.

A NEW CURRENCY AND A NEW CREDIT SYSTEM.

BY ALBERT BRISSENE.

—THIRD ARTICLE.

The preceding articles were devoted to theoretical investigations; we now come to the practical part of the problem; namely, the mode of creating a true Currency; of regulating its issues, and of determining the basis of Credit.

We shall explain briefly the mode in which the new Currency should be created.

Let it be borne in mind that a true Currency must possess the following attributes:

1. It must be non-monopolizable by individuals, classes or corporations.
2. It must be non-interest bearing.
3. It must be devoted to the service and interests of Productive Industry.
4. It must be the true Representative of real wealth.
5. It must be in exact equilibrium, as to its issues, with the industrial wants of Society.
6. It must be created and introduced by the State or Collective Interest.

To understand these conditions, let it be borne in mind that *real wealth consists in the products of labor*—in the food, clothing, dwellings, and other objects, which minister to man's wants and comforts, and aid his moral development. On a desert island, where no products are created, money can buy nothing, and is useless. Money is merely a sign used to represent products; it stands for them all, and thus facilitates their exchange—their purchase and sale; this is its function and use. Now if it be clearly seen that real Wealth consists in the products of labor, and that money is merely a means or instrumentality which serves to effect their exchange, it will become evident that money should be nothing more than the sign or representative of products; that it should be based upon them, and that it should have no existence separate from or independent of them. It should be merely a symbol, not a reality. The defect of the Specie Currency is that it is a Reality; that it has an intrinsic value, based on that of the metals of which it is composed; that it is separate from and independent of that which it should represent. Our Greenbacks are based on the responsibility of the Government, on its supposed power to redeem them by taxation; they again are defective as a currency, having merely a supposititious foundation, and representing government responsibility, not products.

Few persons arrive at clear and precise ideas on any subject. On that of the Currency, our best political economists even seem to have very confused ones; they accept the specie currency as the true and natural one, showing that they have made no exact analysis of the nature and function of Money. We have endeavored to present above one idea clearly; namely, that a true Currency should represent the products of industry and other values which men wish to exchange with each other, and nothing else. If our conception of this function of money be true, it condemns all our existing currencies, for none of them fulfill this representative function.

We will now present our plan for creating the true Currency; we submit it to the consideration of men of intelligence; if they reject it, let them study the subject and find a better.

The new Currency is to be created by Governments.

In this country, the plan could more easily be carried out by a State than by the general Government. If undertaken by one of the States of the Union, the mode of procedure would be as follows:

The State Government would establish a State Bank with Branches. The central Bank would be located at the Capital, provided with all the means necessary to prepare the new Currency, and with an organization for registering and issuing it to the branch Banks. These latter would receive the Currency from the central Institution and loan it to the public.

The new Currency would be made of a cheap and convenient material. As paper fulfills these conditions, and the people are accustomed to it, the new currency would be made to resemble our present bank-notes, and would be of various denominations from \$1 to \$1,000. It would be furnished by the central to the local Banks in amounts proportional to the business wants of their localities, and would be loaned in a manner which we shall presently describe.

In connection with each of the local Banks, a large Storehouse or Depot, properly constructed and arranged for the reception and storage of the staple products of the country, would be erected. The producers and owners of products would store them in these Depots, receiving certificates of deposit, stating the quantity and the quality. With these certificates as collateral security, they could obtain loans from the Bank. About three-quarters of the value of the products deposited would be the amount loaned. The Banks would act as agents or factors for the sale of the products. Samples from all the local Storehouses would be kept at the general depot, located at the commercial centre of the State. Sales could be made from these samples at the latter, as at the former points. Owners would direct when such sales should take place. These Depots would soon replace the numerous little storehouses of individuals; they would become the great centres of the commercial

operations of the country, the medium through which the exchange of the bulk of products would be effected. The present irresponsible and arbitrary commercial system, which permits individuals to control the exchange of products, to speculate upon and spoliate productive industry, would come to an end—at least as regards the staple products of the country. A fine illustration would thus be furnished of what could be done, if the entire commercial system were conducted on principles of equity and economy.

Thus loans would be made on the deposit of staple products—of products that are sure of sale, and not liable to spoil or deteriorate. In the great commercial depots of the State, the farmer, the manufacturer and other producers would store their products, and order them sold or sent to any point. On depositing their products, they would receive certificates; and with these certificates they would either sell direct themselves, or could obtain loans from the Banks.

The Currency issued by the Banks would represent these products; it would therefore be a true Representative of products or real wealth, which, as we have said, is one of the essential characteristics of a true Currency. In fact, every Product on being deposited would become Money—would be transformed into currency; and could exchange itself with any and all other products; whereas, at present, it must first find a buyer and be converted into specie; if it cannot do this, it cannot be exchanged.

The management of the Banks would be simple and economical; a cashier, teller and book-keeper would be all that would be required in most cases. The Banks would charge on loans just enough, as we stated, to cover the cost of management; which would not exceed one per cent. per annum.

Loans would not be made on promissory notes, however well indorsed; they furnish, first, no true standard for the amount of Currency to be put in circulation; and, second, they give rise to bad debts, favoritism, speculation, financial mismanagement, and to inflations and contractions, which lead in turn to commercial disasters.

Loans would be made only on the security of products—and on staple products, the sale and consumption of which are considered certain.* They would be made, first, on products stored in the depots; second, on bills of lading of products in transit; third, on products which are ordered and are in process of creation, the acceptance and payment of which are guaranteed. Loans made on any other conditions would not be perfectly safe; the Currency would not have a sound and secure basis on which to rest; above all, no standard would exist, we repeat, by which to regulate the amount of issues; the true standard being the amount of exchanges of products—that is, of legitimate commercial transactions to be effected.

Such, at the commencement, should be the regulating principle to be followed; at a later period, when order and method were introduced into the industrial system, the basis of credit could be extended and modified. Labor—which is the primary source of production and of value—would be made the basis and standard. But as it would first be necessary to determine and fix the Value of Labor, and as this has not been done, the tangible embodiment—the product of labor—must be taken in its place.

When the products of a borrower are sold, the proceeds of the sale would go into the Bank. The amount of the loan, together with the charge for the use of the currency, would be deducted and retained, and the surplus paid to him; the operation will then be closed.

As we stated, a general Sample Office for the sale of all the products of the State would be established, at the commercial centre; and States distant from the seaboard might have one at some large seaport, like New York, Boston or New Orleans. The system could even be extended to foreign countries, and sample offices organized in their great marts. For example, it would be very easy for a cotton State to have such offices in Liverpool and Havre, ship to them and sell direct to foreign manufacturers, thus saving the expense of intermediate transshipments, storages and cartages, and the profits paid to home and foreign shippers, brokers and speculators.

If a cotton-growing State, say Louisiana for example, were to establish the system proposed, with the central Bank, and its vast depots at New Orleans, it is very certain that the Planters would send to those depots, in preference to commission merchants, their cotton and other products; the Bank would act as their factor, and sell their cotton for them at New York or Boston, at Liverpool, Havre or Hamburg, as they might direct; it would even charter vessels for transportation, and manage the business on a large and economical scale. The Bank would make loans to the planters on the security of their crops; so that they could obtain the credit they required. By such a system, a large sum would be saved to them, now expended in interest, usury, commissions, waste and cost of transportation.

Let us examine the character of the Currency which would be issued by the State Bank of Louisiana. Every dollar would be a draft, accepted in advance and sure to be paid, for

* It is use or consumption that gives value to a product; it is valueless—It is as if it had not been created, if it does not find a purchaser and consumer. A bootmaker, for example, may make a pair of boots, but if no one buys and uses them, it is as if they had not been made; value then is determined by consumption. The new Currency must be based on security that is perfectly safe—that is, on products the demand for which is certain.

so much cotton, sugar or other staple product. This Currency would circulate, not only in Louisiana, but through the entire North, and even in Europe. A manufacturer of Manchester would buy it as readily as he would a bill of exchange of the Rothschilds. The State would, of course, guarantee that every dollar should be redeemed in one of the great staples—cotton, sugar or tobacco.

One more point. Suppose the system were generalized; suppose all the States issued this Currency, and gold and silver fell into disuse, would it not follow that foreign countries, in taking the new Currency, would have to buy with it our products—in which case a balance of trade would be established of itself; gold and silver would not at stated periods be drawn suddenly as at present from the country, the Banks forced to contract, and a general demand for the payment of debts made, causing revulsions and widespread bankruptcy. Free trade would be established, and to the fullest extent. If Europe sold to us vast amounts of her products, she would have to take ours in return; accounts would have to be settled in the new Currency, not in gold and silver, and with this Currency products only could be bought. Our ports could then be thrown open to the world, and our Custom houses abolished. There would be thenceforth no danger of over-trading.

To sum up:

The new Currency would be created and issued by the State.

It would be loaned at cost of management.

It would not be monopolized or controlled by individuals or Banks.

Its basis would be the Products of Industry, or the real wealth of the country, of which it would be the true Representative.

Its security would be perfect.

It would be loaned without favoritism.

Its issues would be regulated by the amount of products created and to be exchanged.

It would secure credit at all times to the Producers of wealth, and serve the real, that is, the producing interests of the country.

Numerous objections will, we are aware, be raised. "The Superintendents of the Depots," it will be said, "will give false certificates of deposits, and the Banks will be swindled. The Bank Officers themselves will lend more than the value of the products, and thus bad debts will be contracted." These and other difficulties in the way of carrying out the project will be urged.

In answer, we have only to say that it may take some time to perfect the system; but that in itself it is simple and easy of execution. It is not near as complicated as the Post Office system of the general Government. If a State undertook it, and the good-will of the People was secured to the project, it would soon be put in successful operation. In five years the Organization would be rendered complete in all details, and once in operation, the country would, under its influence, enter upon a career of prosperity such as men have never beheld or even imagined.

These explanations will give the reader a general idea of the plan we propose. As simple as it may appear, it contains the principles of an entirely new Currency and a new Credit system—one that differs radically in its nature and in the results it would produce from the present currency. To exhibit this more clearly, let us examine the basis of the two currencies—the Specie and the new Currency which we propose.

The Specie currency is, 1. Furnished man by Nature without thought or invention on his part. 2. Its adaptation to the purposes of money is determined by the scarcity of the metals of which it is composed; if they are as common as iron, they could not be used; governments would, at every great war, inflate the currency beyond all bounds and destroy it. 3. The amount in circulation is fluctuating and uncertain, as it can be withdrawn and hoarded. 4. It is invariably monopolized and controlled by a few wealthy individuals and corporations, who employ it in the great majority of cases, either directly or indirectly, to spoliage industry, instead of aiding and encouraging it.

The true Currency should, 1. Be created by Reason, guided by Science and a knowledge of the laws that govern money—not furnished by Nature. 2. It should be made to serve the purpose of money by being rendered the exact representative of the products of industry and other values which require to be exchanged. 3. It should always be kept in exact equilibrium with the amount of genuine legitimate business transactions required by the industry of the country; its issues should be determined by the amount of exchanges to be made. 4. It should be under the control of government or of some power that would regulate it strictly according to the laws of justice and public interest.

These few comparisons are sufficient to show the essential difference that exists between the two Currencies.

Let us now see how the plan we have proposed fulfills the conditions laid down in the second table, which we gave in a previous article.

1. It will create a Currency that costs little or nothing.
2. A Currency that will represent exactly the products of industry, as for every dollar issued there is a product behind it of equal value.
3. It will abolish all control of the Currency by individuals and the great abuses to which such control now gives rise.
4. It will abolish interest.
5. Abolish the rental system by abolishing interest.
6. It will secure credit at all times to production, and refuse it to

speculation. 7. It will furnish a Currency that will always be adequate to and in equilibrium with the business operations of the country, expanding with production and contracting with consumption. 8. It will secure perfect regularity in the issues of the currency, and prevent those artificial inflations and contractions which are now the cause of so many disasters. 9. It will take the control of Credit out of the hands of individuals and corporations, and free the industrial and business worlds from the powers that now rule them. 10. It will furnish an exact standard for the issues of Currency, at present regulated by the decisions of Bank-officers.

The plan we have sketched out will appear, on a cursory inspection, very simple; many persons will assert that it does not differ essentially from the present system—the only difference being that the present Currency is loaned by the Banks at seven per cent., while the new Currency will be loaned by the State at one per cent. Let us correct this error, and show that the two Currencies differ radically in principle; that applied on a large scale—to the industry of Nations—they must necessarily, after a certain lapse of time, produce results of a diametrically opposite character, and of the greatest magnitude. Two examples will be sufficient to explain this:

1. The present Currency is loaned for the most part on *personal security*—that is, on endorsed notes. This places credit wholly at the disposal of a small minority of men in society—of merchants, speculators, monopolists, usurers and financial schemers—whose only aim and effort are to make the largest profits possible out of industry, and to spoliate it by every means that human ingenuity can invent. It gives to a small body of non-producers the entire control of the producing interests of society.

Under the new Currency, loans would be made only on the *security of products*; a note, were it indorsed by a Rothschild or an Astor, would not obtain credit. Credit being thus secured to production, the producing classes could obtain the facilities they needed to effect exchanges. The Banks, through the storehouse organization, would act as their agents; they would by this means have the exchange of products, and the control of their interests in their own hands. The whole system of commercial speculation and monopoly, of usury, and spoliation under all forms, would be overthrown; the immense sums they now absorb—two-thirds of the profits of the industry of Nations—would be saved, and retained in the hands of the producers of wealth, to be applied to productive improvements. The era of commercial speculation, with its instability and revulsions, would be brought to a close, and the wealth and talent now engaged in commerce and banking would be devoted to developing industry on a vast scale.

2. The present Currency, drawing the high rates of interest which it does, accumulates through interest the immense sums we have pointed out. One thousand dollars loaned at eight per cent.—a less rate than our Banks on an average now obtain—accumulates in half a century, or in a long business life, about sixty thousand dollars over the original one thousand dollars. Ten intelligent mechanics or farmers, laboring assiduously the same length of time, do not, as experience demonstrates, accumulate any such sum. Thus, one thousand dollars in the hands of a capitalist, can, through interest and without labor, accumulate a greater amount of wealth than the labor of ten efficient men.

The new Currency, costing one per cent., would accumulate, in the period above mentioned, about seven hundred dollars over the original amount. Now as productive industry creates all wealth, and in the end pays for everything, the difference, fifty thousand and three hundred dollars, would, if economized by means of a cheap currency, remain in its hands. What a gigantic impetus would be given to industrial improvements and to the general progress of society, if the vast sums now absorbed by interest were devoted to really great and useful enterprises, and the capital created by them distributed equitably and more generally among the producing classes.

These two examples are sufficient to enable the reader to make further comparisons for himself. If he will examine the subject carefully, he will see that the two Currencies, based on exactly opposite principles, must, when they work out their ultimate effects, produce exactly opposite results.

The one concentrates the property of Nations in the hands of a few. The other will disseminate it among the entire people.

The one builds up everywhere an aristocracy of wealth. The other will create a wealthy, and, as a consequence, an educated and intelligent Democracy.

The one gives rise to a limited demand for luxuries for the few, and for the commonest necessities for the many. The other will give rise to an unbounded demand for the necessities and luxuries of life for all, as all will become consumers.

The one places obstacles in the way of the development of industry by limited consumption. The other will encourage industry to the fullest extent by creating a universal demand for its products.

The one is a source of servitude, monotony and dead routine in industry, and of ignorance and stolidness on the part of the laboring classes. The other will impart the greatest energy and progress to industry, and call out a new life and a new mental activity among the masses.

The one creates populations of poor hired laborers, working for a few idle rich. The other will create Nations of

wealthy producers, and develop intelligence to a high degree by the scientific prosecution of industry.

Other causes, no doubt, concur in producing the first named of these results; but our false Currency exercises so powerful an influence—an influence now not at all understood—that we leave them aside to concentrate attention on the main cause.

If some fundamental changes, some new principles are not introduced into our industrial system, the entire property of our country will, in a century more, pass into the hands of a small minority, forming a compact and powerful moneyed Oligarchy, ruling the Nation by the power of capital. This Oligarchy will organize all branches of industry, as well as Commerce, in joint-stock companies, and will operate through them, as they are the safest and easiest method of prosecuting extensive enterprises; it will engage in its service the active minds, the men of talent that are poor, who will thus be enlisted in the service, and will aid it with their capacity. It will control the Press, as it will own it. With the aid of the Press and its active employees, and also with that of the lawyers, who are commonly the servants of the moneyed power, it will control legislation and public opinion. We shall then see a powerful and wealthy Oligarchy controlling the destinies of the Nation, while the great body of the people will be poor and dependent hirelings, working on the great estates, in the manufactories, the mines, on the railroads of the powerful Corporations, or the joint-stock Companies. It will, in fact, be an INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM, something like the military feudalism established at the beginning of the middle ages by the Great Barons.

The reform we propose is, we are aware, a revolution—a far-reaching and radical revolution. It will take the control of the Currency and of Credit out of the hands of classes and Corporations, and place it in those of the State; it will destroy the powers of capital to accumulate wealth by interest and rents, and to absorb the surplus product or surplus profits of industry without labor or intelligence; it will prevent the accumulation of colossal fortunes by interest, usury, monopoly, stock-jobbing, commercial profits, financial operations and the innumerable schemes of speculation and spoliation which are now carried out by means of the control of the Currency and of Capital; and in so doing will thwart the growth, the building up of that vast moneyed power which now threatens to establish itself, and to obtain the control of Society.

It will establish equity and justice in the industrial system, in the domain of Labor; it will secure equal industrial rights and opportunities to all, and will inaugurate what we may call an INDUSTRIAL REPUBLIC, in which the reign of universal prosperity and intelligence will be secured. We propose a revolution, but it is a peaceful one, and will save many bloody commotions in the future; for the masses in our country will not sink into poverty without terrible struggles. Let those who can look half a century into the future, and are interested in the progressive improvement of the great body of the people, study the problem of the encroachment of capital upon labor, of its future usurpation of power, and they will be convinced that a radical change in the industrial policy of society, effected by constructive and peaceful means, and securing equal industrial rights and opportunities to all, is the just and wise course to be pursued.

MONEY AND CURRENCY.

To the Editors of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

The indiscriminate use of the terms money and currency is so common, and at the same time so mischievous, that I trust I shall be permitted to make one more effort to show how they may be kept distinct in our minds, and much confusion avoided in our treatment of financial questions, which are becoming more and more important, and must be settled upon some enduring basis, before we can safely proceed to other reforms which are constantly pressing upon our attention.

We must come to some intelligent understanding as to the necessity for a standard of value, and agree upon some one product of labor which shall best serve our purpose. And the product will be gold, as that, of all other things, has the qualities which we desire. It cannot properly be silver, or any of the baser metals, so called, as all these are too bulky, and cannot be transported like gold to meet a sudden demand, which, if not readily supplied, would unduly enhance the price. Gold flows promptly to any required point, and thus, like the ocean, preserves a general level, from which we can safely measure the altitude or price of all other commodities; and it is by this standard that we do practically measure all our mercantile transactions, though theoretically there are many persons who take a different view.

But it will be found, upon careful investigation, that not a single transaction is effected which does not directly or indirectly refer to the pound sterling, a money of account at London, the great central clearing house of the whole commercial world.

Not a single note is given, or check drawn, promising to pay dollars, francs or florins, without considering in one way or another the relation which it does, or will bear, to a bill of exchange on London, which has a paying and purchasing power all over the globe, such as belongs to no other thing—not even gold itself.

We all know that gold has a purchasing power or value nearly uniform everywhere, and that this power does not depend upon legislation, nor essentially upon the form in which the

metal is presented, so long as the weight and fineness of the mass is known, and therefore, in seasons of distrust, we prefer that to any paper, whether private or public. But every person of tolerable intelligence also knows, that to attempt to carry on the immense business of the world, and make payments by using gold as currency, or the representative of other useful things, would be simply absurd, because absolutely impossible.

It is true that our government officials for many years professed to use only specie in their financial transactions, though sensible business men could never understand why their interests did not require as good currency as could be contrived for the government.

And now we find France and Germany attempting to follow the same stupid course, and use coin where paper would be as much better as it is safer in handling, and more convenient every way.

All such transactions, in fact, all payments and purchases, should be made by the use of paper, and all paper so used is—as Daniel Webster said in one of his most striking speeches on financial questions—*currency*. Paper is not money, nor can legislation or any other power make it such. It is either debt, payable at a future date, or currency, which means, if it means anything, that the holder shall have as much for it as he could obtain for the number of dollars or pounds sterling named on the paper.

Bank notes are not money, nor in any material sense different from the check of the cashier, each being payable or redeemable in current funds, having a certain relation to gold at the clearing house. Private checks, drafts and bills of exchange all have the same character so far as they are entitled to credit, and all these are currency, and nothing else. Now what we insist upon finally is, that there shall be but one monetary standard, and that gold; and there must be provision for identical weight and fineness, and thus commercial value, all over the world, so that there shall be no more confusion or ambiguity in keeping our accounts. But we are not to use gold as currency; on the contrary, it must be the duty of all governments to provide banking systems which, while the business of banking as such shall be left entirely free, shall give us just the right quantity of just the right kind of currency in the form of notes or checks, which shall in all cases, under a heavy penalty for failure, be convertible into funds as good as gold at the clearing house or trade centres, toward which all paper naturally flows, and where it is most valuable to the holder.

Let the banker be compelled to redeem his paper promptly, and pay a reasonable proportion of the profit on its circulation into the treasury, and we may be quite certain that no other paper can obtain currency, unless it conforms to the same reasonable conditions.

The banks are as they should be—the commercial centres of their respective localities and the character of their notes and transactions will assuredly be imparted to all the business with which they come in contact.

In a future communication I shall attempt to show how a true system can be inaugurated, and that the same system will serve perfectly not only for our own country but for all the world.

DAVID WILDER.

TO THE PRESS.

It would be a particular favor, at this time, if our editorial friends would say to the public (for us) that, although the presses and all the material used by the *Western Rural* and *Young Folks' Rural* were entirely destroyed in the great Chicago fire, our subscription lists were rescued, and that within one month from the fire we intend to be out again in old form, style, etc.

The *Western Rural* is a farm and family weekly, that has attained the largest circulation of any agricultural paper out of New York city. Terms, \$2 per year.

The *Young Folks' Rural* is a large newspaper of eight pages, for young people and children, at \$1 per year; started a year ago, and has been pronounced "the finest thing extant for the young."

All who subscribe at this time will aid us in recovering our losses and in getting on our feet again.

New yearly subscribers, for either paper, will receive the whole of 1872 and the remainder of this year, free, after the resumption. We give splendid inducements to get up clubs. Address H. N. F. Lewis, Chicago, Ill.

AN exchange remarks: "If the next generation of women do vote, will they be educated to the proper standard to do so intelligently? They seldom or never read political newspapers, history or works on political economy. It may be said that our young men do the same. That may be; but from their earliest days they hold intercourse with men, or hear them talking on such topics. Young women have no such opportunities; how, then, can they, as a class, be educated up to a true voting standard? It would be well for female reformers to look to this."

[This is bosh! Practically and in the way our elections are managed no one but a few politicians and wire-pullers know anything of the personal merits of the candidates. They are selected not because they are good citizens, but thorough-going partisans. As to the average young woman, she is as intelligent as the average young man. She studies history and grammar and algebra just as he does, and in private life the woman actually does take a lively interest in politics. Else whence all the stories about woman's patriotic devotion during the war and her earnestness in times of political excitement.]

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

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VICTORIA C. WOODHULL will for the first time deliver her argument upon the Principles of Social Freedom, in which all the questions involved, such as Free Love, Marriage, Divorce and Prostitution, will be analyzed, and the true separated from the false, in the crucible of principle by the fire of reason—separated from all conventionality and time-honored practices. It is high time that those things upon which the greatest and dearest interests of mankind are based should be stripped of all hypocritical pretense and pharisaical holiness and their conditions shown up just as they are. Until this is done the world will go on producing all kinds of abortions of nature, from the simple kleptomaniac to the hydra-headed murderer. When people are compelled to know that all dominant traits of character are born with them, they will begin to realize the importance of the conditions in which they are produced, and learn better than to vilify and blacken those who invite attention to them.

THE NEW YORK TIMES OPEN TO THE FAIR PRESENTATION OF ALL SUBJECTS.

The following letter speaks for itself:

THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO VOTE—A PROTEST FROM MRS. WOODHULL.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I have been refused the right of voting by the Democratic inspectors of my district, the Republican dissenting and desiring to receive my vote. Under the election laws of the State, the inspectors are, or I am, "guilty of felony," since either they prevented a legal voter from voting, or I am tempted to vote illegally! and either they or I shall be convicted of the crime.

Section 1, article 2, of the State Constitution provides: "All male citizens, &c., &c., shall be entitled to vote." Section 1, article 1, provides: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers."

I am a member of the State, and no law has been enacted to di-franchise or deprive me of any right or privilege secured to other citizens. Nevertheless, I was deprived of the greatest of all rights—the right to vote. Moreover, if a single citizen of the State of New York has the right to vote, every other citizen has the same right, with the exceptions referred to. The point involved can by no possible stretch be made to cover the right of the State to exclude women citizens from suffrage, since no law is better established than that a right secured by positive terms cannot be taken away by implication; and to take away the rights secured by article 1, section 1, of the Constitution in such terms by article 2, section 1, because it fails to provide for female citizens in terms, would be to take away "rights" by implication. The

Constitution of the United States is also equally clear in securing the right to vote to all persons. The Fourteenth Amendment, section 1, provides:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.

The right to vote is recognized as a citizen's right by the Fifteenth Amendment, as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied," etc., etc. The right to vote, then, is possessed by citizens of the United States. Women are citizens, hence voters. But if there is any doubt about the right to vote being secured beyond the power of abridgment or denial, by the Fourteenth Amendment in the provision which forbids the States to abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States, upon the ground that the right to vote is not included in privileges, I beg to submit that the Supreme Court of the United States has already settled that question. In delivering the opinion of the Court, Justice Bradley said:

It is possible that those who framed the article were not themselves aware of the far-reaching character of its terms. Yet, if the amendment does, in fact, bear a broader meaning, and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form, and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by Constitutional enactments, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving it their imprimatur, understood what they were doing, and meant to decree what in fact they have decreed. The privileges and immunities secured by the original Constitution were only such as each State gave to its own citizens. * * * But the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits any State from abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, whether its own citizens or any other. It not merely requires equality of privileges, but it demands that the privileges and immunities of all citizens shall be absolutely unbridged and unimpaired. These privileges cannot be invaded without sapping the very foundation of republican government. A republican government is not merely a government of the people, but it is a free government. * * * It was very ably contended on the part of the defendants that the Fourteenth Amendment was intended only to secure to all citizens equal capacities before the law. That was at first our view of it. But it does not so read. The language is: "No State shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." What are the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States? Are they capacities merely? Are they not also rights?

The Supreme Court has, therefore, already decided that the privileges secured by the amendments are something more than equal civil rights; in fact, that they include all political rights. In an opinion delivered by Justice McKay, he declares the law as follows:

All persons recognized by the Constitution as citizens of the State have equal legal and political rights, except as otherwise expressly declared.

Also, in the same opinion:

It is the settled and uniform sense of the word "citizen," when used in reference to the citizens of the separate States of the United States, and to their rights as such citizens, that it describes a person entitled to every right, legal and political, enjoyed by any person in that State, unless there be some express exception made by positive law concerning the particular persons whose rights are in question.

Justice Washington makes the case still clearer when he says:

The privileges and immunities conceded by the Constitution of the United States to citizens in the several States are to be confined to those which in their nature are fundamental and belong of right to all free government. Such are the rights of protection of life and liberty, and to acquire and enjoy property, and to pay no higher impositions than other citizens, and to enjoy the electoral franchise, as regulated and established by the Constitution and laws of the State in which it is to be exercised.

If any question what is involved by regulating and establishing the elective franchise, desiring to argue that it can be regulated and established out of existence, as in the present case of woman, I call attention to the meaning of these words: To regulate is "to put in order," not to put out of existence; to establish is "to make stable and firm," not to nullify or withhold.

Finally, the act of Congress of May 31, 1870, known as the "Force Act," to enforce the new amendments, makes it a penal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for inspectors of election to prevent citizens of the United States from voting, when they are properly registered and qualified.

So much has been said in the daily press about my claim being "a farce," while journals persistently shut their columns to all rebutting arguments, that I trust you may do your women readers the justice to publish this outline of the position by which it is claimed that women are legal voters under both the State and Federal Constitutions. One-sided and dogmatic journalism is too common, and I shall hail the day when a free press may be inaugurated.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

No. 44 Broad street, Tuesday, Nov. 7, 1871.

PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.

Victoria C. Woodhull spoke upon Suffrage in the Court-house at Bordentown, N. J., November 9, to a packed house. This place has been remarkably conservative, but it contained our eminent, earnest and faithful co-laborer, Susan C. Waters, than whom no citizen there is more highly esteemed, and she called "all the people" together. Of the result she says, in a private letter (and she must pardon us giving an "extract" to our readers, since we are desirous to let them know how "the heaven" is working in New Jer-

sey): "The recent lecture in this place has exercised a powerful influence over the public mind. To say that it gave universal satisfaction is entirely too little, for both friends and opponents of woman suffrage were delighted with the force and conclusiveness of thy arguments, and are enthusiastic in praise and admiration of thy effort. I fully believe that theso reversed the public opinion of this community that to-day our cause stands far in advance of its position last week."

On the 10th she spoke on the same subject in Institute Hall, Philadelphia, to a still larger and more enthusiastic audience, which filled the hall to its utmost capacity, every seat, aisle, window and ante-room being crowded.

From the growing enthusiasm everywhere manifested for this subject, it is plain that it is "the question" of the day—one from which the public attention cannot be diverted until it shall be settled, and settled in favor of equality.

DESPOTISM ENFORCED—TAMMANY HIRELINGS PREVENT LEGALLY QUALIFIED VOTERS FROM THE EXERCISE OF A CITIZEN'S RIGHT.

REPUBLICAN INSPECTOR ACCORDS THE RIGHT AND DEMANDS OF HIS COLLEAGUES BY WHAT AUTHORITY THEY DENY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

The Election Laws of the State of New York provide as follows:

SEC. 25. Any person who shall knowingly register or cause himself to be registered as a voter in any election district in which he is not at the time a qualified voter, and in which he is not legally entitled to vote, shall be adjudged guilty of a felony.

SEC. 26. Any person who shall knowingly vote or offer to vote at any election in any election district in which he is not at the time legally entitled to vote, or who shall more than once at any such election, or who shall persuade any other person, or pretended or fictitious person, and vote or offer to vote in the name of such person, or in any assumed or fictitious name, shall be adjudged guilty of a felony.

SEC. 31. If any officer on whom any duty is enjoined in this act shall be guilty of any willful neglect of such duty, or of any corrupt conduct or practice in the execution of the same, and be thereof convicted, he shall be deemed guilty of a felony.

We registered to vote in the Twenty-third district of Twenty-first ward and knowingly endeavored to vote. The two Tammany Inspectors refused to permit us to vote, saying we were not legally entitled to do so. If this be so, then are we "guilty of felony."

But if this be not so, then are those Inspectors "guilty of felony." (We propose to demonstrate so clearly that the wayfaring man though a fool may understand, that we are not guilty of felony, and that the Inspectors are so guilty.) The Constitution of the State of New York, article two, section one, provides:

That every male citizen, &c., &c., shall be entitled to vote:

Article one, section one, provides: No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of the rights or privileges secured to every citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers. Every male citizen, then, having the requisite qualifications, is entitled to vote, and it follows that every member of the State is entitled to the same right, secured past all abridgment by the said first section. Language could not be framed making the fact more positive than this of the Constitution of the State, since there has been no law of the land enacted to make it otherwise.

To deprive a citizen of the right to vote under the Constitution of the State it is necessary to enact a law making specific provisions of disfranchisement or deprivation of the rights and privileges secured to other citizens. There has been no law passed to do either of these things, and nobody can show there has been. The statutes do not contain them.

Therefore we have been deprived of the legal right by which we are invested by the State of New York by two so-called Democratic Inspectors of Elections, who are thus "guilty of felony."

But a greater power than the State of New York has also been ignored. The Constitution of the United States recognizes women as citizens, and the right to vote as a citizen's right, which no State can abridge, as follows:

Section one of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares positively that

"All persons" (not all men) "born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States."

The Fifteenth Amendment recognizes the right to vote as a citizen's right in the following language:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote," etc., etc.

Now, the only question which it is possible to raise is whether the right to vote is one of the privileges mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment which the States shall not deny or abridge; and this question has been already settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, the opinion being delivered by Justice Bradley.

It is possible that those who framed the article were not themselves aware of the far-reaching character of its terms, yet if the amendment does in fact bear a broader meaning,

and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form, and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by constitutional enactment, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving it their imprimatur, understood what they were doing and meant to decree what in fact they have decreed.

The "privileges and immunities" secured by the original Constitution were only such as each State gave to its own citizens. * * * but the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits any State from abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, whether its own citizens or any others. It not merely requires equality of privileges, but it demands that the privileges and immunities of all citizens shall be absolutely unabridged and unimpaired.

In the same opinion, after enumerating some of the "privileges" of the citizens, such as were pertinent to the case on trial, the court further says:

These privileges cannot be invaded without sapping the very foundation of republican government. A republican government is not merely a government of the people, but it is a free government. * * * It was very ably contended on the part of the defendants that the Fourteenth Amendment was intended only to secure to all citizens equal capacities before the law. That was at first our view of it. But it does not so read. The language is, "No State shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." What are the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States? Are they capacities merely? Are they not also rights?

In the opinion of Justice McKay, among other propositions, he lays down the following:

2d. The rights of the people of this State, white and black, are not granted to them by the Constitution thereof; the object and effect of that instrument is not to give, but to restrain, deny, regulate and guarantee rights, and all persons recognized by that Constitution as citizens of the State have equal, legal and political rights, except as otherwise expressly declared.

3d. It is the settled and uniform sense of the word "citizen," when used in reference to the citizens of the separate States of the United States, and to their rights as such citizens, that it describes a person entitled to every right, legal and political, enjoyed by any person in that State, unless there be some express exceptions made by positive law covering the particular person whose rights are in question.

Also by Justice Washington, as follows:

The privileges and immunities conceded by the Constitution of the United States to citizens in the several States are to be confined to those that are fundamental, and belong of right to the citizens of all free governments. Such are the rights of protection of life and liberty, and to acquire and enjoy property, and to pay no higher impositions than other citizens, and to pass through and reside in the State at pleasure, and to enjoy the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the laws and constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised.

If we inquire what it is to regulate and establish the suffrage, we learn that to regulate is "to put in order," and to establish is "to make stable and firm."

Thus all that we have ever claimed is not only granted by the constitution of the State of New York, and by that of the United States, but our position is also fortified; not only by the decisions of the courts quoted, but also by every other decision ever rendered in which the points in question are involved.

The two inspectors referred to said they were acting under instructions—had been told to refuse all votes offered by women. They would neither permit us to show them the law nor take the election oath. They could see but one word, male citizens, forgetting, ignoring, or, which is more probable, not knowing that all such terms in law are used in their general sense, which, if not so, women cannot be held accountable to a single penal law, since no law of them has the word she or her, except those where men and women are specially involved, as in marriage and divorce.

The Republican inspector was a person evidently acquainted with constitutional law, since he desired to receive those votes and declared his belief that we were entitled to vote as we claimed. We are also informed that the same position was assumed by the Democratic and Republican inspectors in other districts where women desired to vote. Can it be that the Republican party will thus rebuke Senator Carpenter?

"SAUCE for the gander is sauce for the goose," quotes a contemporary, and applies the proverb to the even-handed justice that in the matter of political fraud should be meted out equally to Republican as to Democratic rogues and speculators. There is, truly, not much choice for the citizen in the matter of wire-pulling, rings, lobbyists and administrative scoundrelism. The official watch-dogs who make common cause with the wolves and rend the sheep intrusted to their charge. The recent elections are valueless if they are taken only as a rebuke to the rascality of the Democrats. The Republican office-holders throughout the country are just as bad, with this added iniquity, that whereas the Democratic thieves and wolves acted in defiance of law, the Republican rogues pretend to be supported by the law. To give full significance to public opinion, this latest expression must be taken as the determination of the community to make war on all evil in high places. Let not the Republican lay the flattering unction to his soul that his party is accounted guiltless. The very immunity of shoddy contractors, thieving commissaries and conniving generals, who shut one eye and hold out both hands for their share of the plunder, has led to the corruption of official morals and the acceptance of wealth, no matter how obtained, as the evidence of honor and respectability. Those citizens who voted at the last elections will have done only one-half their duty if they withdraw their hand from the plow and refuse to continue the good work.

SITTING IN MOSES' SEAT.

What a blessed thing it is to live in a country where the laws are so simple that he who runs may read, where a thing once written in plain words can have but one common sense meaning, and where, in the want of difference in opinion, the referee shall give judgment according to right and render good and wholesome reasons for his decision. Yes, it is a blessed thing! And we congratulate the dwellers in the District of Columbia on having such perfect laws and such able magistrates. The women have been before the courts; judgment has been given and right has been done. It is not the first time women have been in the courts. There are two or three memorable decisions in books of the law. King Solomon made himself famous by a concise summing up, which went to the root of the matter and admitted no quibbling appeals. The disputants were both women. A certain Daniel achieved greatness by a judicial decision. Daniel himself was a model of deportment in his day—so virtuous and orthodox as almost to be eligible for full membership in the Young Men's Christian Association. The parties to the suit were an estimable married lady and two elderly gentlemen. The elderly parties got the worst of it, thanks to Daniel. Since that time the Daniels have been few and far between. The District of Columbia boasts of the last and greatest. This time, too, there is an estimable lady in the case—the other parties may or may not be naughty elders. The cause has ended differently; the modern elders have managed their affairs better. Seen the new Daniel, perhaps, and have triumphed.

Dred Scott, it may be recollected, was not a citizen, not even a person; a nonentity in law; consequently the luxury of law was denied him. Mrs. Sarah A. Spencer is a person; she is born in the United States; therefore is a citizen of our glorious country; and being a person so born and a citizen so constitutionally declared in express words, is entitled to vote. All this is expressly and clearly set out in the printed law by which the country is ruled. The modern Daniel is otherwise known as Chief Justice Carter, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. This new Daniel has given a very luminous decision, not less remarkable for its sagacity than for its patriotism.

Firstly—He decides that though what is written is written, still it was not meant.

Secondly—He decides that the whole system of law under which he and the rest of us Americans live, and by virtue of which he is what he is, is an iniquity and a disgrace to civilization, and ought to be improved off the face of the earth.

Thirdly—He declares that because men misuse their political privileges women ought not to enjoy such privileges.

Fourthly—That when that great legislative body, the Congress of the United States, expressly enacted that certain persons should have certain rights, Congress did not mean that such persons should have such rights, but only that Congress should have the power to pass another law to give such rights to such persons, if, upon further and mature consideration, it should appear to Congress that it would be fit and proper for such persons to have such rights.

The value and profound utility of such admirable reasoning are so apparent that elaborate comment on this monumental exposition of judicial wisdom is superfluous. Let our readers study for themselves, particularly noting the eulogy passed on the rights of suffrage, the corner stone and main pillar of our national edifice.

We do not hesitate to believe that the legal vindication of the natural right of all citizens to vote would, in this state of popular intelligence, involve the destruction of the civil government. There is nothing in the history of the past that teaches us otherwise. There is little in current history that promises a better result. The right of all men to vote is as fully recognized in the population of our large centres and cities as can well be done short of an absolute declaration that all men shall vote irrespective of qualifications. The result in these centres is political profligacy and violence verging upon anarchy. The influences working out this result are apparent in the utter neglect of all agencies to conserve the virtue, integrity and wisdom of government, and the appropriation of all agencies calculated to demoralize and debase the integrity of the elector. Institutions of learning calculated to bring men up to their high state of political citizenship, and indispensable to the qualifications of the minds and morals of the responsible voter, are postponed to the agency of the dram shop and gambling hall, and men of conscience and capacity are discarded to the promotion of vagabonds to power. This condition demonstrates that the right to vote ought not to be, and is not an absolute natural right. The fact that the practical working of the assumed right would be destructive of civilization is decisive that the right does not exist. As regards the question of the constitutional right of woman to vote under the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States the opinion continues: "It will be seen by the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment that the plaintiffs, in common with all other persons born in the United States, are citizens thereof, and if to make them citizens is to make them voters the plaintiffs may of right vote. It will be inferred from what has already been said that to make a person a citizen is not to make him or her a voter. All that has been accomplished by this amendment to the Constitution, or by its previous provisions, is to distinguish them from aliens and make them capable of becoming voters. In giving expression to my own judgment this clause does advance them to full citizenship, and clothes them with the capacity to become voters. The provision ends with the declaration of their citizenship. It is a constitutional provision that does not execute itself. It is the creation of a constitutional condition that requires the superintention of legislative power in the exercise of legislative discretion to give it effect. The constitutional capacity of becoming a voter created by this amendment lies dormant, as in the case of an infant, until

made effective by legislative action. Congress, the legislative power of this jurisdiction, as yet, has not seen fit to carry the inchoate right into effect, as is apparent in the law regulating the franchise of this district. When that shall have been done it will be the pleasure of this court to administer the law as they find it. Until this shall be done the considerations of fitness and unfitness, merit and demerit, are considerations for the law-making power. The demurrer in these cases is sustained.

HORACE GREELEY'S BID FOR THE NOMINATION OF THE LABOR REFORM PARTY.

If there ever was a strange transformation made by a mortal man, Philosopher Horace makes it in the *Tribune*, in an article from his own pen, entitled, "How to Reduce the Interest on the National Debt."

In this editorial Mr. Greeley adopts and approves that part of the platform of the National Labor Union relating to the money of the people. He would have greenbacks made receivable for all governmental dues, and convertible into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, adding as an argument that such a convertibility, at the option of the holders of money, into bonds, and of bonds into greenbacks, will regulate the volume of the currency, which is so palpable that everybody who has common sense must see it.

But hear him:

Mr. Boutwell's plan of funding the National Debt has had a pretty fair trial. True, the times have been adverse; but we have generally found them so when we needed to borrow money. The sum and substance of the Secretary's success is the funding of \$200,000,000 at five per cent., on the payment of a bonus of 14 per cent. to the "syndicate" of foreign bankers who have agreed to take the loan. We would not disparage this achievement, for we regard it as decidedly better than nothing. Add to the interest (\$3,000,000) \$1,000,000 more for the aggregate cost of printing the new bonds, advertising, explaining and commending the loan, and the entire cost of funding the \$200,000,000 at five per cent. for ten years is \$4,000,000. It seems to us that this does not justify a hope that our \$1,500,000 of instantly or presently redeemable Sixes can be promptly funded even at five per cent.

Having given to the Secretary's efforts a hearty support throughout, we urge that a radically different plan may next have as fair a trial. Before we send another bond abroad to be hawked from banking house to banking-house throughout Europe, we ask the government to try—just earnestly try—to fund the bulk of our debt at home. We could not have sold our bonds, during the dark hours of our civil war, to Europe at any price, no matter how ruinous, if we had not first shown our faith in them by taking hundreds of millions of them ourselves. So now, having seen how reluctantly they take our reissues at five per cent. with a discount, let us show them that we stand ready to take a larger amount at a lower rate of interest at par. Here is the gist of our proposition.

Let Congress make our greenbacks fundable at the pleasure of the holder in bonds of \$100, \$1,000 and \$2,000, drawing interest at the rate of one per cent. per day on each \$100 (or 3 65-100 per annum), and exchangeable into greenbacks at the pleasure of the holder. Now authorize the Treasury to purchase and extinguish our outstanding bonds so fast as it is supplied with the means of so doing by receipts for customs or otherwise; and to issue new greenbacks whenever larger amounts shall be required—every one being fundable in sums of \$100, \$1,000 or \$10,000, as aforesaid, at the pleasure of the holder, in bonds drawing an annual interest of 3 65-100 in coin per annum, and these bonds exchangeable into greenbacks whenever a holder shall desire it.

The benefits of this system would be these:

I. Our greenbacks, which are now virtual falsehoods, would be truths. The government would pay them on demand in bonds as aforesaid, which is in substantial accordance with the plan on which the greenbacks were first authorized.

II. Every person having greenbacks for which he had no present need would present them at some Sub-Treasury and exchange them at par for these bonds. Suppose he has \$10,000 which he expects to use a month hence: he can make them earn him \$30 meantime, without incurring the smallest danger of loss by bank failure or otherwise, and with a positive certainty that the money would be ready for him whenever he chose to take it.

III. A merchant leaves New York with \$1,000,000 which he purposes to invest in wheat at the West or in cotton at the South. He calls at our Sub-Treasury, exchanges his greenbacks for these bonds, and takes or sends these to Chicago, St. Paul, New Orleans or Galveston, to be exchanged for use when needed. After looking about for a month, he buys half the produce he originally intended, converts half his bonds into greenbacks, receives \$500 per day, or \$1,500 in all, as interest, and makes his payments. After traveling and looking for another month, he invests the remainder of his capital, receives \$3,000 as interest thereon for the two months he has held the last half million of bonds, and lays his course homeward. His bonds may have lain nearly all the time he owned them in the vaults of some bank, but they were earning money not for that bank but for him.

IV. Our greenbacks, no longer false, but convertible at pleasure into bonds bearing a moderate gold interest and exchangeable as aforesaid, could not fail to appreciate steadily until they nearly reached the level of gold. Indeed, they would, unless issued too profusely, be really better than gold. Drawing a higher rate of interest than British Consols, and convertible at pleasure, as these are not, they would in time obtain currency even in the Old World.

V. The trouble so inveterately borrowed by thousands with respect to "over-issues," "redundant currency," &c., would (or at least should) be hereby dispelled. If there were at any time an excess of currency, it would tend to precipitate itself into the bonds aforesaid. If there should ever be a scarcity of currency, bonds would be exchanged at the Treasury for greenbacks till the want was fully supplied. Black Fridays and the locking up of greenbacks would soon be numbered with lost arts and hobgoblin terrors.

VI. Though the demand for these bonds might for months be moderate, their convenience and manifest utility would soon diffuse their popularity and stimulate an ever-widening demand for them. They would be a favorite investment with guardians and trustees who should expect

to be required to pay over the funds held by them at an early day, whether fixed or uncertain. They would say, "Though I might invest or deposit these funds where they would command a higher interest, I choose to place them where I know they will be safe and at hand when called for."

VII. Ultimately we believe they would become so popular that hundreds of millions of them would be absorbed at or very near the par of specie, and that with the proceeds an equal amount of our outstanding Sixes might be redeemed and canceled without advertising for loans or paying bankers to shin for us throughout Europe. The interest thus saved to our country would be an important item.

Such are the rude outlines of a plan which we did not originate but which we heartily indorse. Why not give it a trial? We should dearly like to inform Europe that, since she seems not to want any more of our bonds at five per cent., we have concluded to take the balance ourselves at three and two-thirds.

We wish we could hope that this conversion of Mr. Greeley were genuine. Nobody would rejoice more than ourselves to find him once more ranged upon the side of the rights of the people as against tyranny, whether political, social or financial. This position places him in direct opposition to the bondholders and the gold propagandists, and consequently against Grant for the succession. If Mr. Greeley has done this upon principle, because it is the truth and the right, and he will come out as boldly and independently as in his other declaration for the equal rights of citizens, irrespective of all arbitrary distinctions, then might he really be considered as the nominee of the people. But we fear that all this is policy, and that seeing Grant is the necessity of the Republican party, he throws himself into the arms of the National Labor Union. We await to see if he will next adopt the same principle in regard to the and system, which really lies back of and forms the basis of all other monopolies and oligarchies.

The slave oligarchy has been dethroned. The male oligarchy remains to be dethroned, as well as the money and land oligarchies. Let Mr. Greeley pronounce himself on all of these points, which relate so nearly to the interest of the common people, and nothing can prevent him from being the choice of the people for the next presidency. But let him ignore either of them and he is without hope.

"WHY STAND YE HERE IDLE ALL THE DAY?"

We propound this question in seriousness and in earnestness. The times are pregnant of great events. But those who should have most interest seem untouched by their prophecy. They stand calling for justice when it is within their reach, and yet they either do not or will not see it. It is almost thrust upon them, but another question blinds their eyes. The old saying is again verified: "There are none so blind as those who will not see."

It is time, however, for everybody who pretends to desire suffrage to come forward and get it. It is theirs for the mere asking. We confess to not a little curiosity to see if people who are intolerant, bigoted and self-righteous will for once disrobe themselves, leaving the real men and women to act, as the occasion requires. Let us all lay aside all pride, jealousy and bickering, and with a common effort move upon and capture the heretofore considered impregnable position of manhood suffrage.

We desire it to be distinctly understood that we make this appeal entirely in the interest of woman, separate and apart from all personality. There is an opportunity for us to wrest our rights from those who withhold them, and no motives of personal interest should prevent the necessary action. If suffrage come to woman, she will use it as she thinks best. No self-appointed leader can control its use. As it is God-given, so also will it be God-used, nor can human hope to divert it. Far be it from us to even desire, much less pretend, to do so. What women will do with the ballot must be determined by them in grand and solemn conclave. First let them win it. Then let them meet in National Convention and determine how to use it; and none will be found more zealous in advocating its behests than ourselves.

The time came when it was necessary to make the demand which is so nearly granted. It was necessary that some one should make it. Some one must champion the movement; but when the cause shall have progressed beyond the sphere of that championship, when a more worthy and better qualified leader shall appear, then will all recognize and uphold the newer and the better. We trust we are understood, and that none will hold back from performing what we hope to be able to show is the duty of us all, because of any previous or present supposed or professed leadership.

But what is the duty which now devolves upon women and upon men who desire to be just to women? Plainly to unite to secure

A DECLARATORY ACT.

Why?

It is not yet a year since a demand was made upon Congress, as the proper custodian of the rights of citizens of the United States, for the necessary legislation to secure to women, equally with men, the exercise of suffrage. This demand was met by a stern rebuff from the very person who drafted the language declaring women to be citizens. He declared that women were not citizens—simply women. But that position was untenable. In a few weeks it was deserted, and the greatest judicial authority announced that women were citizens, since the Constitution expressly made them so; but that Congress had no power to protect the rights of citizens as against State legislation.

But a great step was gained. It was conclusively proven that one class denied another class of citizens' rights which were exercised by themselves, simply because they had the power to do so, regardless of all fundamental right or law.

But this even was not the greatest advantage gained. Women came to know that they had the right to vote, and began to try to vote, and up to this time enough women have voted to forever settle the question as to whether they desire to do so. Before, none had thought of trying to vote. But trying and being refused made cases for the courts, several of which are now pending, and some decided. Chief-Justice Howe, of Wyoming, a learned jurist and upright man, has declared in broadest terms that women are voters under the Constitution of the United States. Justice Underwood has done the same in an unofficial manner; while Justice Cartter, of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Columbia, has in substance done the same thing. The qualification he has seen fit to make only renders more plain the duty which we say is incumbent upon women.

The decision is: "That the Fourteenth Amendment, considered alone and independent of any other law on suffrage, gives to women the right to the ballot; but," he adds, "this privilege cannot be secured without additional legislation."

Now what is the effect of this decision. The acknowledgment of the existence of the right could not be more plainly made. "Independent of any other law on suffrage, the amendment gives to women the right of the ballot." What other law is there—can there be—on suffrage? If it is given by this amendment to the Constitution, there surely can be nothing previously in the Constitution conflicting with it. Therefore, so far as the Constitution itself is concerned, "it gives to women the right to the ballot." Nobody will attempt to gainsay that. All Congressional legislation, then, must be in favor of, instead of against, woman suffrage. Nothing that they have since done could invalidate that right, while all previous legislation, if conflicting, was rendered null and void. So far, then, as Congress or the general government is concerned, it is impossible that suffrage is restricted to men. If there is any legislation which impairs the right to the ballot, it must be in the States, and consist of the qualifications required of electors. But do those who profess this position know what they do? The Federal Constitution contains a provision that it is the "supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." How, then, can the States make or enforce any law to dispossess citizens of rights granted them by the Constitution itself? It seems to us so plain that all persons ought to be able to see the untenableness of the position: that there is authority to invalidate the grant, even in the face of Senator Carpenter's remarkable effort to the contrary. The Constitution gives women the right to vote. No State can take that right away, but it must stand absolutely unabridged and unimpaired.

It is not probable, then, that the legislation Justice Cartter speaks of is State legislation, but Congressional, such as the "force" act, to carry out the provisions of the amendments in regard to negroes. We do not wonder that States do not recognize the right, as secured, since that women possess it is a so recent proposition. It is necessary, then, for Congress to simply declare to the States that this right is granted to women, in the language of Gen. Butler, "as against all State laws whatever."

It is plain, then, that the decisive point—the key to the whole matter—is to obtain from Congress a declaration expressing the effect of the amendment. The States will not think of opposing it. It will settle the whole matter, and women can do whatever they please with their right—exercise it in supporting those who have abridged it, or for those who have labored with them to remove the abridgment. No one can forestall their action. It will be such as they shall severally decide. And we are unwilling to believe that it will be found upon the side of any injustice. We feel that we know that every woman's ballot will be cast in favor of reform and of equal civil and social rights, excepting, perhaps, those whose action is religiously given into other hands, or who obey other than political masters.

May we not hope, then, to see the several conventions that will meet before the assembling of Congress passing resolutions and taking action looking to the concentration of all their forces upon Congress, until they shall make such laws as shall secure women the free and full exercise of the right to the ballot given by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

HORACE GREELEY A CONVERT TO IMPARTIAL ENFRANCHISEMENT.

In an editorial written by the philosopher himself, entitled "A Plea for Amnesty," he gives in his adhesion to impartial suffrage in the following comprehensive terms:

"We pray that two bites be not made of the cherry" (of disfranchisement or exclusion from suffrage). "Either remove the disabilities of all," men and women, "now ineligible to office, or of none. For partial enfranchisement will only intensify the demand for a measure of amnesty, which leaves no pretext for seeking another. Let the year 1872 be ushered in with rejoicings that the hateful past is forgotten and that every native or naturalized citizen, white or black, high or low, once rebel or always loyal, will henceforth know the Union as no harsh step-mother, but as the generous, loving, trusting guardian and protector even of her once wayward, hostile children."

We cannot believe that Mr. Greeley has made use of the above broad language without knowing just what

he says, since we remember it is not long since that Mr. Tilton called his attention to the inconsistency of making use of the term "all citizens," when he really meant but half, and those the male half. And since Mr. Greeley stands so strenuously for the use of words only as set down by Sam Johnson & Co., as demonstrated in his recent onslaught on our social theories, we cannot suppose him to be so unwise and so thoughtless as to use such sweeping terms without regard to their real significance.

Therefore, unless Mr. Greeley retract or qualify this language, and say distinctly that he only intended to include one-half the citizens, and to exclude all those who are so much more guilty of treason to the Government than are those who attempted its destruction, as to be women, we shall be compelled to accept his language for just what it says, without limitation or qualification. And Mr. Greeley cannot escape the responsibility by any quibble regarding the "definition" of words.

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIONS TO SPIRITUALISM?

It has always been a source of wonder to us that the various sects of professed Christians should so persistently oppose the theories, doctrines and facts of Spiritualism in its modern aspect. That they do so is especially inconsistent, since, if we go backward to the origin of their own doctrines, we find them descending from "A Revelation." It is too late in the age for people to profess the belief that God as a Personality ever spoke to anybody, except in His methods of manifestation, by the immutable laws of the universe; and in this way He speaks to everybody, just so far as each comprehends what is seen.

It is also too analytic an age for people to profess to believe there is any such entity in the universe as a personal God, resident at any particular locality, as separated and distinct from all other localities; since to what does a belief amount that professes a God living nobody can tell where, or what are His modes? Such theories are worthy of the time and men who put to death the person who first made the discovery that the earth was a globe, in opposition to the theory then generally held.

And these very persons who profess a personal God tell you in almost every sentence they utter that they do not know of what they speak; since they say the same God is "Omnipresent." If He is so, and is a personal being, having parts and character separate and apart from the universe and nothing more, why do we not perceive Him; why does not their belief rise into demonstration?

But if they are "pinned" by logic closely to statement of what they really intend to be understood to say, it will be found that they agree with the only comprehensible idea we can obtain: that God is the Life of the World, being its entire Motor Power. It is impossible to separate the idea of God from the facts of manifestation. Wherever in the wide world there is a result of applied power there is God manifesting Himself.

We have thus briefly alluded to these things to be able to oppose the claim of Divine revelation, in the church sense, by the inevitable conclusion that what is claimed as such, obtained immediately from God, is simply writing given by inspiration; the means or the medium of it, perhaps, supposing it was God speaking to or through him. Now, if all writing is inspiration, it must stand upon the same rule of judgment—its real merit as contained in the ideas or thoughts conveyed, perfectly separated from and unmodified by any supposed or real source other than the immediate and apparent one; that is to say: It matters not a whit whether Jesus or Confucius, Brohma or Mahomet, Nero or Caligula first gave utterance to "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." Admitting the personality of both God and the Devil, it would not matter which of them had given "the Golden Rule" to the world. Its real merit—its only authority is contained within itself. It appeals directly to the religious nature of man and to the sense of justice of whoever listens to its wise simplicity. It is quite time that the idea of authority be stripped from everything, so that intrinsic values may be seen and appreciated. All our current ideas have been so dressed up in sacred mystery and time-honored associations that we have come to consider the dressing to the complete ignoring of the interior essence.

Therefore, if there has been anywhere in the world any revelation to man coming from an unseen source, that source was some intelligence other than the sum total of all intelligence, which would not only include the subject, but also the object of the revelation, which would be absurd, since an intelligence cannot convey intelligence to itself which it did not previously possess.

All Christians profess to believe in a future existence. If there is such an existence there must be individuals in it existing, and according to their own statements, those persons must be intelligent, that is, they are the people whom they say once lived, but are now dead; while everybody, unconsciously perhaps, oftentimes admits the love and presence of unseen friends. It is impossible to separate the idea of individualized life, after the death of the body, from that of the continuance of spiritual relationship once expressed through the physical body. That the real life—the real person is not the body which we feel and see, seems to be ignored. We forget that it is only the clay tenement in which we live our brief earthly life.

Then why the bitter vindictiveness on the part of Christians to the facts—we no longer say theories—of Spiritual-

ism? Wherein is the justification for the persistent denunciation constantly hurled at those who *know* that they have had communion with the loved who are not lost? Is the simple fact that they live and love us, and have made use of recently discovered methods of making themselves known, so terrible a thing as to warrant all this outcry—all this pious judgment? Would they have it understood that it is wicked and of the devil for people to converse with those who once ministered to their earthly happiness? Why should it not be equally sinful for our friends on a European trip to communicate with us?

What are their objections? The fact is they have no valid ones, since they fail to give them. It is the mere fact that Spiritualists are not of their flock—that they are not endeavoring to reach heaven or escape hell by their methods. It would be all right enough, if these spirits, who come, brought tidings of the truth of the peculiar dogmas and theories to which they cling, losing thereby all sight of the indwelling life. If they came with a highly wrought story, that they had seen the God the church worships, seated upon "His great white throne, judging His people—inviting a portion to enter paradise and consigning the large remainder to the lake of hell-fire, then the intruders would be welcome. But they do not so come; hence they are "false spirits, and those who tamper with them are equally with them of the devil."

But one by one—group after group—are the objectors brought to a knowledge of the facts, since there is a rule of evidence which no person can escape; though in the case of spirit communion the common rules of evidence are suspended. A person who is passed by society as perfectly honest, honorable and truthful in all other matters, is not believed in this. The same kind of evidence that would hang a man is rejected as insufficient in the case of spirits. If a half dozen persons were to testify that they saw a certain other person commit murder, there is no court that would not convict the murderer. But these same six persons might testify equally as pointedly to the fact of having seen a spirit whom they all recognized to be an old friend, and our opponents would set them down as objects of deception.

There are thousands upon thousands of recorded cases, each one of which, if admitted as evidence under the same rule as all other evidence is admitted, is sufficiently potent to prove, not only spirit existence, but also spirit identity.

Nor does it weaken the case to admit that identity is not always established. One fact stands boldly out; they all assert that they are the spirits of persons who once lived in the body. There are millions of as good people as ever lived, and as truthful, who will make the most solemn oaths that they know they have conversed with and positively identified individual spirit friends. Will the Church continue to call all these people insane and dishonest, when the very religion they profess rests largely upon similar evidence?

Spiritualism, as a distinctive religion, is but a score of years old. But within that comparatively short time it has spread until it now claims eleven million converts, six millions of whom are outspoken believers. Did ever any other new religious belief make such alarming (?) headway? Even more than this immense showing: there are millions more who admit the facts claimed, to their own souls, but do not yet publicly avow their belief.

Now what is Christianity going to do with this vast body of honest and earnest people? Does it comprehend against what it contends? Is it realized that Spiritualists are nearly as numerous as all other Christian denominations combined? We are conscious that this fact is not yet felt, since Spiritualists are constitutionally predisposed against organization, and consequently their united strength has never yet been exerted. This, however, is no evidence that it will never be united and accomplish a purpose. It is only evidence that nothing of sufficient moment has been developed to prove a solvent to the individuality of the masses of Spiritualists. But let some great thing come up for settlement, some great humanitarian work be proposed, based upon the principles of scientific or religious truth, and they will crystallize as if by magic.

No one who knows anything about Spiritualists doubts, if a grand reformation, either in politics or society, were to be launched upon this world, by an organized spirit movement, that every Spiritualist in the land would give it his adhesion and support. At this time, everything points to such a movement, and the spirits themselves say it exists, and Christians may count for certainty that, ere long, the whole body of reformers, not Spiritualists alone, but all other branches and issues which build upon principles, will unite, and in one grand phalanx march upon and overthrow the last remnant of ignorant conservatism, despotic usurpation and unequal relations among the people.

Every day new evidence comes from some quarter of the globe testifying that the equalization of humanity is abroad in the world. We hear it in England, in the mutterings of the laborers and the willingness of the Lords to listen. We hear it in Germany, where Bismarck speaks for the producing masses. While even in Japan the work has already begun in earnest. The untold wealth of the few is taken from them and restored to those who produced it. And can this country hope to escape? Be wise, and in time, for "blessed will be those who, when it comes, shall not impede its way."

Decrees are sealed in Heaven's own chancery,
Proclaiming universal liberty.
Rulers and kings who will not hear the call,
In one dread hour shall thunder-stricken fall.

SIX AND HALF A DOZEN: A LIFE STORY, WITH A MORAL.

BY MRS. A. E. BARR.

Slain in the battle of life. Wounded and fallen, trampled in the mire and mud of the conflict, then the ranks closed again and left no place for her. So she crawled aside to die. With a past whose black despair was as the shadow of a starless night, a future which her early religious training lit up with a lurid light of hell, and the strong hands of a pitiless death dragging her to the grave—still she craved, as the awful hour drew near, to see once more the home of her innocent childhood. Not that she thought to die in its shelter—any one who knew David Todd knew also that was a hopeless dream; but if, if her father should say one pardoning word, then she thought it would help her to understand the love of God, and give her some strength to trust in it.

Early in the evening, just as the sun was setting, and the cows were coming lowing up the lane, scented with the bursting lilac bushes, she stood humbly at the gate her father must pass in order to go to the hillside fold to shelter the ewes and lambs. Very soon she saw him coming, his Scotch bonnet pulled over his brow, his steps steadied by his shepherd's staff. His lips were firmly closed, and his eyes looked far over the hills; for David was a mystic in his own way, and they were to him temples not made by hands, in which he had seen and heard wonderful things. Here the storehouses of hail and lightning had been opened in his sight, and he had watched in the sunshine and the tempest bursting beneath his feet. He had trod upon rainbows and been waited upon by spectral mists. The voices of the winds and waters were in his heart, and he passionately believed in God. But it was the God of his own creed—jealous, just and awful in that inconceivable holiness which charges his angels with folly and detects impurity in the sinless heavens. So, when he approached the gate, he saw the dying girl who leaped against it. Whatever he felt, he made no sign. He closed it without hurry, and then passed on the other side.

"Father! Oh, father! speak one word to me."

Then he turned and looked at her, sternly and awfully.

"Thou art none of my bairn. I ken naught o' thee."

Without a glance at the white, despairing face, he walked rapidly on; for the spring nights were chilly, and he must gather his lambs into the fold, though this poor sheep of his own household was left to perish.

But, if her father knew her no more, the large sheep-dog at her side was not so cruel. No theological dogmas measured Rover's love; the stain on the spotless name of his master's house, which hurt the old man like a wound, had not shadowed his memory. He licked her hands and face, and tried, with a hospitality and pity which made him so much nearer the angels than his master, to pull her toward her home. But she shook her head and moaned pitifully; then throwing her arms round the poor brute, she kissed with those passionate kisses of repentance and love which should have fallen on her father's neck. The dog (dumb to all but God) pleaded with sorrowful eyes and half-tragic gestures; but she turned wearily away toward a great circle of immense rocks—relics of a religion scarcely more cruel than that which had neither pity nor forgiveness at the mouth of the grave. Within their shadows she could die unseen; and there next morning a wagoner, attracted by the plaintive howling of a dog, found her on the ground, dead.

There are set awful hours between every soul and heaven. Who knows what passed between Lettie Todd and her God in that dim, forsaken temple of a buried faith? Death closes tenderly even the eyes full of tears, and her face was beautiful with a strange peace, though its loveliness was marred and its youth "seared with the autumn of strange suffering."

At the inquest which followed, her stern old father neither blamed nor excused himself. He accepted without apology the verdict of society against him, only remarking that its reproach was "a good example o' Satan correcting sin."

Scant pity and less ceremony was given her burial. Death, which draws under the mantle of Charity the pride, cruelty and ambition of men, covering them with those two narrow words, *die jaced!* gives also to the woman who has been a sinner all she asks—oblivion. In no other way can she obtain from man toleration. The example of the whitest, purest soul that ever breathed on earth, in this respect, is ignored in the church He founded. The tenderest of human hearts, "when lovely woman stooped to folly," found no way of escape for her but to "die;" and those closet moralists, with filthy fancies and soiled souls, who abound in every community, regard her with that sort of scorn which a Turk expresses when he says, "Dog of a Christian." Poor Lettie! She had procured this doom—first by sacrificing herself to a blind and cruel love, and then to the impetuous demands of hunger, "oldest and strongest of passions." Ah! if there was no pity in heaven, no justice beyond the grave, what a cruel irony this life would be! For, while the sexton shoveled hastily over the rude coffin the obliterating earth, there passed the graveyard another woman, equally fallen from all the apostle calls "lovely and of good report." One whose youth and hopes and marvelous beauty had been sold for houses and lands and a few thousand pounds a year. "But, though her life was a living lie, the world praised her, because she 'had done well unto herself.'" Yet, at the last end, the same seed brought forth the same fruit, and the Lady of Hawksworth Hall learned, with bitter rapidity, that riches are too poor to buy love. Scarcely had she taken possession of her splendid home before she longed for the placid happiness of her mother's cottage, and those evening walks under the beech-trees, whose very memory was now a sin. Over her beautiful face there crept a pathetic shadow, which irritated the rude and noisy Squire like a reproach. He had always had what he wanted. Not even the beauty of all the border countries had been beyond his means to buy; but somehow he felt as if in this bargain he had been overreached. Her better part eluded his possession, and he felt dissatisfied and angry. Expostulations grew into cruel words; cruel words came to crueler blows. Yes, blows. English gentlemen thirty years ago knew their privileges; and that was one of them. She was as much and as lawfully his as the horses in his stables or the bounds in his kennels. He beat them, too, when they did not obey him. Her beauty had betrayed her into the hands of misery. She had wedded it, and there was no escape for her. One day, when her despair and suffering was very great, some tempting devil brought her a glass of brandy, and she drank it. It gave her back for a few hours her departed sceptre; but at what a price! Her slave soon became her master. Stimulus and stupefaction, physical

exhaustion and mental horrors, the abandonment of friends and the brutality of a coarse and cruel husband, brought her at last to the day of reckoning. She died, seven years after her marriage, in the delirium of opium. There were physicians and servants around her, and an unloving husband waiting for the news of his release. I think I would rather have died where Lettie did—under the sky, with the solemn mountains lifting their heads in a perpetual prayer around me, and that faithful dog licking my hands and mourning my wasted life.

Now, wherein did these two women differ? One sinned through an intense and self-sacrificing love, and in obedience to the strongest calls for want. Her sin, though it was beyond the pale of the world's toleration, was yet one according to nature. The other in a cold spirit of barter, voluntarily and deliberately exchanged her youth and beauty, the hopes of her own and another's life, for carriages, jewels, fine clothing and a luxurious table. She loathed the price she had to pay, and her sin was an unnatural one. For this kind of prostration, which religion blesses and society praises, there seems to be no redress; but for that which results as the almost inevitable sequence of one lapse of charity we, the pious, the virtuous, the irreproachable, are all to blame. Who or what make it impossible for them to retrace their steps? Do they ever have reason to hope that the family hearth will be open to them if they go back? Prodigal sons may return, and they are welcomed with tears of joy and clasped by helping hands; but how few parents would go to meet a sinning daughter. Forgetting our Master's precepts, forgetting our own weakness, we turn scornfully from the weeping Magdalen, and leave her "alone with the irreparable." Marriage is a holy and a necessary rite. We would deprecate any loosening of this great household of society; but we do say that where it is the only distinction between two women, one of whom is an honored matron, and the other a Pariah and an outcast, there is "something in the world amiss"—something beyond the cure of law or legislation, and that can only be reached by the authority of a Christian press and the influence of Christian example.—*The Independent.*

ENGLISH BRUTALITY.

I don't know anything more lamentable and shocking than the steady increase of a certain class of deeds of violence in England. I mean the brutal treatment of wives, and, indeed, of women generally. Of course these offenses are confined to a very low class, but they are rampant there. Take up any paper any day and you can sup full of horror on such stories. The London rough comes home drunk, and the mere sight of his wife is enough to madden him. He beats her on the head, kicks her in the stomach, knocks her down and jumps upon her. A series of kicks in the abdomen is as familiar a rebuke to one of these wretched women as a box on the ear to a naughty child. A brute in the North of England the other day set a fierce bull dog at his wife and kept the sport going until the animal had torn lumps of flesh out of the woman's arms and shoulders; then the husband finished up by beating her on the head and breasts. He got six months' imprisonment! The woman's life was at one time despaired of; but she did not die, and so he escaped any serious punishment. A man in London quarreled with his wife because she complained of his going to a public house. He beat her to death with a bludgeon. A lazy scoundrel out of work was coming out of a public house; his wife met him. Without waiting for her possible reproach he knocked her down and stamped upon her legs and stomach. Another fellow came home drunk to the bedside of his dying wife. He struck the woman on the face. I am not inventing or exaggerating; all this appeared in the papers last week—and when the poor woman's father and sister remonstrated he knocked the father down, seized the sister in his brawny arms, ran to the window, opened it, and hoisted the shrieking young woman on to the sill of it, resolved to fling her into the street, twenty feet below. The woman, with agony and terror, clung to the frame work of the window with frantic clutch. While the wretch was deliberately endeavoring to unclasp her fingers the neighbors rushed in and saved her. Of course he will get no adequate punishment. The British rough has got it thoroughly into his head that his wife is his property to beat and kick as he pleases, and unless he actually and deliberately kills the woman, having formally announced his intention beforehand, he never suffers more than a few weeks' imprisonment. The beast would be more severely punished if he were to break a pane of glass in a shop window. The papers positively overflow with these crimes just now. It is almost superfluous to single out any particular case as an illustration, for they are all just the same. In no country of the civilized world, save England alone, do such things occur to the same extent, and the fact is a hideous disgrace to our laws and our society. We need for these cases either special and exceptional legal punishment or Lynch law. Either the law must deal with a man who does his best to murder his wife as with a murderer, or society, outraged by these crimes, must become a law unto itself. This very day—since I began to write this paragraph—I read in the police reports an account of the doings of a Russian, whose brutality almost sickens one to think of. This man—he is young, only twenty-two—comes home to his young wife, who is described as very "clean, neat and attractive in appearance," and who is "far advanced in pregnancy," and he begins by beating her and blackening one of her eyes. An hour after he begins again—he beats her anew, and blackens the other eye. Later, on this same happy evening, she goes to bed, whereupon he pulls her out of bed by the hair and kicks her until she lies insensible, and her mother finds her stretched out apparently lifeless. What punishment is awarded to the husband? Three months' imprisonment! Again I say, the only remedy for this sort of thing, while we wait for the working of our new system of national education, is exceptional legislation—or Judge Lynch.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

[What a beneficent institution is marriage for these poor women. Day after day, week in and out, until they roll into months, and months into years, and years complete a life, are they bound to such endurance from such brutal beasts. Nor need it be imagined, because there are but a few cases of extreme violence that come to public knowledge, that these are all there are existing. Patiently and uncomplainingly are hundreds of cases of all degrees of brutality endured, since they know it is useless to complain and worse than useless to rebel. Nor does the above even tell the whole, nor the worst part of it; for, after all the cruelty these human devils can inflict bodily upon their necessarily subservient slaves, they then complete their brutality by defiling their souls by their lust. And yet marriage is too holy a thing to be questioned.—Ed.]

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

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.

[CONTINUED.]

EIGHTH—MAN WILL NOT BE A FIXTURE IN THE ONE LOCAL-
ITY,

as he now necessarily is, by virtue of possessing a homestead or a business which is the growth of years of steady nursing, and which he cannot abandon even temporarily, perhaps, without pecuniary detriment; but he can round out his being by travel, always sure of employment wherever he goes. How much better it is to have the world for your home, to visit different latitudes at different seasons of the year, to enjoy all the varieties of climate and scenery, to meet with the conveniences of home everywhere, than to be fixed for life, perhaps, to the narrow limits of our bodily vision. Individual ownerships necessitate such a condition, narrowing and contracting our sphere in life. How can man in such a state hope to emerge from the fragment that he is into the complete cosmopolitan that he should be?

NINTH—OTHER BENEFITS FLOWING FROM NATIONALIZATION
OF LABOR WOULD BE THE SUBSTITUTION OF GENUINE ARTI-
CLES OF FOOD, DRINK AND MANUFACTURE, IN THE PLACE
OF BASE ADULTERATIONS AND SHAMS, ALSO STRICT DEAL-
INGS BY WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

In considering the many evils of the competitive system of trade, we cannot blind ourselves to the enormous frauds to which society is at present exposed, and which yearly increases as science and skill are developed. Hardly an article of food, drink, medicine or wear, but what is fraught with deleterious adulterations, often injurious to the health of consumers, that their vendors may either be able to undersell their rival competitors, or increase their already excessive profits. From poisoned liquors alone we can hardly compute the extent of disease and crime resulting from their pernicious effects. Armies in all countries suffer from the inferior quality of food and clothing furnished by contractors. Not alone are the people defrauded by adulterated foods, but often by scant weights and measures. Coal dealers buy 2,240 pounds of coal for a ton, and sell (nominally) 2,000 pounds. A recent case came before the court in which it was proven that 1,600 pounds were delivered for a ton.

Under the present system there can be no remedy, but these evils will continue to increase. Gas companies will continue to furnish inferior gas at extortionate rates. Will there not be a culmination sometime that will necessitate a different commercial system? Were competitive labor to cease there would be no incentive to adulteration. The people would produce and manufacture for themselves so that everything made and sold would be good and substantial.

TENTH—THE CAUSE OF QUARRELS AND LITIGATIONS WOULD
BE REMOVED.

The present multiplicity of owners and claimants of property cause an endless sea of litigation. The leading feature of government is its vast machinery of tribunals, police and prisons, professedly to administer justice between man and man, and to protect them from each other.

Were the nation the proprietor and employer, the bone of contention would be removed, and but few occasions for litigation could possibly arise. The multitudinous laws which are now upon the statutes would be swept away, and with them the fraternity of lawyers would lose their field of avocation and become extinct. The occasion for coercion in the affairs of men being past, there would be no government such as now exists, but in its place a NATION, deriving its powers from all its people, and whose legitimate functions would be to develop the wealth and resources of the country by superintending labor and distributing its products.

ELEVENTH—IT WOULD REGULATE THE CURRENCY OF THE
COUNTRY SO AS TO PREVENT ALL PANICS AND FLUCTUA-
TIONS IN THE MONEY MARKET.

At present we have a complicated system of banking and exchange, depending for its support upon usury, the evils of which are almost incalculable, it being a base fraud upon labor, absorbing and controlling it without rendering an equivalent. It is through usury that enormous fortunes are accumulated in the hands of the few. It opens the door to every species of legal extortion, and tempts adventurous minds to seek for sudden wealth by devious paths. Under its influence there is no security in business relations; defalcations, frauds and reckless speculations cause an ever-recurring rise and fall in the money market, perpetuating itself by adding fuel to the fevered minds of infatuated gamblers.

Under national proprietorship there could be no transactions in real estate, and little or no borrowing of money. As there would be no occasion for hoarding, the material of currency would be of little consequence. National labor notes representing an equivalent of a certain amount of labor, and bearing no interest, would answer all the purposes of a medium of exchange.

We have referred to some of the most prominent evils that would find their remedy under the national system. Further examination will show it to be equally conducive to the regeneration of society in every form, and the banishment of nearly every species of crime, injustice and conflict that the world is now afflicted with.

Let us suppose that by absorption, one department of business after another has fallen under national supervision until at least it has become the entire owner and controller of every branch of commerce and industry. As individuals will depend upon the nation for everything they have, it clearly becomes the duty of the nation to supply all their needs.

Let us inquire, then, into some of these needs. First of all is a guarantee against any possibility of want for every man, woman and child. As society is now constituted, it is the rule that those who toil the hardest are the least paid,

and also that this body produce children in greater abundance than those who live in the enjoyment of wealth and ease.

The main burden of the support of the rising generation therefore has always rested upon the shoulders of the poorer classes of community. How unjust it is that children should be born into the world to endure privations from their birth up, when society has the power of preventing it.

A national guarantee must cover every possible contingency in life before mankind can rest free from care. It must begin then at birth, and only end with death. In equity, the rising generation is equally entitled to the fruits of the accumulations of the labor of past generations, and, as these are held by the nation, for the good of its citizens, children should come into their inheritance at birth; in other words, be wards of the nation, and cared for, supported and educated by it. The charge upon the nation would not be ended until the youth had acquired some useful occupation. Thus far society has performed its duty in fostering and preparing them for usefulness, and is now to be repaid by an addition to its productive force.

When, after years of active service, by which the nation has profited, man has expended his physical powers, he again rests in the lap of society, and passes his declining years in ease and comfort.

When the principle of justice prevails, the age of charitable institutions will have passed away. The duties of man to society, and society to man, are equal, so that man labors for society. In sickness and old age he lives upon the bounties which his benefits to society have guaranteed for his use.

Under such conditions there will be no need for man to accumulate his savings as a provision against want for himself or family; he can enjoy the proceeds of his labor day by day, as he receives it, for there will be no "rainy days" ahead to take into account. Should a man perchance accumulate it would be no more than justice that, at his death, his property revert to the nation, and thus prevent accumulation in families. Society under this system would have a better right to the property than the children of the deceased.

Insurance of the necessities of life is not all that a man needs to make him happy. Freedom from care is not positive happiness, unless it comes as a relief to one overtaxed. He not only desires physical preservation, but the rational gratification of all the appetites not only of the body but of the mind. Complete happiness would be the full enjoyment of every faculty that he possesses.

Man desires a beautiful home and surroundings, elegant garments for his person, a great variety of delicate foods for his table, besides every facility for travel, instruction and amusement. All persons would like comfortable homes if they could get them. As society constitutes all persons, there would be but one voice in desiring society to construct fine residences for its members, especially as all would be equally able to become tenants. In the course of time the nation would be able to erect elegant and capacious hotels for those who wanted them, having every convenience possible to attain. Those who preferred isolated dwellings would doubtless be also accommodated.

In the present order of building, especially in cities, each house stands upon a narrow lot, and to find sufficient space for the family it is necessary to pass to different floors above and below, making it inconvenient and tiresome. Instead, then, of forty or fifty houses upon a block, covering only part of a lot each, society could erect a hotel, comprising the entire block, thereby economizing valuable ground. Apartments suitable for the largest families could be upon one floor and easily accessible. Were the upper stories as complete in finish as the lower ones, and provided with convenient elevators, the top floor (however high the building might be) would be rendered as agreeable to live in as any other. One culinary department would be sufficient, having railways to convey provisions to dumb waiters, to be hoisted to any part desirable, that all who desire a private table may be accommodated. A public refectory would be a necessary part of the institution. One heating apparatus could warm the entire block, and one laundry afford convenience to all its inhabitants.

By being entirely disconnected and reached only by elevators, the suits of rooms would be equivalent to a separate house for each family, with the advantage of being more commodious. Many persons have a repugnance to community life as it is generally understood, feeling that their privacy would be invaded; but under a plan of this kind, while the common interests of all are subserved, each as an individual may be as exclusive as desirable. Were the nation then to build and furnish its hotels, and run them at cost, it would be a great economy to the expense of living, and very convenient for those who are fond of change or travel, or who desire to avoid the burdens of house-keeping.

It is well known that mortality is much greater among the poor who live in crowded tenements, subject to vitiated air and unwholesome food. Thinly clad and shod, they are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and when they become sick, are unable to obtain proper medical advice, medicines and nourishing food. Besides they are rendered incapable of performing their daily labor, and so a complication of miseries is heaped upon them.

What a change in the hygienic conditions there would be under the national plan, where none of these evils would appear. As a person's pay would continue during sickness, it would be the interest of society to preserve the health and facilitate the recovery of the sick, that it may not be deprived of their services.

It has been sometimes remarked by unthinking persons, that were all guaranteed a livelihood there would be no incentive to man's ambition, and life would become objectless. Let us inquire wherein the present institutions impel ambition. Is it not in the acquisition of wealth and power; and does a man become wealthy from honest, single-handed labor, or is it by defrauding others of the benefit of their labor? This question is easily answered. And what is power that man should want it? Is it not exercise of force in some direction upon the minds of his fellow men? What natural right has he to use this force, and what right has one man to be considered superior to another, merely because he may have lived under more favorable conditions? Is it not a perverted and selfish ambition to desire aggrandizement, and does it not foster the spirit of caste, which makes masters and slaves? Should public applause, ovations, hero-worship and wealth be the absorbing motives of life? If not, why should we desire these ambitions to prevail? Instead of monopolizing the advantages of life, to elevate ourselves above our neighbors, would it not be more laudable to wish every fellow being to be our equal?

'Tis true, that were false systems swept away, the avenues in which ignoble ambitions find their sway would be closed. This, however, would not prevent the activity of the human mind, but send it into broader and more legitimate channels, from which

present systems forcibly exclude it. The arts and sciences would be pursued for the love of knowledge and their uses to society, and reason cannot suggest more powerful or worthy motives. Now, art is often debased and science used for nefarious purposes; mercenary temptations continually struggling for the mastery. When society becomes homogeneous, the good of one is the good of all, and each knows that benefits rendered to society affect his own welfare. Each working for all, all are recipients.

With national colleges, schools, libraries, museums, laboratories, zoological gardens, theatres, &c., the people would not be in want of opportunities of instruction and amusement. Many a scientific mind of the present day finds itself hampered by lack of facilities for research. Many an inventor is too poor to test the worth of his invention. Society could amend this by having spacious laboratories containing all that is necessary for scientific experiments free to those who are interested in the development of chemistry, with like facilities for other branches of science; also workshops, tools and materials free to the inventor, for building and testing his models. All experimental labor and research belonging to individual enterprise, however, would be pursued for the pleasure of the persons so engaged, and would occupy the hours not appropriated to paid productive industry.

Were land common property and necessary labor only nominal, leaving people ample time to be devoted to embellishment of various kinds, they would take pleasure in beautifying their surroundings. Landscape farming would bring into requisition all the artistic talent in community. Armies of people would be employed in grading the land, draining swamps, planting forests, etc., so that when population sufficiently increased, the whole country would become upon a grand scale as equally diversified as our Central Park. Each township would vie with its neighbor in producing beauty and variety of scenery. Well-graded avenues, shaded by overhanging foliage, would lead to stately palaces, the home of the husbandman. Rich fruits by the wayside would freely offer themselves to be plucked by the passer-by.

No landmarks or fences need deface the scenery or obstruct the free passage of agricultural engines as they move over the broad acres. The pasture lands requisite for the township could be in a body, and one dairy with cheese and butter factory supply the inhabitants. The people, educated and skillful, through agricultural chemistry would rapidly develop the resources of mother earth, and fertile fields and teeming crops would bid defiance to want, and be a lasting contrast to the barren soil and starving peasantry that now pertain to some portions of the world. What more could we ask than "that the earth shall blossom as the rose?"

Many readers may be led to observe that this represents a very beautiful and desirable state of things, but that the nation could not be trusted with such enormous power, for its officials even now reek with corruption, and are on all hands plundering the people to subserve their private interests; that the nation would become a despot and the people be reduced to the condition of serfs. This may be easily avoided by referring all laws to the people for ratification or rejection; thus making the people sovereign and therefore one with the nation, and depriving their representatives of the power of usurpation and corruption by special legislation.

In April, 1869, several of the cantons of Switzerland adopted this plan in their new constitutions, after having practiced it to a considerable degree in local matter for nearly a century. Twice a year, and oftener if necessary, copies of the laws are furnished to the people to be voted upon.

This measure, called by some the "Referendum," would enable the people, if they chose, to take into their own hands the control of the wealth of the country, regulate the commercial and industrial pursuits, and establish a uniform system of remuneration.

It has been proven by the experience of all the past that a change of officers is no remedy for a corrupt government, for it is the corrupt system that generates corrupt officials. Systems that are unjust cannot be justly administered. It is not to natural depravity that we may trace the evils that men in power exhibit, but to that condition of things that permits one person to obtain rule over others, and thus appropriate to individual uses the power belonging to another. At present, we invest our legislators with power to vote away our money and rights, from which there is no appeal; thus they become our masters instead of servants. Were they empowered only to draft laws, to be submitted to us before becoming such, they might be useful citizens, and we, the people, might be sovereign of the nation.

That great source of political corruption, official patronage, would be obviated were important officials to receive their commissions direct from the people; while their subordinates may be selected by drawing the names of qualified applicants from a wheel, thus avoiding any favoritism. Until those conditions which give power to individuals are abrogated, we can only be a Democracy in name.

Our senatorial bodies are elected to deliberate upon the acts of Congress and Legislatures, so as to be a check and safeguard. The same services would be performed by the people, were the laws referred to them, and there would be no further occasion for these dignified bodies.

A democracy cannot exist without expression is given to the full voice of the people. Every man and woman, irrespective of race or color, has an equal interest in the affairs of society. The peace and happiness of all persons are alike dear to themselves, whatever their mental or physical capacities, therefore the same opportunities should be extended to all; not only that, but equal compensation for equal hours of labor, whether it be of the brain or muscle. Officials should receive no more than non-officials; why a id wealth to honors? 'Tis true, that under the present system, high official positions require a more profuse expenditure, but were all in the national employ, the President (providing there would be one) should receive no more than the person engaged in the humblest department of labor. None would decline honors on account of insufficient salary, for all occupations would be alike remunerative.

While it is necessary to keep armies, they also should be conducted upon democratic principles. That the spirit of caste might be destroyed in the army and equal rights prevail, rotation in office should be practiced until every private soldier, by passing through the various grades, becomes qualified, as far as his capacity will allow, to command a regiment, and when so qualified returning again to the ranks. This could easily be accomplished during peace, by dividing the regiment and companies into smaller ones, thus making room for a greater number of officers, to be consolidated again in time of war, when the divisions, regiments and companies should elect their officers by ballot. Their experience would determine them whom they would prefer to serve under. Equal pay and rations should be awarded to officers and privates.

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The same principles should also prevail in the navy, the vessels during peace, instead of sailing objectless from one sea to another; their officers and crew being supported in idleness by the nation, in the interchange of vain compliments and hospitalities with the officials and dignitaries of the different ports, should be employed in useful commerce in the service of the people.

From the above statement it has been shown that the ultimatum of co-operation, complete solidarity, may be worked out successfully and rapidly by the deductive process of beginning upon a political basis, by uniting the efforts of the people en masse in the cause of co-operative industry.

So many reforms are agitated that cannot possibly be put down, that society will soon be willing to settle its conflicts by accepting all together, instead of by piecemeal, can it but see a peaceful transition out of the effete institutions, into a young and vigorous era, where the reign of happiness and harmony is the legitimate result of even-handed justice.

LABOR AND CAPITAL—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES —THE COMING REVOLUTION.

French Socialism has given to the world a grand contribution to its lingual riches in the single technical word, "Solidarity," the *Solidarity of the people within the nation*, and the *Solidarity of the nations*. By this majestic term is meant the interworking Unity of the interests and well-being of every one with the interests and well-being of all others; the intimate relations of *self-sameness*, the almost *absolute identity* of the conditions of my happiness and of the conditions of your happiness, throughout all the intimate ramifications of the social affairs of humanity. If Paul has the small-pox, Peter is compelled to resort to vaccination. If James gets the itch, John, too, must scratch. Health and disease alike are a common heritage. Humanity is one, in ten million different senses. The whole world of mankind is one Grand Man, with efflux and influx of many common fluids which visit every Individual—each Individual being an atom, or at best a Primitive Cell in the constitution of the Great Being.

Health for one individual in a community is a physiological impossibility, as health for an organ or a finger in a body that is tainted with virus is impossible in the smaller sphere, and as health for a community or a nation, in a world which is diseased, is, on the larger scale, a similar impossibility. There is no health and no real happiness for any, until there is health and happiness for all. We are tied neck and heels together in a common destiny. *No one thing can be right in the world, until everything in the world is right.*

All this complicated idea is contained in the meaning of the single word *Solidarity*. The *Sentiment of Solidarity* is contained in the doctrine of the Christian Religion. Thought out into a *Social Dogma*, and now, for the first time explicated into full definition, it pertains to Social Science. As a mere instinct it has always existed.

In Rome, in the days of the Republic, it was felt, in this blind, instinctive way, that the whole people had an equal right in the natural wealth of the world. This feeling found expression in Agrarianism, a first crude impulse towards universal justice. The first Christians were Communists, and Christianity strictly interpreted is pure Communism. Struggling up through the ages, the sentiment, and finally the distinct thought of the Solidarity of mankind has been coming steadily to the surface; and to-day it is getting itself pronounced as by the voice of one having authority.

Socialism is the rising *sun* of our day. The demand for the recognition of the solidarity of human interests will now never be abated or allayed until equity abounds and justice is established on the whole earth. *There is such a thing as justice*, and it is possible of realization, and it will be realized. The world moves, and moves now in that direction; and the end is within view and will be attained.

Significant concessions to the claims of the workmen are occurring on every hand. The New York Times gave an account last week of a noble and successful experiment made by the Messrs. Brewster, carriage manufacturers, in this city, to adjust the claims of labor and capital equitably. The programme of co-operation between the English Nobility and the Workingmen's Party of Great Britain is questioned or denied; but where there is smoke there is apt to be fire; the prophecy sometimes leads to its own fulfillment; and what is fanciful to-day is real to-morrow. Mr. Brassey, an English employer, proposes that, as machinery never tires, a stop be put upon the discussion of the eight-hour question, in a way advantageous to all parties, but keeping all the machinery in the country running through the entire twenty-four hours, by the aid of three relays of hands, each working eight hours only.

But by far the most significant concession to the demands of the workers is now about to be made by the Colossus of European Conservatism, Bismarck himself.

Under the head of "The Social Problem in Germany," the *Evening Post* has the following:

Bismarck, it is said, has hit upon a startling measure for allaying the discontent of workmen. It is reported that he intends to prepare a bill "for the regulation of the profits of manufacturing associations," providing that when the profits reach a certain percentage the surplus shall be divided among the workmen employed in them. The bill applies only to manufacturing companies, but most of the large manufacturing establishments in Germany are in the hands of associations, so that the importance and bearing of the bill are obvious. It is a bold step towards socialism. Five years ago no one in Germany except the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle would have ventured to advocate such a measure. To-day the social problem has assumed a threatening aspect that even reactionary organs, such as the Berlin *Kreuz-Zeitung*, freely admit that something must be done, and done very quickly, to prevent a general social convulsion, while even such cautious liberal journals as the

Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the Hamburg *News* advocate laws to secure the workmen some share in the profits of their labor. The German government announces that it will not interfere in any manner whatever between the employers and their workmen as to the hours and wages of labor, but will leave these questions to be decided by themselves. This of course will be welcome news to the manufacturers, but they will offer a most determined resistance to the bill of the Chancellor. The debate on this bill will certainly attract attention throughout the world.

Thus, while threatening on the one hand to suppress the Internationals, the Governments of Europe are beginning wisely to consider the alternative of conceding some portion of their just claims. The capitalists have their choice, now to intervene voluntarily, and solve this problem of justice by social science and practical skill, or to submit, at an early day, to the dictation of governments, and of none with so much rigor as of a republican and democratic Republic like our own, the moment the People, the real Governors, are better informed of their rights and their powers; and a few such Socialist teachers as Mr. GEORGE ALLEN, in this and the last numbers of this paper, will soon take them through that step in their education.

In the end, nothing does but the Scientific Organization of Labor, in every department, from that of the household to the great public works. The real question which remains is whether governmental intervention, by force, the ballot and the bullet, ordinary government, or the attractive and satisfactory measures of the great capitalists and executive men, functioning in freedom, in behalf of justice, self-elected governors serving the right from the love of truth and humanity, the *Cardinal* Type of Government; or whether both of these combined and co-operating with each other, the Integral and Pantarchal conception, shall prevail.

I have surrendered my special columns to Mr. Allen to sketch his idea, that of the New Democracy, of the authoritative intervention of Government in the ordinary spheres, with this subject. I shall take some other occasion to sketch the Fourieristic theory of a purely attractive industrial organization. In the meantime, the internal polity of different nations is gradually conforming itself to the idea of justice. Within a generation slavery and serfdom have been abolished in the British Colonies, in the United States, in Mexico, and now partially in Cuba, and in Brazil. All this is merely preparatory for the great Social Revolution all over the world. The light of civilization is bursting on the East after having encompassed the earth. The civilian King and Royal Philosopher of Japan, STOTSBASHI, compelled by revolution to abdicate his office as Tycoon, stipulated for the steady progress of reform, an abolition in part of the feudal system in the realm.

The *Alta California* has the following interesting account of this recent great revolution in Japan:

The late Tycoon, when his enemies resorted to force to overthrow him, consented to the destruction of his dynasty, not on condition of some personal gain for himself, but if the nobles would promise to establish liberal institutions. This promise was given, and seems to have been kept, although the reforms have gone too far to suit many of the nobles; and perhaps the danger of disturbance is not yet entirely past. Under the old system the chief nobles were hereditary governors of the three hundred and odd provinces, and the owners of nearly all the revenues of the empire, while the Tycoon and Mikado were supported to a great extent by contributions, which were regarded as presents. As sureties for the fidelity of the nobles, each had to send a near relative as a hostage to be kept by the Tycoon. After the abrogation of the tyconate the imperial authority was invested in the official who had been the mikado, or spiritual emperor, but the title of his office has been changed to tenno, and there is no longer a mikado. The first want of a good government is a secure revenue, and Satsuma, Choshi, Toza and Ijiz n, the four leading princes, offered to transfer their entire revenues to the crown. The Tenno accepted the offer, but returned to them one-eighth. Seven-eighths of the revenues of other nobles were also taken. The annual revenue of the imperial government is now estimated at \$120,000,000. The next change was effected by an act of Parliament, which deprived the leading nobles of the hereditary right to the governorship of the provinces in which their families have been established for centuries. Henceforth the governors are to be appointed by the crown, and the Tenno has exercised his power by appointing several civilians, to the great disgust of the disgraced nobles. We have not been able to learn in what manner the Parliament is constituted, but its overthrow of one of the chief privileges of the powerful nobility indicates that the middle class, at least, is well represented. These are the main points of the revolution, so far as we have been able to learn them, but they are accompanied by other facts indicative of a revolutionary spirit. The Japanese people are trying to learn European languages, and become familiar with European modes of thought. Japanese students are numerous in American and European colleges, and European and American artisans, engineers and professional men of experience and reputation are invited and employed at high salaries by the government to assist in teaching the people of Japan the various useful arts, as practiced in the capital of Christendom. Physicians, military officers, professors of agriculture, geology and mining, and officers familiar with the workings of a constitutional government are sent for; and the men obtained are generally distinguished in their several branches. The steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the best pattern of breech-loading firearms, and many other of the most valuable productions of modern skill are already naturalized by these enterprising islanders. Japan is advancing with a speed unexampled among heathen nations.

So, also, the solidarity of the nations, as between themselves, is steadily and rapidly progressing. All nations are, in a sense, flowing into one. That no nation is really and permanently benefited by the misfortune of another is more and more clearly understood every day. The preparation for a pantarchal unity of the nations is nearly complete; and, in fine, the solidarity of the two worlds, spiritual and

mundane, is the crowning tendency of the hour. Another year will hardly pass without new and surprising events bearing on this point.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

A CARD.

Mrs. ANNA KIMBALL PARKER, Clairvoyant and Magnetic Physician, 257 West Fifteenth street, New York.

COURAGE TO DO RIGHT.

You may have courage, all of you,
To start at honor's call,
To meet a foe, protect a friend
Or face a cannon ball!
To show the world one hero lives,
The foremost in the fight—
But do you always manifest
The courage to do right?
To answer, "No," with steady breath,
And quick, unfaltering tongue,
When fierce temptation, ever near,
Her siren song has sung;
To care not for the bantering tone,
The jest or studied slight;
Content if you can only have
The courage to do right.
To step aside from fashion's curse,
Or custom's favored plan;
To pluck an outcast from the street,
Or help a fellow man.
If not, then let us nobly try,
Henceforth with all our might,
In every case, to muster up
The courage to do right.

Philadelphia, October 3, 1871.

MARY CROLL.

ONE of the most interesting subjects discussed at the recent annual meeting of the British Social Science Association in Leeds, was the influence of imprisonment as now practiced in repressing crime. Mr. Tallack, Secretary of the Howard Association of London, read a paper on the cellular system of Holland and Belgium, which is neither solitary confinement nor a gregarious system. The writer declared it to be the best system of which we have any knowledge. A subsequent speaker said that it had justified itself by a trial of thirty-nine years in the Bristol, England, jail. Mr. Tallack said that the system was simply one of separation among the prisoners, and that each prisoner had very much more communication than in England with instructors, chaplains, prison officials and visitors. He summed up its advantages as follows:

"More deterrence than the congregate or semi-congregate system; infinitely more of reformatory effect and of freedom from corrupting influences; more economy to the State or the rate-payers by reason of the much shorter terms of confinement necessary; less breaking up or ruin of the prisoner's family by reason of shorter separation from them; a better reception of religious and secular instruction in prison; a greater impetus to activity in useful and remunerated labor; general exemption from contagious and epidemic diseases; greater security from escapes; far fewer causes for prison punishments, with entire independence of treadwheels and cranks; greater facilities for the observation and prompt detection of disease or insanity; protection to the prisoner on his discharge from future recognition by other prisoners, and a greater eligibility for employment, and a far more effectual qualification for a career of honest usefulness. But inasmuch as the best of systems might be liable to the worst abuse if not rightly administered, so the cellular system, to be accompanied by success, as in Belgium and Holland, must be as vigilantly and unceasingly guarded, as it was there, against the neglect or mistakes which would convert it into the rigid solitary system—a system as evil as the other is good."

The Rev. W. Field read a paper on the English treatment—which is the American treatment—of prisoners, and its result. He said that short imprisonments are fertile sources of crime. First offenses, he thought, ought to be dealt lightly with, but the penalty should increase with each conviction, and a third sentence should invariably be to penal servitude. He gave some striking examples of frequent offenders whose punishment on the fourth conviction was lighter than on the third. Sir John Pakington having expressed the idea that Mr. Field's rule that no person should ever be committed for a shorter period than three months was excessively cruel, Dr. Wines made some remarks on the question, which were frequently interrupted by cheers. He said that if the object of imprisonment was punishment, Sir John was perfectly right, but the true purpose of prisons should not be punitive but reformatory, and in that sense three months was too short rather than too long a term. Dr. Wines said further that of all the prisons in both Europe and America that he had visited, he found but two in which he thought the vital and predominant end was reformation—the prison of Louvain and the House of Correction in Detroit, Michigan. He could not even recommend the adoption of the Belgian system to its full extent. The section adopted no resolution on the subject, but the discussion was full of interesting points.

I CONCLUDE that the principal reason that city people have fairer complexions, a freer, more elastic step, brighter eyes and a more genteel appearance generally than those who pass their lives on farms, is because the former are not tempted by pure air and much exercise to grow indurated—not having very sharp appetites, but a better knowledge of the laws which govern good health, they are more moderate and nicer in the selection of their food, being careful to partake only at proper intervals when required, while country people eat ravenously whatever is set before them, without regard to time or digestion. Pork and other fat and greasy provisions, often badly cooked (the cook being generally badly paid for filling a dozen situations in one, "for life"), enter largely into their supply and used in such quantities that often a tired system, after a hard day's labor, fails to properly perform its office, throwing impurities to the surface of the skin, causing it to become yellow, rough, and often red and pimply—the persons dull, heavy and piodding in appearance.

The beautiful city belle would prefer to die by the slow tortures of fashion and starvation than spoil her beauty by eating hearty, late and unhealthy meals. NELLIE W.

TWO IFS.

If it might only be
That in the singing sea,
The living lighted sea,
There were a place for you to creep
Away within the tinted weeds, and sleep,
A cradled, curtained place for you
To take the happy rest for two!

And then if it might be
Appointed unto me,
(God knows how sweet to me!)
To plunge into the sharp surprise,
Of burning battle's blood, and dust, and cries,
And face the hottest fire for you,
And fight the deadly fight for two!

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

WOMAN ITEMS.

The authorities of Harvard College have refused the application of a Nashua lady, who desired to attend the law school.

The ex-Empress Engenie has been for some time engaged on a life of Mary Queen of Scots, which will shortly be published.

Miss Kellogg has received a splendid offer to go to California for twenty-eight nights. Fifty thousand dollars and all expenses paid is the price.

"Does the train start this evening at thirty-five minutes past six, as usual?" asked an elderly dame of a railroad employe. "No, it leaves at twenty-five minutes to seven," was the reply. "Dear me, dear me, how they do change these trains."

A young lady—Miss Kitty Anderson—voted at the recent election in Taylor County, Iowa. The Bedford *Southwest* says the judges of election decided that she had a legal right to vote, by virtue of the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In England, a majority of the persons signing the marriage register of the parish make their mark. A clergyman explains in a newspaper that this is not due to illiteracy wholly, but that one in five of the persons who thus sign themselves in his parish, do so because they are too drunk to write.

Rev. Olympia Brown has begun a third year of successful pastoralship in Bridgeport, Conn. Evidence of prosperity may be found in an increase of the Sunday School from twenty-five to one hundred and twenty-five members. Thirty new pewholders have added to the financial condition of the church.

An independent young woman, Josie Mitchell, poor herself, but having a number of rich relatives in Missouri, determined to make her own livelihood rather than be supported by others. She accordingly became a telegraph operator in St. Charles, and had not been there two years before she received a legacy of two hundred thousand dollars left her by an uncle.

Marry! marry! marry! That's man's eternal cry. Marry and settle down. Settle down into a house—two-story back perhaps—settle down into a kitchen, a cook-stove, a wash-tub, a cradle! and so keep settling into a weary, worn, faded woman—on whom the male importuner, after five or ten years of his exclusive companionship, may look and congratulate himself on having accomplished a successful ruin!

German women figure prominently in business life. In Brussels, the sisters Everbert have the most extensive house in the world for the manufacture of fine lace. The wife of Dr. De la Pierre, the chief of the Dental College of Belgium, is her husband's partner and associate in his professional labors. Dr. Henrietta Heischfeld, of Berlin, is also a well-known and successful member of the dental profession. All through Germany the wives of professional men are bookkeepers for their husbands.

At a trial, not long since, one of the witnesses, an old lady of some eighty years, was closely questioned by the opening counsel relative to the clearness of her eyesight. "Can you see me?" said he. "Yes," was answered. "How well can you see me?" persisted the lawyer. "Well enough," responded the lady, "to see that you are neither a negro, an Indian nor a gentleman." The answer brought down the house.

The following marriage certificate, drawn up by the Paris Commune, may be considered a valuable contribution to the history of civilization in the nineteenth century: *French Republic*.—Citizen Aret, son of Jean Louis Aret, and Citizeness Marie Saint engages herself to follow the above citizen wherever he may go, and always to love him.—ARET. MARIE SAINT. Done before the undersigned, Paris, 27th April, 1871.—FACHAU. LAROCHE. This is republican simplicity.

NEW SOCIETY.—Louisville has a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Wives. Upwards of thirty members have been enrolled, and they propose to raise a fund to be used in enforcing the law to its fullest extent against wife beaters. If this does not effect a cure, the offender is to be treated on homeopathic principles. Whenever a man is known to be guilty of whipping his wife a warning notice is to be sent to him, and a repetition of the offense will insure him the kind attention of the society.

Spurgeon delights in the story of the genuine conversion of a servant girl. When she was asked, on joining the church, "Are you converted?" "I hope so, sir." "What makes you think you are really a child of God?" "Well, sir, there is a great change in me from what there used to be." "What is that change?" "I don't know, sir; but there's a change in all things; but there is one thing, I always sweep under the mats, now!"

A good deal of attention has lately been attracted to the number of applications for divorce, or rather legal separation, in France, so that the following statistical statement is not without interest: In 1869 the petitions for separation rose from 2,999, which was the number in the previous year, to 3,056. Of these, 2,611 came from the wife, and only 445 from the husband.

band. Four-tenths of the whole number emanated from the working classes, 543 from landed proprietors, 490 from peasants and 483 from the commercial classes. In 442 cases the judge succeeded in effecting a reconciliation, in 282 the petition was rejected, and in 2,332 the decree of separation was pronounced. The reasons given in support of the petitions throw a strong light on the character of the lower classes of French society, being mainly for marital infidelity or cruelty.

A lady in a letter from Liverpool says: "Here, as in every other hotel in England, I found ladies at the bar, keeping the register of arrivals, and assigning rooms to guests, receiving payment of bills, etc. So in the telegraph office, and in all the stores and shops, young and well-dressed ladies form a large portion of the attendance. I was greatly struck with it, and believe it would be well for our people to adopt the custom of thus furnishing employment to a large and most dependent class of our people. Wherever there is light and nimble work to be done, we found universally ladies employed. In the extensive draper establishment of Lee, in Liverpool, frequented and patronized by the nobility and wealthy of the land, the long lines of counters were attended by scores of beautiful young girls, tastefully dressed, and who were waiting upon the crowds of ladies and gentlemen purchasing supplies."

The English workman's wife is, in nine cases out of ten, a woman of very imperfect or of no education, who knows next to nothing of domestic economy. Her principal idea of cooking is to take a joint to the neighboring baker and have it baked in his oven without trouble to herself. She does not know how to make soups, broths, stews or savory dishes, or how to convert a pound of meat, by the aid of vegetables and condiments, into a dish satisfying alike to the palates and stomachs of three or four or even half a dozen people. The Scottish women of the same class are much better instructed, and can do as much with half a crown in the sustenance of their families, without stinting them, as an English woman can with four or five shillings.

Rev. Mrs. Hanaford is out in a card defining her position on woman suffrage, evidently brought about by what Miss Miles said when Mrs. Hooker called upon Mrs. Hanaford to address the Woman Suffrage meeting at the Temple, last Monday evening. Mrs. H. belongs to the American Association, who desire to enfranchise women by having a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, while Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull originated the idea that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments already conferred that boon. The remark that "I have nothing to do with the Woodhull side of the question," whether intended as an insult or not, was considered so by a large portion of the audience, and belittled Mrs. Hanaford. We have heard the matter spoken of by a score or more persons who attended the meeting, all who expressed themselves that it would have been in better taste for Mrs. Hanaford to have declined, if she did not wish to speak, and have let the matter rest there. If the women desire to obtain suffrage, the first thing requisite is unity.—*New Haven (Ct.) Union*.

Gardening has long seemed to me an employment in which women would not only gain health and strength, but in which the most modest and retiring might find a most congenial occupation, and the products of which are never depreciated because raised by a woman. A peck of peas has a certain market value not dependent upon the hands which raised them. A man engaged upon the same garment receives \$2 a day, not because of the amount or quality of the work, but because he is a man. It is doubtless true that in many cases the man does his work better than the woman; but it is not less true that in the majority of cases the difference in price grows out of the difference in sex. So of the school; a male teacher receives \$1,000 a year, not because his moral influence is better, not because the pupils learn more, but because he is a man. A woman teaches a similar school, and receives \$400, not because her scholars learn less, but because she is a woman. Now, happily, all this is avoided in gardening. A man who would sell a beet is not obliged to put a label, "raised by a man, ten cents," and upon another "raised by a woman, four cents," but the article brings its market value. This is a great advantage and one affording a special gratification to women of spirit. Besides, gardening is an occupation requiring very little capital, and, except in the fancy departments, very little training. Near any of the cities a woman can earn more upon half an acre of land, with four months' work, than she can earn by sewing twelve months, saying nothing of the healthfulness of gardening and the unhealthfulness of sewing.—*Dio Lewis*.

THE FIVE POINTS MISSION.

61 PARK STREET, N. Y., Nov., 1871.

The Five Points Mission is making preparations for its Twenty-first Annual Thanksgiving Dinner. The Day School numbers nearly five hundred regular scholars. The Sunday School crowds our large accommodations. If each circular should return to us one dollar, it would aid us very materially. Can you help us prepare such a dinner as will make glad these hundreds of children in our schools, and the many neglected ones around us? Please look in upon us on the occasion, and enjoy the pleasure of seeing the poor made happy. In behalf of the managers, J. N. SHAFFER.

The Trustees of the Five Points House of Industry, No. 155 Worth street, New York, ask earnestly for a liberal response from the friends of the poor to enable them still to carry on the work, which for so many years has been sustained at the Five Points. The Treasury is largely overdrawn. More than three hundred and fifty thousand meals have been given during the past year; nearly one hundred thousand lodgings furnished, and two hundred and thirty-six children are living in the Institution, being a larger

number than ever before. The Institution is dependent largely upon voluntary contributions, and the average monthly expenditure is nearly three thousand dollars.

THE ENGLISH POOR.

M. Taine, in his notes upon England, gives a terrible account of the extremes of human life, as they appear in the most neglected and poorest districts of the metropolis. Speaking of Shadwell, he describes "small streets, dusty courts infected by a smell of rotten rags, and tapestried with poor clothing and linen hung out to dry. The children swarm. At one moment," says M. Taine, "I had fourteen or fifteen around me, dirty, barefooted, the little sister carrying the baby in her arms, the nursing of a year old, with its bald, white head. Nothing can be more distressing to see than these white bodies, these flaxen tangles, these pasty cheeks plastered with dirt of long standing. They come running up, showing the gentleman to each other with curious and greedy gestures. The motionless mothers look out from the door-ways with lack-luster eyes. The narrow dwelling may be seen within, often one single room, in which all is heaped together in the foul air. The houses often consist but of one story; they are low and narrow hovels in which to sleep and die. What an abode in winter, when the window remains shut through continuous weeks of rain and fog! And that this brood may not die of hunger the father must not drink, must never be without work, must never be ill. Here and there is a heap of street-sweepings. Women were working among the rubbish. One of them, who is old and faded, had a short pipe in her mouth. They raised themselves from their work to look at me, showing brutalized, disquieting faces, like female Yahoos; perhaps that pipe with a glass of gin is the last idea, which comes uppermost in their idiotic brain. Could any thing be found therein above the instincts and appetites of a savage or a beast of burden? A miserable black cat, lank, lame and bewildered, watched them out of the corners of its terrified eyes, and stealthily searched about a dust-heap; the old woman followed it with looks as wild as its own, mumbling as she did so, and evidently calculating that it represented two pounds or so of meat!" M. Taine thinks the street-boys of this part of London more wretched-looking and more repulsive than the Parisian "voyou," and attributes this to the "climate being worse and the gin more murderous."

THE PROPOSITION.

BY A CANDIDATE FOR THE BALLOT.

He asked me if I'd have him,
And I plainly told him no;
He wanted whys and wherefores,
But I would not please him so.
A woman need not—need she?—
Distress herself for life,
Because some anxious fellow
Should chance to want a wife?

He laughed, then frowned upon me,
And said I was too curt;
That if wit was more than smartness—
I was just a mite too pert.
I said it was his dullness—
That my wit he could not see;
But I thought I'd make him smart, if
He should ever marry me!

He said I'd better take him,
I'd miss some other man,
Then give the world to catch him
When he'd changed his bridal plan.
I said he needn't fear it—
There was many a better match
To light a bridal candle,
When I had one to "catch."

He said I'd better marry—
Life was not always May;
That women don't grow younger
And prettier every day.
But a woman ought not—ought she?—
To wed a life for life,
Because the right one's missing,
Or she cannot be his wife?

THE NEW YORK REPUBLICAN.

This handsome and broad sheet is brilliant by that admirable poet and gallant soldier and edited journalist, A. J. H. DUGANNE, who is at the same time one of the leaders of reformatory thought in America and the world. We are not of the Republican party, but we can't say what we might be if the leaders of that party were all or many of them of the temper and purpose of this veteran champion of human rights in all spheres. Mr. Duganne believes in the mission of the Republican party as a reform party destined to complete its work begun in the emancipation of the slaves, by the organization of industry and the establishment of justice throughout the land. We say God speed his efforts to plant republicanism upon that platform. He has a commanding position from which to operate in his work, as the editor and untrammelled director of the weekly organ of the great Republican Party in this metropolitan city and at this hour of Republican triumph. If we do not fully believe in the possibility of accomplishing the radical work called for, within the bounded arena of either of the old parties, that is no reason why we should not recognize, and sympathize, in fact, with the best exertions of every true reformer who does think such achievements possible; and if the dead corpses of the old style parties can be galvanized into life, we know of no voltaic battery so likely to effect the miracle as the fervid earnestness, the clarity and the convincing argumentation of the pen of a Duganne. We commend the *Republican* to all readers, as full of illustrations of what American political journalism should be at this hour.

We have neglected a duty in not noticing this new arm of reformatory progress earlier; and we confess that we felt the reproach when we read the following splendid tribute to the merits of his fellow-lanceman, in battle of truth:

THEODORE TILTON VS. "HOLY WILLIES."

"While Theodore Tilton was content to pull in the traces of usage and dogma there could be no plaudits too loud to encourage his voice and pen. He might count on Bowen for his Macenas and on Greeley for his 'guide, philosopher and friend.' But no sooner does Tilton's independent soul respond to the sage monition—'Look into thy heart and write'—than he is straightway *maranatha*, and a score of 'Holy Willies' bewail his apostasy. And what is his offense? Has he denied his faith in God or man? Has he forsaken the cause of freedom? Is he false in profession, or hypocrite in creed? No one accuses him. But he has simply, like a knight of old, taken up the gauntlet which a censorious world flung at the face of a female who seeks, in this jostling community of ours, to find a busy place. He dares to demand that a woman shall be tried by the business laws and viewed by the business light wherewith we judge and decide upon a man. In recognizing Victoria Woodhull's right to enter the stock-market or any other field of business life, as buyer or seller, he asks simply that her sex shall not be brought into the question at all. The firm of Woodhull & Claflin, as a business house, is neither male nor female. A bank or insurance company, having men and women for stockholders, is simply a corporation; no one has a right to go beyond its charter, into the private life of its members. And yet it is permitted to every cowardly calumniator to go behind the business sign of Woodhull & Claflin in Broad street, and pursue the members of that firm from their office to their homes, and drag them out of those homes again into public print and even to the public pillory. Why not set *mouchards* upon the track of other partners of other firms? Why not follow the paths of a hundred bankers, and brokers, and merchants, and editors, from their places of business to their domestic circles, and with the same pertinacity that dogs the feet of two resolute women, whose only crime has been that they dared to ask judgment on their acts, in the arena of business, under the laws by which men are judged in the same arena? Theodore Tilton responds manfully to that just and business-like demand; and at once the dogs of conservatism yelp at him. He is a 'free-lover'—he is an 'infidel'—he is a 'communist.' But with a pluck that does him honor, Tilton turns upon his traducers, maintains his individualism, and asserts his right to be his own interpreter of laws that are based on usage, and his own judge of questions that involve the choice of right or wrong. He may be enthusiastic; he may be rash; he may be wrong; but he is gallant and frank and must be awarded what he claims, a fair field for a fair contest. In reply to the charge of sympathy with Communism, he answers as follows:

"You denounce me as a Communist. Yes, I am. I accept your indictment as I would a rosette, and wear it in my button-hole. I never saw Henri Delescluze, but he was a man after my own heart; and I mourn him as I would any other hero or martyr. Communism is not agrarianism, as many people ignorantly imagine; it is republicanism, and Americans ought everywhere to honor it. The Commune offered to France what the Republic refused it—namely, local self government. Among all the semi-successful frauds of our time, the greatest is the pretended Republic of which Thiers is at the head to-day, and of which I trust he will be at the foot to-morrow. The atrocities in Paris did not come from the Commune, but from Versailles. It was the Commune, not the Republic, that should have triumphed. A few writers and speakers among us have had the courage to applaud the Commune; such as Wendell Phillips, Charles A. Dana, George Wilkes and John Russell Young; and I rejoice to remember that not one of these clear-headed men was ahead of myself, either with voice or pen, in vindicating the noblest attempt at political liberty which Europe ever saw or crushed. But the Commune will yet arise and reign! God speed it!"

RESOLUTION.

If you've any task to do,	Do it.
Let me whisper, friend to you,	
If you've anything to say,	Do it.
True and needed, yay or nay,	Say it.
If you have anything to love,	
As a blessing from above,	Love it.
If some hollow creed you doubt,	
Though the whole world hoed and shout,	Doubt it.
If you know what torch to light,	
Guiding others through the night,	Light it.
If you've any debt to pay,	
Rest you neither night nor day,	Pay it.
If you've any joy to hold,	
Next your heart, lest it get cold,	Hold it.
If you've any grief to meet,	
At the loving Father's feet,	Meet it.
If you're given light to see,	
What a child of God should be,	Be it.
Whether life be bright or drear,	
There's a message sweet and clear	
Whispered down to every ear,	Hear it.

—Harper's Magazine.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY is one of the most energetic, earnest, go-ahead papers of the time. It handles everything, and is afraid of nothing, and we don't know whether most to admire the spirit with which it meets depreciation and dispraise or the bold philosophy which suggests a way out of so many political and social complications.—*Charleston Republican*.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY is a bold reformer and well written paper. Its arguments on the suffrage are unanswerable.—*St. Louis City Times*.

MONSIEUR ANTOINE. By GEORGE SAND. With eleven illustrations. T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Publishers, Philadelphia, Pa.

There are very few novels equal to this work; indeed there are few writers of fiction who can compare with the authoress of "Consuelo" in all that gives charms to romance. Her style is perfect. As her subjects are grand, for George Sand ever seeks to teach some noble lesson, so her writing never falls below the occasion. It seems prose poetry, and yet her imagination never masters her logic, but is subordinated to her common sense.

This work has a peculiar interest to us. It portrays the *Commune* of the intellectual socialists of France. It breathes the warmest sympathy with those who struggle for the equal rights of mankind—for a universal brotherhood.

There is much food for reflection in this story. The reader will soon discover that the social revolution into which we Americans are entering is but a symptom of a general uprising of the people against oppression and social tyranny.

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"Men are but instruments

Which God doth play; and those he fingers most
We call inspired or breathed upon."

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ANOTHER BOOK.

ADDRESS TO THE WHITED SEPULCHRES.

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 both.
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 nations, 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 "fallen" 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, with the approval of good conscience and of God.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

NEW YORK, October, 1871.

CIRCULAR.

To those residing at a distance and wishing to obtain a SPIRIT PHOTOGRAPH, I would inform that I have been very successful in obtaining likenesses, by having simply a picture of the sitter, in taking a copy of which the spirit form appears by the side of it. It will be necessary for those who intend sending to me to inclose their own card photograph or any one else's to whom the spirit form desired, was known or thought, of having a natural affinity by the law of love or affection, and to mention the date, the day and the hour that said picture should be copied by me, calculating the time a week or ten days from the day that I should receive the order, so that the person of the picture would, at that time, concentrate his or her mind on the subject. The difference in time will be calculated by me. Particular attention is expected to this requirement, as much of the success of obtaining a strong and well-defined picture depends on the harmony of the Positive and Negative forces of the parties concerned.

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