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# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 4.—No. 5.—WHOLE No. 83.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 16, 1871.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

## JOHN J. CISCO & SON, BANKERS, No. 59 Wall Street, New York.

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

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

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

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

Loans negotiated.

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

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

73—85.

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

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

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

This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC- TIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.

Accounts of Bankers, Manufacturers and Merchants will receive special attention.

FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST paid on CURRENT BALANCES, and liberal facilities offered to our CUSTOMERS.

DORR RUSSELL, President.

A. F. WILLMARTH, Vice-President.

HARVEY FISK. A. S. HATCH.

## OFFICE OF FISK & HATCH. BANKERS,

AND  
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,

No. 5 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

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

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

We make collections on all points in the United States and Canada, and issue Certifi- cates of Deposit available in all parts of the Union.

We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes of Government Securities, and the Bonds of the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also, Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange, miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis- sion, for cash.

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

FISK & HATCH.

76—88.

## RAILROAD IRON, FOR SALE BY S. W. HOPKINS & CO., 71 BROADWAY.

## CALDWELL & CO., BANKERS, 27 Wall St., New York.

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

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

Interest, 4 per cent., allowed on de- posits, subject to sight draft.  
78 to 108.

## NATIONAL SAVINGS BANK. THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY.

(Chartered by the Government of the United States.)  
DEPOSITS OVER \$3,000,000.

185 BLEECKER STREET, NEW YORK.

SIX PER CENT. interest commences first of each month.

Four per cent. allowed from date of each deposit for full number of days, not less than thirty, on sums of \$50 and upward, withdrawn before January.

DEPOSIT CERTIFICATES, as safe as Registered Bonds, and promptly available in any part of the United States, issued, payable on demand, with in- terest due.

Accounts strictly private and confidential.

Deposits payable on demand, with interest due.

Interest on accounts of certificates paid by check to depositors residing out of the city if desired.

Send for Circular.

Open daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., and MONDAYS

and SATURDAYS from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

JOHN J. ZUILLE, Cashier.

## NEW YORK SAVINGS BANK,

Eighth Ave., cor. Fourteenth St.

SIX PER CENT. INTEREST

allowed on all sums from \$5 to \$5,000. Deposits made on or before August 1 will draw interest from August 1.

Assets, \$2,473,303 05.

Surplus, \$200,272 95.

## S. J. & F. BEEBEE, BROKERS, IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS No. 7 NEW STREET, NEW YORK.

52.

## OSBORN & CAMMACK, BANKERS, No. 34 BROAD STREET.

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

## BANKING HOUSE OF HENRY CLEWS & Co., No. 32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Letters of Credit for travelers, also Commercial Credits issued, available throughout the world.

Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Bank of London, National Bank of Scotland, Provincial Bank of Ire- land, and all their branches.

Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers on Europe, San Francisco, the West Indies and all parts of the United States.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through the Clearing-House as if drawn upon any city bank; 4 per cent. interest allowed on all daily balances; Certificates of Deposit issued; Notes, Drafts and Coupons collected; advances made on approved col- laterals and against merchandise consigned to our care

Orders executed for Investment Securities and Railroad Iron.

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## TANNER & CO.,

BANKERS,

No. 11 WALL STREET, NEW YORK,

DEALERS IN

STOCKS, BONDS, GOLD AND EXCHANGE.

ORDERS EXECUTED AT THE STOCK AND GOLD EXCHANGES.

INTEREST ALLOWED ON DEPOSITS SUBJECT TO CHECK AT SIGHT.

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

Interest, payable August and February, in New York, London, or Frankfort-on-the-Main, free of United States taxes. Present market quotations, 97 1/2 a 98 1/2 c. and interest.

TANNER & CO.,

No. 11 WALL STREET.

56

## Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell write to

CHARLES W. HASSLER,  
No. 7 WALL STREET,  
New York.

62-74

## WOODHULL, CLAFLIN & CO., Bankers and Brokers, No. 44 BROAD STREET, New York.

## NEW YORK

## STATE RAILROAD BONDS.

A First-Class Home Investment.

## FIRST MORTGAGE GOLD BONDS

OF THE

## RODOUT & OSWEGO RAILROAD.

Principal & Interest Payable in Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 100 miles of the most direct pos- sible line, between the Great Lakes and deep water navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of which will be completed and in operation on or be- fore October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any line that can be found.

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

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

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

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

## Edward Haight & Co.,

9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY.

Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company.

56

## MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

HENRY R. CONKLIN, Secretary WM. VAN NAME, President.

50-56



**INCERSOLL LOCKWOOD,**

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

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

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

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

Terms, \$100, with modifications.



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

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

**THE BALTIMORE & OHIO R. R.**

Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washington and Baltimore to Cincinnati without change. Louisville in 29 1/4 hours.

Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have choice of routes, either via Columbus or Parkersburg. From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line Railroad.

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

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

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

Remember! lower fare by no other route.

To secure the advantages offered by this great through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line R. R.

Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington Street, Boston; No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of Cortlandt Street, New York; Continental Hotel, 828 Chestnut Street, 44 South Fifth Street, and at the depot corner Broad and Prime Streets, Philadelphia; S. E. corner Baltimore and Calvert Streets, or at Camden Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad offices in the East.

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

**PROGRESS OF DENTISTRY.**

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

"THE BEST IS THE CHEAPEST."



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

**PHELAN & COLLENDER**

738 BROADWAY, New York City.

**"THE BLEES"**

NOISELESS,

LINK-MOTION,

LOCK-STITCH

**Sewing Machine**

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

MANUFACTURED BY

**BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,**  
623 BROADWAY, New York.

**THE HAIR.****ZOE COME!****THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE**

Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,

and will prevent the hair from falling out.

It has no poisonous caustic or irritating ingredient whatever. It is as harmless as water, and WHOLLY UNLIKE any other preparation for the hair.

It never fails. It has produced a fine growth of hair upon those who have been bald for twenty-five years. All who have used it, without exception, attest to its great merits.

Persons in New York or Brooklyn wishing to test the ZOE COME, can either personally or by note make arrangements to have a hair dresser sent to their residences and apply it.

**MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY,**  
64 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn.

Now Published for the First Time  
in this Country!

**GOETHE'S****Elective Affinities:**

With an Introduction

By **VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.**

PRICE, \$1 50.

Sent by Mail or Express, as ordered, on receipt of the price.

"It is very true that ideas of social freedom and of inevitable law governing the actions of humanity are rapidly spreading in the world at this day, and that I may have done something to aid their growth. Perhaps my name may not, therefore, be inappropriately associated with this reproduction of the work of the greatest Genius of Germany, the first who promulgated the thought that there is a chemistry of the mind, and that Elective Affinities are as powerful and legitimate in the realm of human sentiment as in the realm of matter."

"Themes of freedom on all subjects form the staple public sentiment of the world at this age. A doctrine like that of Goethe is therefore eminently calculated to make progress even unconsciously in this century."

"But in any event Genius has its prerogatives, and the genius of Goethe is incontestable and uncontested. The American public are entitled to know what this great leader of modern thought, one of the founders of Comparative Anatomy, has thought on the more recondite subject of the Chemistry of the Mind. The question is not, in the first instance, whether his views were right or wrong, true or false; but simply, What were they? and in none of his works is that question so effectively answered as in 'Elective Affinities.'—Extracts from Introduction.

**THE LAW OF MARRIAGE,**

AN

EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT

AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION,

By **C. S. JAMES,**

Author of "Manual of Transcendental Philosophy."

For Sale by the Author, post paid, for 25c.

Address

**Alma, Wis.**

75

**A HISTORY**

OF THE

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT,

FOR TWENTY YEARS,

With the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at

APOLLO HALL, OCTOBER 20, 1870,

From 1850 to 1870,

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT DURING THE WINTER OF 1871,

IN THE NATIONAL CAPITOL,

Compiled by

**PAULINA W. DAVIS.**

For sale by all Booksellers. Price 50c.

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

**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.*

**MUTUAL BENEFIT SAVINGS BANK,**

SUN BUILDING,

166 Nassau Street, New York.

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

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

BANK OPEN daily from 10 to 3; also Monday and Saturday evenings, from 4 1/2 to 6 1/2 o'clock. Interest commences on the 1st of every month following the deposit.

**CHARLES K. GRAHAM,** President.

**G. H. BENEDICT,** Secretary.

**PATENT****STOCKING SUPPORTER**

AND

**LADIES' PROTECTOR.**

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

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

The trade supplied at a discount.

**No. 63 Clarendon Street,**

**BOSTON.**

OR **MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,**

**824 Broadway, New York.**

**SY PHER & CO.,**

(Successors to D. Marley.)

**No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,**

Dealers in

**MODERN AND ANTIQUE**

**Furniture, Bronzes,**

**CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.**

Established 1826.

**A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,**

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

**TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN.**

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

**SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.**

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

**ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.**

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

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

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

**TAYLOR & CO., BANKERS,**

No. 16 Wall Street.

**WM. DIBBLEE, LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,**

**854 Broadway,**

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

**FIRST FLOOR,**

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

**CHATELAINE BRAIDS,**

**LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,**

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

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

**HARABA ZEIN,**

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

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

**SAM'L BARTON.**

**HENRY ALLEN**

**BARTON & ALLEN,**

**BANKERS AND BROKERS,**

**No. 40 BROAD STREET.**

Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.





The Books and Speeches of Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claflin will hereafter be furnished, postage paid, at the following liberal prices:

|                                                                                   |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull.....                        | \$2 00 |
| Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin.....                                | 1 50   |
| Woman Suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;    |        |
| The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;    |        |
| The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;                        |        |
| Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;                |        |
| Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial; |        |
| Each per copy.....                                                                | 10     |
| per 100.....                                                                      | 5 00   |

#### 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 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.

#### THE FINAL ADJOURNMENT OF THE U. S. CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE I. W. A.

We give place to the following Declaration merely as matter of news, and for the purpose of entering our protest against the Anti-Republican and Anti-Democratic doctrine therein finding expression. Whether the late C. C. had a right to adjourn without day is not a material question. It did so adjourn by a vote of 19 for to 5 against adjourning, and neither the majority nor minority of the members voting can reconstitute the old or form a new Committee without the authority of the sections they represent. To do so would be to legalize a sort of Thiers usurpation under a different name; for it is clear from the last article of the Constitution of the Committee, which is quoted, that its existence was limited, in so many words, within the year expiring on the 1st of December, 1871. Let, then, any one or two of the sections issue a call in regular form, inviting all the sections to send delegates to create a new Committee; and one may be constituted which the General Council at London will recognize; but an usurpation, whether it be of the majority or minority, must be repudiated. Nor does it much matter just now whether there be any C. C. at all. Propagation and expansion or "local self-government," rather than contraction, suppression or centralization, is what the movement in this country, under its free institutions, most needs. Any section may place itself in direct correspondence with the G. C. at London.

WILLIAM WEST.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE I. W. A. IN THE U. S.

FELLOW-WORKMEN: The undersigned delegates to the Central Committee of the I. W. A. of the North America,

Considering the following Statutes adopted by that Committee:

ARTICLE 1. The C. C. for N. A. is established in N. Y., and composed of one delegate from each section of the I. W. A. in N. A.

ART. 2. The Committee shall: A.—Organize and centralize the propagation, and represent the sections inside and abroad; B.—Forward the fees to the G. C. in London; C.—Receive into the I. W. A. all workmen societies, or persons accepting the principles of the I. W. A., and paying their dues to the G. C. and C. C.

ART. 3. In order to pay the expenses of the C. C., each Sec. in N. A. shall pay an annual fee of five cents per member.

ART. 4. To facilitate the propagation and establish regular relations with the C. C. a sub-local Committee shall be formed where there are more than two sections.

ART. 5. The above arrangements shall be in force for one year after date.

NEW YORK, December 1, 1870.

Considering that the permanency of the C. C. is indispensable to the progress and extension of the I. W. A.;

That nothing in its statutes provides for its reorganization; We have voted against its dissolution, which illegally happened on Sunday, the 19th of November, declaring thus that we maintain our titles of delegates, and the existence of the C. C., until the expiration of our special mandates, which is, in our minds, the true legal reorganization and continued renewal of that body by all the sections there represented.

For these motives:

We declare that we will continue the sitting of the C. C., by assembling on Sunday next, the 26th of November, at 3 p. m., at the place of its meetings, Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.

NEW YORK, November 19, 1871.

Ed. Grosse, delegate from Section No. 6.

Th. Banks, " " " " 9.

Dr. Stiebeling, " " " " 13.

Th. Millot, " " " " 14.

H. Charnier, " " " " 30.

N.B.—The delegates signing the above call met at the time and place when and where they were convened, but were, of course, refused possession of the premises by the landlord, which should be a warning both to them and the dissenting majority of the old Committee, not to usurp the functions of the deceased. Better far leave the formation of another committee, or other committees, to the normal action of the sections: for freedom is both more efficient, as well as more grateful, than anybody's tyranny; and when the sections need agents to do their work, they will find them; until then, whosoever anticipates the action of the sections may well be supposed to be governed by motives which, to say the least, are not disinterested.

W. W.

ADDENDUM.—REORGANIZATION.—Since the above was written two attempts have been made to reorganize a new C. C., or Federal Council, as a National Central Committee must now be called, agreeably to the resolutions of the recent conference of the I. W. A., held in London, England.

On Sunday, the 3d inst., certain persons pretending to represent Sections 1, 4, 5, 7, 24, 28, 27 and 16, met at the usual place of meeting of the old C. C., at 2 P. M., and organized by the election of a Chairman, Secretary and Committee on Credentials. Unfortunately, however, a resolution was adopted that no Section be admitted to representation in that Committee or Council two-thirds of whose members were not wages slaves. A member of Section 1 stated also that the object of this resolution was the exclusion of Section 12.

At 3 P. M. certain persons really representing Sections 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 26, 28 and 30, met at the same place and proposed to take a part in the new organization. This proposition was very strenuously resisted, and in the midst of much excitement and turmoil the first-named party adjourned, and the party of the second part being denied possession of the premises by the landlord, retired to Constant Christener's, No. 68 Grand street, where it proceeded to organize a Federal Council, in accordance with the Rules of the General Council at London and the resolutions of the Conference above mentioned—that is to say, no Section hitherto recognized was denied representation, and no new test of membership, as that two-thirds, or any part of a section shall be wages slaves, as if it were a crime to be free, was required. Here it should be mentioned that the delegate of Section 24 in the old Committee attended this meeting, but more in the character of a professed friend of both parties or pacificator than in any other capacity. On the whole, it seems probable that two Federal or National Councils will be organized, in which case an appeal must be taken to the General Council at London, of the result of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained. That Council must necessarily desire a reunion, or reconciliation, which must bring into harmonious co-operation all hitherto recognized sections.

The Council meeting at 68 Grand street resolved, it is important to mention here, to co-operate with Section 2 (French) in arranging a Funeral Procession in respect to the memory of the martyred heroes of the Paris Commune, Rossel and others, recently slaughtered by order of the Thiers usurpation, said procession to come off on Sunday, the 10th inst. The details of this procession will be made public before this reaches our readers, and further particulars may be deferred.

#### MEETING OF SECTION 12.

On Friday evening, December 1, this section held a special meeting agreeably to a call of the Recording Secretary. The Recording Secretary resigned his office, and Theron C. Le-land was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy thereby

occasioned. A resolution was offered to take no part in the formation of a new Central Committee, but to go on with the work of forming new sections and to advise all sections of each nationality to do likewise until the General Council at London should convoke a Congress of the American sections, which should elect a Federal Council truly representative in its character; but some fears being expressed lest, if a new C. C. should be formed, the 12th Section might be left out in the cold, the resolution was withdrawn, and Citizen William West was duly elected to represent the section at any meeting of duly authorized delegates of any sections assembled to form a Federal Council which should not disfranchise any section hitherto recognized. Citizen West was then elected Corresponding Secretary in place of the previous incumbent, whose office had become vacant by his necessary absence from the scene of his duties; and the section adjourned to meet at 44 Broad street, on Sunday, the 10th inst., at 7½ o'clock.

#### FORMATION OF AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION AT SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

##### EQUAL DUTIES AND EQUAL RIGHTS.

About one hundred persons, among whom were a number of ladies, assembled at the lower hall of the Mechanics' Institute building, on Post street, last evening, the object of the gathering being the formation of an English-speaking section of the International Workingmen's Association. Captain Smith called the meeting to order, and stated its object. He proceeded to state that the object of the Association was the emancipation of the working classes, and that to effect this purpose it was intended to seize the political power, and institute such forms of government as would best carry out that intention. It aimed at the total destruction of class privileges, and the making of all persons entirely equal before the law. He held that the land and mines of a country were the common property of its people, and as such should be worked for the equal interest of all. The workingmen could compel a recognition of this principle by refusing to take up arms against each other, and thus crush the power of the titled few to hold them in bondage. The railroads and telegraphs should become the common property of all the people, and the grinding monopolies which now controlled them should be swept out of existence. The Internationals demand the soil in common with all the rest of God's free gifts to man. It was labor alone that made it productive, and to labor alone should its profits descend. He quoted John Stuart Mill, Sir Henry Payne and others, in support of his position; alluded to the early history of California with its Pueblo, as an illustration of the best method of vesting the ownership of landed estate. The speaker reviewed the effects of monopolies in land and mines upon the working classes, and classed the proposed Civil Service Reform as an iniquitous measure copied from European despots, and designed to create the worst form of an aristocracy. He thought that the first qualification of a candidate for office should be the fact of his having produced enough for his own support. The equitable distribution of the profits of labor was a grave question, and the reason of its present inequality would be found in the fact that individuals were allowed to become the media through which the proceeds of labor were distributed instead of its being accomplished by means of the public credit. Alluding to

##### THE CHINESE QUESTION.

He stated that one object of the Internationals was to prevent operators of one country being crushed by the importation of cheap labor from another. That they recognized in full the principle that it was the first duty of every man to protect himself, and that so long as Chinese or other labor had a tendency to degrade rather than elevate labor, so long would the Association legitimately be arraigned against it. He concluded his remarks with the reading of a poetical tribute to the Communists of Paris. Mr. J. S. Loveland then moved that Captain Smith be elected temporary Chairman, which was carried. Mr. Geo. W. Ryder was chosen temporary Secretary.

On motion, the election of permanent officers was postponed until the next meeting, and a committee of three appointed to prepare a

##### CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

to report at the same time. The Chair appointed J. S. Loveland, J. P. Thomas and Dr. Bell, to whom were subsequently added, by vote of the meeting, Mrs. S. E. Ferree and Mrs. J. N. Smith. A general and desultory debate sprang up, in which many inquiries were made and answered, and the general rules of the London grand body were read. They consisted mainly of the general principles which have been already stated, and the details of congresses and delegations. Mr. Spear was not satisfied with the word workingman, which was used so often. He was in favor of the equality of woman, and thought it should be clearly expressed. He was informed that the rules expressly provided that there should be no distinction of sex. D. S. Cutter brought up the

##### CHINESE QUESTION AGAIN.

and wanted to know especially whether the Association included the Celestials. Dr. Bell thought that the President's opening remarks fully explained that question. Another lively debate followed on the subject, but the final conclusion appeared to be arrived at satisfactory to all, that there need be no apprehension upon that score. The Section then adjourned.

NOTICE.—The next regular meeting of Section 12 will be held on Sunday evening, Dec. 10, at 44 Broad street. The members will not fail in their attendance, as business of the utmost importance will be presented; but as on that day the funeral procession in honor of the Parisian Communists recently slaughtered by order of the Thiers usurpation will form in front of the Cooper Institute at 1 o'clock, p. m., and thence march through the principal streets of the city, those members who take a part therein may be excused if they should be late at the meeting. The members will wear on the occasion crape on their left arms, and red and black ribbons somewhere conspicuously.

WILLIAM WEST,  
Cor. Sec'y Section 12.



## 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.]

## "ON CONTROVERSY."

We specially invite adverse criticism upon anything that appears in the WEEKLY, or upon anything we may proclaim from the rostrum. Hence "Eugenia" is entitled to the usual space in which to oppose our views upon Social Freedom.

[This letter has been in type some time, but press of matter and shorter articles have kept it back.—Eds.]

## MR. ANDREWS LOSING HIS TEMPER.

He shows his feline characteristic—The velvety paw suddenly changes into the would-be lacerating claw—His virulent vituperations.

Yet he plays the *role* of injured innocence!—He feels himself "abused," "deceived" and "betrayed"—Yes, and "maligned!"

But he presents himself chiefly as the Great Unteachable!—And of course as the Schemer—the Great Teacher—the Vicegerent of Truth!

And yet he cowardly ensconces himself behind another to ward off the blows from himself—And offers Mr. Warren's authority and respectability in lieu of argument.

He substitutes hard names for sound logic, and long strings of mere expletives and abusive adjectives for words of reason and of proof.

He abandons his "stick," but keeps astride of his "whole-hog" philosophy, by sticking to the "bristles."

Mr. Andrews will consider me as making my bow to him and commencing to review his second "respects" to me as contained in his "Bulletin" in W. & C.'s WEEKLY No. 73, Oct. 7, '71.

"Elephantine playfulness" is good, if true; if not, it is bad. That is, if my attempted "playfulness" was a failure (or you thought it so), and a failure in the way your phrase indicates, the expression is well chosen; but if you used it without regard to its applicability to the case, and as a mere stereotyped phrase of yours (which we suspicion from the way in which we have seen it used by you before) you have sacrificed truthfulness for that of smoothness or conquest—a sacrifice which a noble nature never makes.

I did not say I objected to your saying "I object, and I propound," but my words were that I objected to "the manner of your saying" them. I refer to these little things because you seem to show by them too little regard for strict truthfulness and fairness in debate.

You say you "made a mistake it seems in supposing" that I used the words sovereignty of the individual in the technical sense, etc. And for what you here call your "mistake" you try to make me responsible, and to make it an excuse for a tirade of acrimonious epithets. But I think I hit upon the real cause of your "mistake" (if mistake there was) when I attributed it—in my last—to your own excessive egotism, and I suspect that you yourself felt the force of this, and that this feeling has stimulated you to some of this degree of acrimony. The fact that I did not use the words with a quotation (as I would have done if intending to use them technically—which I believe is the custom, and which seems also Mr. Andrews' understanding, for when he quoted me as using these words, and to make it appear that I was using them technically, he himself added the quotation mark, to make me appear to use them) is evidence that I was not using them technically. Your complaint that I used them "in an untechnical sense, without notice," and that I "surreptitiously foisted on my readers the vulgar misapprehensions instead of the true and scientifically correct apprehension of a well-known and much-used technicality," is, to my mind, simply ridiculous. But the number and kind of adjectives, the quantity of talk and splutter, which you seem to persist in upon this small point, I suspect may incline our readers to the conviction that in so doing you are trying to distract their attention from the important points between us (indicating that on these you feel yourself beaten), as a certain little fish darkens the water, by an inky emission, to elude pursuit.

And you say (continuing on this point) that I told you that I used it in a "new sense" of my own, "or rather in a vulgar and abused and abusive sense, borrowed from the ignorant misapprehenders and maligners," etc., etc., *ad nauseam*. The reader will mark these adjectives; and here are some further specimens on this point: "vulgar, prejudiced and uninformed," "surreptitiously foists," "vulgar misapprehension," "ignorance, or trick, or license of genius," "untaught misapprehenders and falsifiers," "assigning, without notice, his own meaning," "unconscious arrogance," "misapprehension," "misrepresentation," "falsely represent what they profess to represent," "vulgar and superstitious misapprehension," etc. But here is what I did say, in telling you how I used the phrase, to wit: "I used it as [expressive of] a general principle, and as applicable, to a degree, to the people generally of the present age, and particularly as a characteristic of the people of this country." Is this telling you that I used it in a "new sense" of my own, or in "a vulgar and abusive sense?" etc. Will our readers think you fair and honest here? And yet in the face of these and other facts and considerations you labor to make me (instead of yourself) appear as the party in the wrong; and so far assume that I am, so as to play the part of injured innocence, in the following refrain: "Certainly had I, for one, suspected this ignorance, or trick or license of genius—for it may be any one of the three—I should not have been betrayed into this discussion; but I was all the more deceived," etc. Mr. Andrews makes some

curious bids for sympathy, and takes the line of argument which would say: "Surely Mr. Boucher cannot be right if his position be such as puts such great and good men as myself in the wrong." He says, speaking of me: "Now he defines the same thing as 'selfishness' and 'hoggishness,' and credits Mr. Warren and myself at the most with the possibility that we may be the most prominent teachers and illustrators of these characteristics." And again: "His position which he reaffirms is, then, that Mr. Warren's doctrine and mine is simply 'selfishness' and 'hoggishness,' carried further out than the prevalent selfishness and hoggishness of a selfish and hoggish age and generation," etc. Now this seems to me like giving up the argument and whining for mercy; but did I not give you, Mr. Andrews, fair warning in my first that I would have no mercy: that I would do my best, within the limits of fairness, to "take you off your feet and place you at mine?" And why should you object to being conquered by the "sword of Truth," for you know that this is the instrument which I proposed in the outset to use. It was at your own risk that you chose your "stick," which proved rotten, and your "whole hog," which has proved pig-headed. These are things, as you ought to have known, in whose natural history such conditions are very liable to occur. But Mr. Andrews takes as many positions as a chameleon can colors; and he is like Pat's flea, when one gets one's finger on him he's not there. Here is one other point which I will show by a quotation or two. In speaking of teaching he uses the words "to be my teacher; and I underscore the word my because there are very few persons as yet who have any profound or even adequate knowledge of social questions;" and, "I have made some effort to enlighten Mr. Tilton," etc.; and will spend a like exertion now on Mr. Boucher," etc.; and, referring to himself and others, he speaks of "the best of thinkers," and "challenging the criticism of the thinkers of the world," and "great and intelligent class," etc., etc.

More than half of his two and a half column article is taken up with the point as to whether I used the words, the sovereignty of the individual, in a "technical" or "untechnical" sense, and as to whether I should or should not have done so, and much of the balance of it with such stuff as I have referred to. He is so intent upon shielding himself behind Mr. Warren, and in keeping this gentleman in front, either that the blows may fall on him or that I may withhold for fear of striking him, for he (Mr. Andrews) seems to think that I have great regard and reverence, as I have, for Mr. Warren, I say he is so intent upon this that he makes use of Mr. Warren's name nine times in this half of his article. Indeed Mr. Andrews is much more ingenious than ingenious throughout. His first article was as soothing and velvety as a cat's paw can be, but this second shows the dominant propensity of the fierce and lacerating claw. He "throws up the sponge" and assumes the relation of master in the same sentences, thus: "I shall probably subside into silence, for fear of going wrong, after this last effort to put him [that's me] a little right on some points in the few words I may now indite;" and "And I presume that I shall not find it necessary to continue the discussion, no matter what may follow;" and "To an antagonist who takes me up literally I have no reply to make, no defence to attempt;" and "I do not care to discuss further the question of the complexity of truth." Well, I had thought that you, sir, were, perhaps, the champion controversialist of America, but now I change my mind, and I at once ask Mr. Tilton's pardon for placing him in my last only as "the coming man," and award him, in view of his late grand masterpieces of controversy, this championship. If you have ever stood on the top of the mountain you seem, judging from your efforts in this little controversy of ours, to be going over to the other side of it. I know you like controversy, but you seem to chafe under criticism. I almost regret now having commenced to criticise you. But, as I have said, I like criticism, both to give and take it. I like to take it, first, because I think I can bear it; second, if I cannot bear it I should not; that is, if I am in error I should be and am glad to be put right. I court criticism. I long for it. It benefits me in any case. If it fails, it helps to confirm me; if it succeeds, it rids me of my error. I desire to be estimated at just what I am worth—no more, no less. In this regard it is my first duty to know myself, and my second to let myself be known. I desire not to be unknowable nor unteachable. I assure Mr. Andrews, therefore, that he does not hit me as he designs to when he says, "I have usually found their pride of opinion greater than their love of truth." (But perhaps this is a case, on his part, of one judging others by one's self.) And he is quite right when he supposes that I received some benefit from reading what he calls his "voluminously-expounded" work on Mr. Warren's doctrines. And I here add that I yet and constantly am receiving some "part of my education" from Mr. Andrews' voluminous "propoundings." Surely all who can (and everybody can teach me something) may teach me. But consider the degree of disingenuousness, want of magnanimity and self-inflation implied in these quotations from him—Mr. Andrews. "It is tedious business to undertake the education of people who think they know, and yet who falsely represent what they profess to represent;" and "a vulgar and superficial misapprehension of great and beautiful [his doctrines], carefully defined by the best of thinkers;" and "I would recommend to Mr. Boucher to make a serious effort to comprehend it," meaning "integralism." Well, and I would recommend to Mr. Andrews, not through any spirit of retaliation or retort, but because I think he deserves and needs it, to make a serious effort to discontinue to hold Stephen Pearl Andrews as first and Truth as second in order, and to reverse this order, and to lessen the spirit of Egoism and increase that of Altruism in him; to curtail his intense selfishness and cultivate a higher regard for others, and a purer devotion to truth for its own sake, the want of which latter and the excess of the former have had much to do with his failures to secure the attached disciples he seems to so much desire. His pedantic antics with his stick I tried to drive out of him, in my first, with what he, perhaps for the want of a better way to meet it, calls my "elephantine playfulness"—perhaps he calls it "elephantine," meaning strong to conquer, for it seems that it has compelled him to drop the "stick;" but to correct him and help him in this matter of selfishness I deem it advisable to make a more sober and serious effort. It is because I deem him so well worth my powder and shot that I give him so much notice. It is because of his transcendent abilities that I ignore his doctrine of Integralism and adopt that of Eclecticism in his case, that I may not take him "bristles and all," but to eliminate, if possible, what is objectionable and to elect what is admirable, that he may be the more useful to society and to himself. We want Andrews *without* the "bristles" or the "hoofs," we can't utilize these in his case; on the contrary they are a great hindrance to his useful-

ness. We can't say of him as the lady friend said to him of their "mutual and highly esteemed friend," in the story he tells us, that "he is good, every bit of him; you can use him all up, even to the 'hoofs and bristles.'" The bristles are stubborn things, and they stick in our throats, and the hoofs are wont to trample upon us and are too suggestive; and the "whole hoggishness" of the picture is as unpleasant to the eye and as much out of place as "a pig in a parlor."

I have been thus perambulating because I have tried to follow Mr. Andrews. But at last we get down to the subjects proper upon which we are at issue, to wit, the doctrines of the Sovereignty of the Individual and of Integralism, and the manner of discussing them. "I shall not attempt to compete with" Mr. Andrews in "vulgar" self-praise, bald assertion and arrogant assumption (nor in the cry of "vulgar," "abusive," "ignorance," "trickery," "misrepresentation," "pride of opinion," "vulgar and superficial misapprehension" against my opponent, in lieu of argument, and because I cannot meet his argument, or because I happen to be so inflated with arrogance that I cannot bear even the idea that any person should presume to question the infallibility of my views, or "assume" to be "my teacher," without resenting it in a spirit of anger and acrimony), but I propose to show by argument the groundlessness and futility of these assertions and the foolishness of this assumption. Upon the first of the subjects he opens thus: "What, then, is the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual, scientifically limited, as repeatedly and cautiously stated by Mr. Warren and myself, in definitions, challenging the criticism (mark the modesty) of the thinkers of the world." Then follow his "definitions" [statement] of this doctrine, and then his assertion that it is true.

First, then, as to the peculiarly unscientific, and even absurd, character of the language and ideas of this quotation. He says, "the doctrine" "scientifically limited." Now, the doctrine is either true or it is not, or it is either partly true or it is not (which is the same thing in this case), how then can it be spoken of as limited at all, much less "scientifically limited." It would be no more unscientific nor absurd to speak of a rounder round thing or of a truer truth than of a "limited" truth or doctrine. How would it sound to say, It is true that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, "scientifically limited?" Or in astronomy, That the earth revolves on its axis, and that it does so diurnally, and that it revolves around the sun, etc., etc., "scientifically limited?" And this idea of "limitation" is no unguarded expression, for he says of it, "As repeatedly and cautiously stated by Mr. Warren and myself," and, too, "in definitions challenging the criticism of the thinkers of the world;" and, by the way, this also almost brings another whew! from me, and of, and to, which (the statement and the whew!) he will be as willing and ready to reply (as he did before, of his statement of this doctrine under consideration, that it is "the absolute ideal basis of social order," and to my whew! to it) that "I knew precisely what I said when I used that expression, and meant the whole of what the words contain." But the strength(?) of this language, aside from the idea of a "definition" of a "doctrine," is as bad as the "scientific limitation" idea of it. Scientific men define words and make a statement or offer a demonstration of a doctrine. We define a straight line to be "the shortest distance between two points," but we do not "define" the proposition (or doctrine) that in a triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the base and perpendicular; but we state (and confine ourselves to this if, or when, unable to prove it) the proposition, and demonstrate it if we need to prove the statement—or assertion. And then about his "definitions challenging criticism." The idea of a man defining or telling what he means by a phrase, or the use of it, and then sagely (?) and with the puffed-up pride of self-congratulation, and the defiance of "that simply well-assured confidence which comes of thorough investigation and the consciousness of complete familiarity with a subject, and which is entirely compatible with great modesty," "challenging the criticism and the thinkers of the world," (?) Then add to this consideration the one that he claims that he (or they) having been the first to give it an existence had a right to the exclusive privilege of arbitrarily giving it its "definitions," and a "technical" meaning (most of his article is made up of a tirade of abuse of me for presuming to give it my own or any other meaning than his, or to criticise it at all), which, of course, excludes the right or privilege of criticism, and the absurdity of his words, ideas and pretensions is climaxed; even where the word definitions is correctly used it is scarcely a matter for much criticism at all, much less for "the criticism of the thinkers of the world," but it is the doctrine or theories themselves which are properly the subjects of such criticism. The phrase itself, the "Sovereignty of the Individual," is not less unscientific and absurd than the others. My first criticism of this phrase and its necessary meaning (and out of which all of this controversy has arisen) was but a brief and general criticism and was as follows:

"The sovereignty of the individual, or free competition system, is the opposite to an organized system, and is not only unscientific merely, but it tends to chaos—is chaos. It is predicated upon the theory, or rather the idea, that we are but individuals—that we are wholly selfish, and not at all social beings.

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

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

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

But this was a part of a professedly mere "Declaration (statement) of Principles." I now add a more analytical and detailed criticism. Sovereignty means supremacy, and this means above ruling, or the highest rule, and so the Sovereignty of the Individual means the Highest rule of the Individual, by which Mr. Andrews must mean either that the Individual is to hold this rule over Society, or over itself (and it seems he holds the one and the other alternately, and sometimes confusedly). Now, in either case, the Individual must of course be considered a unit. And the idea of the highest rule, or rule of any kind, necessarily implies duality—the ruler and the ruled. So that the idea and the talk of the Individual ruling itself—which, as we see, is the ruler ruling the ruler—is so palpable and so flat an absurdity that it needs no further exposure. The



former—the Individual ruling Society—society being the aggregation of the Individuals—is the part ruling the whole, or it is an infinitesimal part ruling all the other parts or the whole of the other parts. We have a geometrical axiom that the "whole is equal to all its parts," but here we have an Andrewian conclusion (no matter to him that it is in opposition to this self-evident truth, since truth is second to Andrews or his doctrine) which affirms that the part is not only equal to but greater than the whole. And yet this is what he calls (with its "limitation," as he calls it, but which idea of "limitation" I have shown—and shall still further show—is in itself equal in absurdity to the rest) "the best thought out, the subtlest and most far-reaching, the best-defined and the most truly admirable doctrine ever yet formulated in social science; and, as before said, the absolute ideal basis of social order;" and with respect to which he boastfully and defiantly challenges the "criticism of the thinkers of the world." Such "vulgar and superficial" rant "is something which, perhaps, cannot be prevented, but when all this occurs with persons who claim to teach and profess to understand, it is something still more sad" [indeed sad]. But I have some "hope of enlightening" the party "in fault," though "I have usually found" his "pride of opinion greater than" his "love of truth." And so instead of this being "rigorously scientific," and "the best thought out," etc., etc., it is, as we see, to say the least, one of the most unscientific and worst "thoughts out," all this fulsome eulogy and bold assertion of Andrews the Great, notwithstanding. Indeed he seems to rely upon these (eulogy and assertion) in the proportion that he is without argument or proof to support his doctrine; the use of the former being evidence of the want of the latter. But this "sovereignty of the Individual," taken in a more general and a looser sense (which sense is a charitable one to its advocates, for taken in a strict and scientific sense it not only has no standing but is absurd as we see), may mean some or contain a portion or degree of what is necessary to the solution of the social or man-problems. Within the sphere of rights—the rights of the so-called Individual, that is the necessities of the individual or selfish or egoistic part of our nature or being—it may have a significant meaning and application. But to give it its very best possible phase or imagining it does not and cannot reach beyond the sphere of rights, it can in no wise enter that of duties, and hence it leaves, even under this charitable view of it, this other half, and higher and greater half, of social science, of human concern and interest, untouched and unsolved, making it therefore much more conspicuous as a system for what it fails to do than for what it does or can do—though giving it, as I say, the advantage of all that the highest stretch of imagination can see in its favor. It deals, at best, with the selfish, and not at all with the social part of our human nature. As a system, then, it is grossly deficient and palpably false. (Why, it is not high enough even for the beasts of the field, those of them at least which are gregarious; for the carnivorous animals, such as are wholly egoistic or selfish and are not at all gregarious or social, it might serve as a code.) Which conclusion, together with Mr. Andrews' plea, by implication, which says to his readers: "Mr. Boucher can't be right in his estimation of this doctrine which Mr. Warren and myself advocate, because if so it represents us, by implication, as 'teachers and illustrators of these characteristics,' (meaning, and using the words, those of 'selfishness' and 'hogishness') which, if not begging the question, is something worse (as I have before hinted), for it is a mere whine for sympathy—an appeal to prejudice, and, by his so persistently holding Mr. Warren up between himself and his opponent, a skulking behind that gentleman's reputation for protection, a shielding himself with the mantle of righteousness of Mr. Warren, and thus using Mr. Warren because he knows that all who know him and love these qualities, reverence and love him for his unswerving honesty, his unbounded human sympathy and his untiring devotion to reform and to truth; and I may add because he perhaps instinctively feels that his readers would not feel so much surprise in his own case to hear such 'selfishness' attributed to a doctrine that he might teach; I say, which conclusion, together with all this, inclines me to 'rise to explain' why these two men, so opposite in character, are coadvocates of this doctrine. I confess that, on first blush, it appears anomalous, yet the explanation is not difficult. The one holds to it for the sake of others because of his great regard and sympathy for others. The other holds to it for the sake of self, because of his great regard and sympathy for himself. I have yet to explain the origin of this doctrine or principle which this phrase, the "Sovereignty of the Individual," has been chosen to express; and I will commence to do it here because it is necessary to give clear explanation of this other point. From what I have said of this phrase in my analysis of it, and from what is apparent on the face of it, we see that Mr. Warren was unfortunate in his choice of language with which to express what everybody, who reads him at length, must see to be his meaning. It is a parody on words, and was doubtless, in the first instance, intentionally so used by Mr. Warren.

The principle or doctrine itself was (and is) one which had been growing and spreading more or less in all the countries of the civilized world, and had become already dominant in this country before Mr. Warren ever attempted to formulate it into a System, and it was and is but the opposite swing of the pendulum from the tyranny and oppression of the many by the few; of the masses by priestcraft and kingcraft, by the aristocracy or privileged classes; from that of public opinion and passion; from the sovereignty of the Pope and the King to a greater degree of liberty and freedom to the Individual, the significance and rightfulness of which Mr. Warren recognized and seized upon, but which, through his great sympathy for the rights of the many of humanity, and through the fervor of his indignation against the Sovereign oppressors, he carried to an extreme, and so, cried out—in the agony of his soul for the wronged and the oppressed, and in the warmth and spirit of opposition—"SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL!" It was not a critical, analytical or scientific formulation, nor statement, nor "definition" from the head; but, like O'Connell's eloquence, it was a throb of the heart. And this is largely the character of his writings up to this day. Mr. Andrews combated this tyranny and was indignant with this oppression because it affected him—the ego, Andrews, and he mounted and rode upon the waves of this reaction from an instinctive feeling of self-interest and advantage: so much so that he has been ever since trying to thrust himself so far forward as to gain the opportunity of himself playing the tyrant trying to convince others to submit to him by addressing them in the language of the spider to the fly: "Will you walk into my parlor," etc., or by sliming them over with flattery preparatory to swallowing them, or by bandying and patting them with velvet paw to disarm fear and suspicion preparatory to their immolation on the

altar of his selfishness or to being swallowed up in his capacious maw of excessive Individuality. Such is the origin of this "doctrine" and such are the different standpoints from which these two men view it and which account for the apparent anomaly involved by showing that that view is quite natural from either or each of these standpoints.

The next point is what Mr. Andrews is pleased to call the "limitation" of this doctrine or term, and he speaks of the "necessity" of this limitation, and which limitation is "at one's own cost"—the "Sovereignty of the Individual" "at one's own cost." But he says he sometimes puts it "not at the costs of others" or "in all things short of encroachment," which idea of limitation, I submit, is not only void of good sense but is even as absurd and ridiculous as would be the proposition that Andrews might be the "Pantarch"—"limited" to there being no one over whom to be Pantarch; or, by the radicals, that Prince Albert may become sovereign of England—"limited" to having no subjects; or that Andrews may have the supremacy where there is no one but himself; or that if one should say he had given a bushel of corn—"limited" to three pecks, and still maintain, by argument—no, not that (I beg Mr. Andrews' pardon for accusing him of argument in the matter), by assertion—that he had really given the bushel. But what is more easy than for Mr. Andrews to add to or subtract from his "doctrine," by saying, "I mean by this term thus and so," when the term and its necessary meaning, according to the words used, is objected to, for it is not for the objector to say what Mr. Andrews means, but only what he says. And so we find him actually setting about this easy task, and we must confess he "asserts freely." 'Tis said "talk is cheap;" with him assertions must be cheap, for he uses them so plentifully. And this brings us to consider this last point on this doctrine—his assertions regarding it. He says there is in it "the chartered right of every human being to judge and decide upon the nature and propriety of his own actions, up to the limit afterward stated." Well, suppose it be granted, what of it, except that no "human being" should ever have any such "right," if by this he means the right to "judge and decide" "his own acts" to be all right and proper and the right to perpetuate and repeat them on this basis? And it must mean this to mean anything. But he says, "Up to the limit afterward stated," but we can't know what he means by this, for he does not state any "limit afterward;" but we may take him to mean the limit before stated, to wit, "Short of encroachment." Well, who is to "judge and decide" as to the encroachment? If the same party, this "limit" constitutes no limit at all; if the other party, it can't be this one, so that in any case his assertion is groundless and nonsensical. And yet he goes on to say there is also in it "the peremptory inhibition of every encroachment and the inculcation of a wholly new, or newly defined religion and chivalry of respect for the individual rights of all other individuals." Let the criticism of the previous sentence suffice for this, for what there is in it which is not also in the other is but of soap-bubble worth and weight. I must stop criticising somewhere. It will not pay for space and time to stop to prick each soap-bubble. To show them is enough—they are not worth the weighing. Here is another: "It is," speaking of the "doctrine" "an Ithuriel's sword flashing both ways, and defending equally the rights and prescribing the duties of all—the duty of deference to the rights of others." The same criticism above will also apply here. But I may remark what a jumbling and confusion and misunderstanding of rights and duties is here. If he had understood or kept in mind that the foundation and measure of rights are in our needs, and the foundation and measure of duties to lie in our capacities, he perhaps would have been less confused herein. And he goes on to say, "It is, in a word, the best thought out, the subtlest and most far-reaching, the best-defined and the most truly admirable doctrine ever yet formulated in social science; and, as I before said, the absolute ideal basis of social order." And because I say "whew!" to "sic like stuff" as this, he calls me names, says I am ignorant, that I am "unaware of this meaning—work, this meaning—of the term," and abuses me generally. Nearer like unto the "visionary fabric of an idle dream," my dear Mr. Andrews, than "the absolute ideal," etc. And, by the way, he only claims it to be an "ideal." And yet because I oppose this "ideal" as being so much exact science, as "rigorously scientific," he says I furnish "further" evidence, if not of my turpitude, of my ignorance on the point by saying, "I reaffirm my position and deny all this statement about it, taking the phrase in any sense it may be used" (italicising what I did not, and so misquoting). Who can "see the point?" And he adds: "It is the charitable assumption that this reaffirmation and this denial were made in real ignorance of the true nature of the doctrine." And to my objection of the "absolute" perfection of this "ideal," he replies: "I only ask, what could be more so?" And echo, but "this and nothing more," answers what? Can't question the goodness of gore? But enough.

So we see that neither the sentiment nor the words are Mr. Warren's, but existed before him, but only the combination of the words. But he has so dwelt upon this sentiment as to exaggerate it into a doctrine or system, and has employed a term of exaggeration—a parody on words—to help to make it startling. But this sentiment really has grown so as to have become a great rivalry and a great opposition to the previous monopoly of tyranny, as the present competitive system of industry or trade has superseded the system of trade monopoly. In the former case we have the swing of the pendulum and the reaction from the extreme of the Sovereignty of the Dynasty to, or toward, that of the "Sovereignty of the Individual," (using the last term as paradoxical, as well as a parody on the words of the other as we have shown Mr. Warren uses it); and in the latter case we have the same reaction from Monopoly in Trade and the industries to "Competition"—free competition. They run parallel chronologically and logically, and are counterparts of each other—Sovereignty of Dynasty and Monopoly, and Sovereignty of the Individual and Competition, and so, as I before identified them, the Sovereignty of the Individual System and the Free-competition System are synonymous or are parts of each other, and are, as I have said in my "Declaration of Principles," "not only unscientific, but they tend to chaos—are chaos." Individualism, Competition, Isolation, are of the same piece—are the same in their nature and tendencies, and are expressive of Selfishness, Fraud, Weakness.

But Mr. Andrews, in closing his paper, gradually effects a retreat accompanying himself with a somewhat mournful refrain. But on his retiring march, while his back is mostly in view, he occasionally faces round to let fly a parting arrow, a little poisoned with his wonted acrimony, and which he hopes, perchance, may penetrate, though fired at random, some vital part of his pursuing contestant. He says "I do not care to discuss further the question of the complexity of truth." He says it is hopeless "to make it understood by

those who wish to obscure and misunderstand it." And as my "wish" in reality is to make clear and to understand, this arrow does not touch me. He says, "to an antagonist who takes me up literally, I have no reply to make, no defence to attempt;" and says, "They that have ears to hear let them hear," as if my ears were not willing to hear the truth; but as that is what they are of all things the most willing to hear, this arrow, though intended evidently to be both barbed and poisoned, also falls harmlessly at my feet. He says, speaking of said doctrine still (and how tenaciously he clings to it, even in his dying throes as it were), and the "works" written to explain it, "Which Mr. Boucher should have read before venturing on this discussion." As if I had not read them, while the fact is I had read them, and so again the arrow hits nowhere. And lastly, speaking of his "Integralism," "I would recommend to Mr. Boucher to make a serious effort to comprehend it." As if I had not, but as I have, and have, too, not only comprehended but explained it, as I submit to the reader, in my last, and as he himself substantially admits, what then? Well, "you know how it is yourself," this arrow also falls to the ground and pointless.

In his previous paper Mr. Andrews says, in reference to the doctrine in question, "A truth, except for the fact that all half-truths are lies." To my reply to this, that by it he conceded the whole question, for what I had stated (and what he was claiming or pretending in his criticism generally to controvert) was that the doctrine was "by one-half false or falsely predicated," for "what was but 'half true' must be half false." I say, to this reply, he now replies thus: "By a bold figure of speech I spoke of telling lies as a necessary preliminary to telling the truth." To an antagonist who takes me up literally I have no reply to make; no defence to attempt." But what of the expression "half truths?" He leaves this out; he does not claim that he used this as a part of his "bold figure of speech" or not as a literal speech, but it was of this I was speaking "literally," and it is to this in reality, his reply comes: "I have no reply to make, no defence to attempt." Why not then admit it fairly? Why resort to such "thin" subterfuge? To my statement that this doctrine is predicated upon the idea that we are but individual, he replies, "Certainly not. A thousand times no!" &c. (And mark the number of noes—figurative of the degree of his characteristic of bold assertion.) "The Sovereignty of the Individual assumes sociability as the very subject it is to regulate, and regulates it precisely," &c. Now this statement of mine is but the statement of a truism—a self-evident proposition—for to say the doctrine of the "Sovereignty of the Individual" is to say the doctrine of Individualism; and to say that the doctrine of Individualism is founded or "predicated upon the idea that we are but individuals," is but to say that the doctrine of Individualism is founded on individualism, a proposition so self-evident, so necessarily true, that it seems almost silly to make a statement of it; and yet Mr. Andrews—Stephen Pearl Andrews—has not only the shortsightedness, or rather blindness, or the brazen audacity to contradict or deny it with a single no, but with "a thousand times, no!" 'Tis indeed strange what a blinding influence egotism has. But his evil genius seems not satisfied that he should stop at thus voluntarily impaling himself upon the "sword of truth," but that he should proceed to commit positive "Hari-Kari" by affirming that this doctrine of Individualism is based on "sociability," that is, Socialism, which is as self-evidently a contradiction of terms and an absurdity as the proposition which he negatives with a "thousand noes!" is a truth, and is as ridiculous as it would be to say that the principle or foundation for the measurement of the shoe, or by which to measure it, is the head and is not the foot. Truly sane people would, I submit, undertake to fit the shoe to the foot and the hat to the head—the shoe, or doctrine of individualism, to the feet, or inferior, selfish, or individualistic (relative) part of our constitution or nature; and the hat, or doctrine of Socialism, to the head, or superior, otherish, or socialistic (relative) part of our constitution or nature. But the language he uses here is jesuitically ambiguous, "Assumes sociability as the very subject it is to regulate," and may mean something else than a contra proposition to mine; but notwithstanding its unscientific vagueness, its meaning is made tolerably clear by the words he uses in connection with his "A thousand times, no!" to wit: "just the contrary, through and through." He says I said "If eclecticism is integralism, then we agree," &c., and answers, "Yes, if." But I made no such statement; but what he takes it from is this: He himself had stated that "Eclectics are no better than Extremists, unless they are many-sided, versatile and ultra enough to be at the same time Integralists;" to which I replied: "Well, then, if they are so 'many-sided, versatile,' &c., all your argument against Eclecticism falls to the ground." How about the honesty (?) of this?

At the very last he speaks (and only speaks) of his great, "all-important, final and no-one-can-go-beyond-it philosophy of Integralism," and of my criticism of it, by quoting from me where I had contrasted, &c., it with Eclecticism, part of which quotation is this: "Wherein does growth, improvement, progress, any hope for humanity consist, if not in the rejection, the elimination of the bad and the false, and the election and adoption of but the good and the true?" To which he replies: "What is bad for one use is good for another. Integralism rests on that perception." Oh, what a grand "perception!" and what a sublime philosophy it must be that "rests on" it. The Cosmos is compassed, the mysteries of the universe are solved. Andrews has discovered that "What is bad for one use is good for another." Give ear, O Earth! Listen, ye Heavens! to the Grand "Pantarch," and he will condescend to explain to you that "The grand Universal Institute of all Human Affairs is the Pantarchy, guided by the Science of Universology, and based on the Philosophy of Integralism," and which last "rests on" (and mark this well) the "perception" that, "What is bad for one use is good for another." I say, but give heed and he will consent to be your grand infallible Pope, who will "propound" to you the grand mysteries (heretofore such) of this "grand Institute," "guided by" this grand "Science," "based on" this grand "Philosophy," which "rests on" this grand "perception," or, in other words, the grand difference "twixt tweedledum and tweedledee." He adds another sentence of the same import, and then tells this story: "A lady said to me of a mutual friend, 'He is just like a hog—he is good every bit of him; you can use him all up, even to the hoofs and bristles.' And of this he says, 'This, then, is Integralism. The idea is a deep one.' etc." 'Tis said "there is no accounting for tastes." This lady is welcome to the "hoofs and bristles" of Mr. Andrews' "whole-hog" philosophy—to the "hoofs and bristles" of Mr. Andrews—if she will consent to our rejecting those portions and electing the most of the rest of him.



It might be urged that I have been doing my best (and that I have actually done so) to "use up" Mr. Andrews "altogether." Well, if the reader chooses to be thus facetious in language I will not contradict. The reader must be the best judge of this; 'tis not in the nature of things that I can be.

And now, dear reader, do not consider this a quarrel between Mr. Andrews and me. In my humble opinion, he has made some blunders (and who of us have not), and I have tried simply to help him correct them. After all these excrescences or exuberances, so to speak, are stripped from him, he will be only the more worthy our admiration. There will be still left in him an almost inexhaustible fund of real worth and merit. He is a many-sided man in the meritorious sense of this term. "With all his faults" we should "love him still." He has battled for truth as few have done. He has been, and is, a great and daring reformer. He has "fought the good fight," and deserves the crown. But crown or no, Stephen Pearl Andrews will fight on!

And believing all this, as I do, I still say to him: Believe me, as ever, your admirer and friend,

W. M. BOUCHER.

#### PRIMITIVE FIRE AND WAR.

If there is any one thing that close observers of the signs of the times are agreed upon, it is that we are rapidly approaching a period of general religious revival. There is a unanimity of thought relative to this subject that is most remarkable; yet it ought not to be any more strange that so important an event casts its shadow before, than it is that we foresee the coming of the natural seasons.

It is a law upon which all prophecy is founded, that the natural is a procedure from the spiritual, and is consequently of it an externalized image, even as men and women are external images of Deity. From this intimate relation between that which produces and that which is produced arises also the law of correspondences. The testimony of Jesus, being the spirit of prophecy, refers to this beautiful life-preserving law. It is the immediate result of the Christ Spirit, which is the soul of all religious forms and theologies. This Spirit is as the sun to its satellites; some are near, moving in orbits and in close proximity thereto; others, further removed; and thus, sphere beyond sphere, and orbit beyond orbit, to the most distant and opaque. The rays of the sun are concreted or inwrought in every substance of our planet, from the diamond to the granite rock; and the Christ elements are incorporated in all religions and sects, from Christianity to fetichism, from Shakerism to Materialism; in Christ being hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

The word *Christ* is here used as expressing the idea of an inmost heaven, like a central fire in a planet, whose tendency is to melt with fervent heat all the elements more external than itself, and to subdue the most outward crusts to its own refined and purified nature. Fire is matter no less than the things it consumes; and combustion is change, not annihilation. All elements are as fire to others more gross.

It is said that "God is a consuming fire;" being so, it must be to those things in man, and pertaining to man, that are not under his blessing and protection. "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman watcheth in vain;" and except the Lord build a new Chicago, the energetic and enterprising people of that desolated city will build for nought.

How long ere the children of men will learn, practically, the simple truth that friendly, watchful guardians in the first spirit world are essential to the protection of man and his works, to save him and them from destruction? and that those spirit friends also require suitable mediums who are in the body to give material expression to their spiritual intentions. In other words, there requires to be an at-one-ment—a co-working together between godly spirits and godly men and women—to secure and insure right results.

"Fret not thyself because of evil doers," for they will reap the fruit of their own doing as sufficient affliction and ample punishment to satisfy both justice and vengeance. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; I will repay." There is therefore no normal foundation for physical war, except where men or a nation are on a plane so low and external that there is "no vision, and the people perish" by mutual slaughter or self-destruction.

Protest, non-resistance, suffering, cries to God for justice, are legitimate agencies for the down-trodden and oppressed, which never fail to bring deliverance to those who do not drink in and partake of the same spirit with the wrong-doer. "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partaker of her sins, and that," in consequence of that partnership in guilt, "ye receive not of her plagues" and punishments.

There is a difference between the slaves, men or women, who would themselves gladly hold other men and women as slaves, and those who would emancipate slaves coming to them by inheritance. There is a distinction between the Paris communes, who, being rich individually, as some of them were, acted from a highly religious and conscientious principle to produce equality, and those communes who, being poor in this world's goods, desired to be individually rich, but could not attain thereunto, and so conspired to destroy what they could not enjoy.

When Moses, being down on the plane of physical war, saw an Egyptian striving with a Hebrew, he killed him. But when the Hebrew God selected Moses as a medium to deliver Israel from the power of the great and mighty military nation who was serving itself of them, the first work was with Moses individually, to convert him into a Quaker, trusting in God, but hurting no human being personally or

physically, and from the time of his call to that of his death Moses "did violence to no man." He became a generative spiritualist, not yet resurrected from physical reproduction, or the spirit of war, but (like Jesus before his conversion from Judaism to Christianity) by means of spirit agency—i. e., men and women out of the body.

Moses made a god unto Pharaoh, and his prophet—for all gods must have prophets—was Aaron. Instead of becoming a rebel, like Washington, and instituting armed resistance similar to that of his enemies, he fought the Egyptians with spiritual powers. He possessed spiritual powers in common with the Egyptians, and a regular contest ensued to determine which was the superior. When both parties turned their wands into serpents, the one belonging to Moses, by swallowing up those of his opponents, indicated his own final supremacy and victory in this spiritualistic battle. With his wand he turned the waters into blood, killing the fish, and from this blood he created frogs in superabundance. He produced lice (which the magicians could not create), and flies, and murrain, and locusts, and darkness so dense that it could be felt. He then—that all believers in his spiritual power and mediumship might save themselves and their beasts—notified all Egypt of a coming dreadful hailstorm, that thus opposers and mockers of spiritualism would alone be destroyed. Thus separated, by their own act, the believers from the unbelievers among the Egyptians, inasmuch as the "hail mingled with primitive fire" did its work effectually. And, lastly, came the destruction of the first-born throughout all the land of Egypt. Then they let Israel go, loading them with presents.

Here may be noted the impartiality of the powers that produced these plagues, who were just as ready to inflict them upon Israel, under the same conditions of unbelief, as upon Egypt. The land of Goshen was exempt upon the ground of faith and obedience to spiritual requirements, and the Egyptians were exempted on the same terms and conditions. At the time of the exit, after the death of the first-born, the Egyptians were as largely believers as were the Israelites, excepting Pharaoh with his six hundred chariots and complement of warriors, all of whom, through their own unbelief, were overwhelmed in the Red Sea.

And there were unbelievers in Israel too, who said to Moses, "Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians. Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away," with thy spiritual manifestations, "to die in the wilderness? Let us return!" Their subsequent history is but the unending struggle between their unbelief, through Egyptian appetites and habits, and their faith in that dispensation with its self-denial and crosses. The war power, being removed to the spirit world, continually operated to destroy the rebels against Moses, the medium of the Hebrew God. As a despotic king, they would gladly have accepted him with Aaron for his prime minister. "If one come in his own name, him ye will receive." But Moses came and acted in the name of the God of Israel, and was himself the meekest of men. As such, he chose rather "to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ (two thousand years before Jesus and four thousand before Ann were born) better than the riches and treasures and pleasures of Egypt." Having, when a young man, "refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter," he proclaimed his relation to his own people, then slaves in a foreign land, as he now refused to be a king over his own people; but remained a servant of the God of Israel, and was "faithful in all his house," or dispensation.

Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, when the latter had rehearsed to him the wonderful deliverance of these slaves from the power of their masters, exclaimed, "Blessed be the Lord who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh. Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods; for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them." As each nation and people in those days had their own gods which they served, so had Israel "the Lord their God"—the God of the Hebrews, who taught his people to trust all their war matters to Him as the God of battles, being the general of "hosts" of spiritual warriors. And "the Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace." "Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord which he will show you to-day." He made thorough work; for his "angel looked through a pillar of fire, and greatly troubled and frightened the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels," and finally drowned every one of them.

That was the end of physical war by the true people of God upon earth. From that time it is only when the people of God have fallen—become worldly—and descended to a lower plane, like the Christians in the time of Constantine the Great, that they fight with earthly weapons, forgetful of the statement made by Jesus Christ that his servants would not fight, because his kingdom was not of this world. While, as shown above, even the Jews, who entered the marriage relation not to use it for unfruitful acts of sexual commerce, as men eat for gluttony, and drink for damnation to their god-given reasoning faculty, the Christians in Babylon—Christendom—being to-day on a lower plane in relation to marriage, and under its cover practice, without restraint, "unfruitful works of darkness." They also practice *monopoly* in ways that the law prohibited, and *war* as did the heathen before the law of Moses reached them. Thus, so far from being Christians, either by faith or works, they do not yet fulfill the de-

mands of Judaism, and the world awaits, with anxious care and trembling hope, the inauguration of the millennium—the adoption of its principles—by some one of the leading nations of the earth, when war shall be transferred from the physical to the mental or intellectual plane in the civil government, and to the moral and spiritual plane in the ecclesiastical government.

E. G. Holland, in the *Golden Age*, thus writes: "When the human body is in health, no one of its functions attracts eager attention or creates alarm; so a wise and healthy government works so naturally and so well that no one is astounded or excited about its operations."

There is an idea on the problem of government, derived from the most ancient nations, which I deem of supreme importance, though like a mountain it is graced and darkened by clouds—mythological clouds: "The earliest dream and the oldest reminiscence of the race, as respects the happiest condition of humanity, referred to Theocracy. Take India, for example; her story was that in the primitive age, when moral purity was universal, there was no need of government; and that under the reign of nature's laws (which is Theocracy), perfect liberty existed and goods were equally distributed. Though a great deluge swept away every relic of this sacred age, the grand old myth, with no small insight of wisdom, assures us that it was not till men began to be wicked that princes and governments came in.

"Old Egypt has also told its theocratic story in the affirmation, that, prior to the existence of any secular government, the country was ruled by the gods for an immense indefinite period, Osiris being the last. Egyptian tradition allows twenty-three thousand years between Osiris and Alexander. This supremacy of the priesthoods at the earliest or infant periods of the oldest nationalities is a dream of glorious moment. Humanity in its grand cycle shall come to it again."

"The most remarkable trait in the origin and career of the Hebrew nation was its negation of secular governments from the beginning, as being inadequate and unauthorized. The immediate rule over Israel by the Divine Being was a doctrine which logically culminated in Israel's grand dream of the kingdom of God on earth, whose territory was to be the entire planet." This will be realized through the establishment of two orders in each nation operating together like the soul and the body—a new heaven or church, and a new earth or civil government. On the first will shine the sun of revelation; on the latter, the reflected light of science.

The Catholic Church attempted to realize the ideal of the final universal government by combining together the two orders; the natural resting on the basis of reproduction, embracing the mass of the population, the lower strata of society; the spiritual resting on the basis of celibacy in her monastic system, into which were gathered the most intellectual and spiritual of the inhabitants of all nations who "wandered after the beast." This system was symbolized by the lion, the leopard, the bear and the eagle, as constituting "the kingdom of this world," under the influence of Catholicism and Protestantism, which would become in the Millennial period, "the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ," when an entire separation would be effected under the terms of the *goats and the sheep*; the one on the right hand, the other on the left—two parts of one divine government. It is as though one should say, "Let the supreme soul govern me by divine revelation," and the other, "Let the laws of my king and the laws of nature or science truly so called be my eternal code."

And until this condition is attained by each individual and by each nation upon earth, there will be, although on a higher plane, a spiritual war in the Millennium, even as there will continue to be war in the kingdom of heaven until the final separation between truth and error, good and evil, ultimates itself in the "rest that remains for the people of God."

F. W. EVANS.

#### THE RECONCILIATION.

In my last letter I portrayed the dark shadows that cloud the picture of our social and political life. It is sad to contemplate unhappiness and suffering; but when they flow from causes that may be removed by determined action, we do not mourn at those without hope. When a gigantic wrong is righted, when obstacles to prosperity and security are removed, blessings follow inevitably as day follows night. The inauguration of justice will be a proclamation of peace. Instead of the armed neutrality we now have, when the interests of women become identical with those of men the element of disturbance will be forever put at rest, and thenceforth they will work together for the common good. Hitherto the interests and pursuits, the duties and privileges of life, have divorced the sexes. Whatever path was marked out for one sex necessitated the sacrifice of the other, and mutual heart-ache and heart-break were inevitable. The full active life of the man is contrasted with the emptiness and ennui of the life of the woman. Glory calls him to active fields. Isolation and loneliness attend her narrow life; and just in proportion to his usefulness to his country is her banishment from his society and from all the privileges of purely social enjoyment.

You know how sadly true this statement is. You have supposed it man's part to be and to do, and woman's part to suffer. The few cases in history which prove woman's capacity for being, and her efficiency in doing, have failed to impress upon you their practical lessons.

A woman, by force of will, rushes into camp, endures long marches, takes part in every engagement with her companion—and from these two warriors a Napoleon is born.

Another woman joins her husband in the management of loans and deposits and the current business of a bank; in fact is the fountain of inspiration, tact and judgment in the concern. From these two financiers a Rothschild is born.



With these illustrations before your eyes of the effect of active life in special spheres upon woman and upon her children, you have yet ignorantly and foolishly pursued the pathway of depriving her of opportunities, limiting her experience, and shutting her out from every healthful inspiration. Don't you see, gentlemen, what a mistake you have made?

Now pass the Declaratory Act in Congress. Permit us to aid you in every enterprise, to co-operate with you in the grand work of rebuilding and expanding this Republic. Allow us to assist in developing the resources and wealth of our great country, and you will find your domestic altars purified, your hearthstone become sacred, your sons and daughters the children of unity and love, the inheritors of talent and genius. Happiness will then be possible to both men and women. The two elements of male and female will agree at touching every important interest that affects them both.

These self-evident truths will cease to be stupidities the moment preaching is superseded by practice. When talking about justice is translated into acts of life, it ceases to be irksome and becomes an agreeable fact—a new and exquisite sensation instead of an old bore. VERAX.

#### NEW BOOKS.

SPEECHES ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS. By Geo. W. Julian, M. C. Hurd & Houghton. New York.

Mr. Julian is second to no public man in his earnest advocacy of all measures that tend to progress, and he enjoys the confidence of a large and important constituency, and is respected of all for his probity and ability. Books of speeches are for the most part of little value; but where, as in this case, they serve to recall the memory of great events, and to remind us of the sentiments and opinions of prominent actors in periods of great convulsion and excitement, they serve as historical and personal landmarks. They are the metal as it came from the furnace at white heat and ere yet it had crystallized or assumed its present shape. This volume of speeches is prefaced with an introduction from the pen of Mrs. L. Maria Child, which she commences with a brief exordium, to which we heartily subscribe:

No one who has observed the course of our public men, and who sincerely believes in the great principles of justice and freedom on which the Government of the United States is founded, can fail to honor the character and appreciate the labors of the Hon. George W. Julian, whose name has for several years past been familiar to the public as a prominent Member of Congress from Indiana.

Mr. Julian himself says of this compilation:

To the people I have so long served in Congress, and especially to the many devoted friends who have sustained me with such singular steadfastness in the political conflicts of the past, I respectfully dedicate this volume. It is compiled and published chiefly for them, and in memory of common struggles and sacrifices for principles long overwhelmingly trampled down, but now finally in the ascendant. To the general public these speeches will possess only such interest as pertains to by-gone discussions of great public questions, and to views, vehemently combated when uttered, which have been tried by the verdict of time. With a single exception, they are printed in the order of their delivery; and I only add, that while in a few instances opinions are advanced which have since been modified, my constant and inspiring aim was to declare what I believed to be the truth.

There is a healthy, temperate tone about this message, which is characteristic of the man—straightforward and honest. Not wedded to bigoted consistency because he has once publicly affirmed a proposition, but slow to change unless he sees just cause.

Mr. Julian's father was one of the pioneer settlers of Indiana. His education was the education of hard work and obstacles; but, like Abraham Lincoln, he managed to get along, and to wring knowledge from poverty and the teachings of daily experience. Eastman Johnson's popular picture of Abraham Lincoln's boyhood as he read books at night by a pitch-pine light, would be just as applicable to Mr. Julian.

These speeches are upon "The Slavery Question," "The Healing Measures," "The Homestead Bill," "The Strength and Weakness of the Slave Power—The Duty of Anti-Slavery Men," "The State of Political Parties—The Signs of the Times," "The Slavery Question in its Present Relations to American Politics," "Indiana Politics," "The Cause and Cure of our National Troubles," "Confiscation and Liberation," "The Rebellion—The Mistakes of the Past—The Duty of the Present," "Homesteads for Soldiers on the Lands of Rebels," "Radicalism and Conservatism—The Truth of History Vindicated," "Sale of Mineral Lands," "Dangers and Duties of the Hour—Reconstruction and Suffrage," "Suffrage in the District of Columbia," "Amendment of the Constitution," "The Punishment of Rebel Leaders," "Radicalism the Nation's Hope," "Regeneration Before Reconstruction," "Impeachment of President Johnson," "Spoilation of the Public Domain—The Saving Remedy," "Impolicy of Land Bounties—The Homestead Law Defended," "The Seymour Democracy and the Public Lands," "How to Resume Specie Payments," "The Overshadowing Question," "The Railway Power," "Review of Congressional Politics."

Mr. Julian was one of the very first and very best men to take up the cause of Woman's Suffrage. He introduced a proposition to grant the right of suffrage to Women in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States. He took a strenuous part in favor of a Sixteenth Amendment, and ever since the Woman Suffrage agitation commenced, has over and over again proclaimed his conviction of its justice, and his adherence to the principle. We regret that his speeches on this most important of all topics, a topic whose settlement will determine the whole shape and formation of a new so-

ciety, are not included in this collection. Mr. Julian has done himself scant justice by this omission. On Mr. Julian's personal value to the highest welfare of the country we could willingly express ourselves in terms of warm panegyric, but as fellow-laborers in a cause on which we feel so strongly, our eulogy would naturally be open to some disparagement. We prefer to extract the closing paragraphs of Mrs. Child's biographical sketch—as well because they are in themselves neat and terse, as because they are just and true:

Mr. Julian is eminently Western in his character: frank and fearless, prompt and decided; loyal in his attachments, but ready to thrust at friends or foes if they place themselves in a position to impede the progress of truth and freedom. He seems to have chosen for his motto: "First be sure you are right, then go ahead." And he has gone ahead, like a steam-engine, and drawn many cars full after him.

It has been said of John Bright, of England, that during thirty or forty years of public life he has never swerved from the straight line on which he started; that his principles have known no change, except the greater development and perfection which result from experience; and that events were continually proving his foresight and corroborating his opinions. I know of no public man in this country, except the Hon. Charles Sumner, to whom this remark can be so justly applied as to the Hon. George W. Julian. His speeches furnish proof of this. They reflect credit on our National Legislature, and form a valuable record of an important transition state in the history of the republic.

Even beyond his claims on our special sympathy in the woman suffrage question, Mr. Julian deserves widespread honor and appreciation for his noble stand against land grants, and against the division of the public domain of this great country, the hope of honest labor, to the private gains of colossal speculation. We look to England for the opinion of its thinkers and patriots on social conditions. We are as yet happily far removed from the prodigious inequalities and disproportions that disgrace the civilization of Europe. The enormous wealth of the rich, the inconceivable misery of the poor. Americans are at the foundation of a new politico-social structure. We are sufficiently warned of that which shall be by that which is. The teachers abroad speak with the consequences of false legislation and accumulative evil before their eyes, and although the greater number of our public men are indifferent to all but the things of the hour, and give their primary attention to their personal welfare, careless if after them comes the deluge, there are happily some few who rise superior to mean motives, and so potent is Truth, that when its cry is heard, even faction and self-interest range under its banners and do good in their own despite. Mr. Julian's land bill, his speeches on which are in this volume, belong to patriotic legislation which protects the cause of the poor and the needy against the proud man and the aggressor, bringing no profit, but only the happy conscience of noble duty nobly done.

OVERLAND MONTHLY. December, 1871. American News Company.

CONTENTS—Wine-Making in California; Bribery in Elections: Kirwin; A Peep at an Hacienda; Tree and Brook; The Lost Treasure of Montezuma (II.); A Day up the Canon; Motherhood; Our First Telegram; Plurality of Wives—H. S.; The Rose and the Wind; El Tesoro; The Work of Relief in Chicago, etc.; Current Literature.

The day has gone by for wondering at the good that comes out of Nazareth. California, the land of savages, the land of hides and haciendas, the land of gold and vigilance committees, the land of corn and wine, the land of wonders in nature, now in her twentieth year of national existence, takes up her burden and sends us song and letters. We live in a strange time. The *Overland Monthly* is as vigorous and more independent than our Eastern mags. There is a racy freshness of thought and style that gives zest to appetites jaded with cant and commonplace. Some of the subjects above enumerated are not unfamiliar to our readers. "Motherhood" is briefly yet forcibly dealt with, and the important office of maternity, the very root and basis of all our society, nay, of all life, insisted on. The "Plurality of Wives" is discussed in a way that may startle orthodoxy and the new-aroused vote-seeking spirit of our national administration revivalists. The Grant administration have just now, on the eve of a renomination, found out that polygamy must be repressed. The writer of the article does not undertake to recommend polygamy, but he takes the sound philosophical ground that there are two sides to every question. It is satisfactory to see the rights of the minority respected, especially in that which immediately concerns themselves only, and of which no outsider need know anything, unless he persistently pokes his nose in where he is not wanted.

#### COST OF THE CREDIT SYSTEM.

That the credit system is getting to be a costly one to honest and solvent buyers of merchandise is every day becoming more apparent. To say that an individual's, or a nation's credit stands high in the market, is considered a great compliment, as betokening an unusual degree both of thrift and integrity in the party so complimented. Undoubtedly, such a good reputation for credit is always desirable, morally speaking—especially so far as it relates to the personal virtues of honor and integrity. But the commercial value of such a reputation is not always as great as generally supposed, and depends very much upon the uses to which it is put.

Good credit, and too much of it, have often in the end, proved the ruin of some of our smartest business men; and we need not go far back in our commercial history in order to learn how it has come very near bankrupting the mercantile interests of whole sections. In fact, it is an endowment

so liable to be abused, and which leads so seductively to imprudence in the management of business, that it is somewhat doubtful, after all, whether the young merchant who has no credit, and makes no effort to gain it, does not stand the best chance of success in the long run. This is because he only buys what he needs and when he needs, because he can buy at lower prices than the time purchaser, because he carries and pays interest on no superfluous stock, and because he does not have to make up for the bad debts of others.

When the credit system generally is in bad odor, as at the present time, and business failures are heavy and numerous, it is no great boon for a man to be able to get trusted, since it is just then that he is obliged to pay the dearest for this privilege. He not only has to pay the highest market prices for whatever he buys, but in addition he has to help to pay for what other people buy and fail to pay for themselves. In other words, besides submitting to a little extra charge by way of guaranteeing his own debt, he gets charged for a premium of insurance on the debts of his neighbor, who does business on the credit system.

This insurance premium is, of course, graduated according to the average of losses from bad debts; and when the percentage of these losses to the aggregate of sales runs high, as at the present time, the premium charged to all time buyers is correspondingly large. If the average loss, by fraud and failures, on sales to the extent of \$500,000 amounts to \$50,000, then 10 per cent. must be added to the price of goods borrowed or taken in credit, in order to cover this loss. This approximates the rates generally charged at the present time, while before the war only 2 per cent. was required for this contingent fund.

But this 10 per cent. represents only the additional price paid on transactions from first hands, and the interest charged by the banks or brokers, for discounting the buyer's paper, must be added to that. The jobber, who has paid these extra charges to the manufacturer or importer, in turn sells to the retailer, who also pays 10 per cent. on the score of losses, besides discount for sixty or ninety days. So that, by the time any commodity reaches the consumer, in the ordinary course of trade, its legitimate cost is enhanced some 25 per cent. solely on account of the credit system.

Perhaps it may be said, that those who uphold this costly system need not care, so long as the actual consumer foots the bill. But they ought to care, since on the ground of self-interest alone there is abundant reason why the dealer in merchandise should not wish to increase its cost to the consumer more than is necessary to yield the former a fair profit.

The sufferers by the credit system are generally those who least suspect themselves to be victims of the robbery. They know that many people fail in business, and that their creditors are supposed to lose large sums of money; but, as long as none of these debts are due to them, they do not feel concerned. They know, also, that they are obliged to pay unreasonably high prices for many things; but they do not dream that there is any connection between these prices and the bad debts and bankruptcy resulting from this abuse of credits. But there is such connection, and the mass of consumers have to pay roundly for the folly and fraud of men who undertake to do an immense business with little or no capital, and who for a while pride themselves on the excellence of their credit.

The statistics of business failures in this country, during the last two or three years, exhibit an alarming increase. In 1868 the aggregate losses from this source were \$63,754,000; in 1869 they amounted to \$75,054,000, and in 1870 to \$88,272,000. This is an increase for two years of some thirty-three per cent., and for the last year of nearly twenty per cent. But where did this loss of nearly a hundred millions, during the year 1870, fall? The superficial observer would probably reply at once, that it was sustained by the bankrupt's creditors, and that nobody else was affected by it, except, perhaps, in the way of sympathy. But the truth is, that this great loss has fallen upon the whole country, and the people have got to be taxed on all they consume in order to pay up these bad debts.

#### HUDSON ON JOURNALISM.

THE VIEWS OF A VETERAN MANAGING EDITOR.

Frederick Hudson, once managing editor of the New York Herald, has been interviewed on the subject of journalism by a *Leader* reporter. We quote the following:

Q. Have you any special theory about newspaper organization?

A. I think a newspaper should be thoroughly systematized and divided into departments. The tendency of the time is toward speciality, but versatility is the most desirable quality in a journalist.

Due attention should also be given to the relative value of news, and no subject should be allotted more space than it deserves. Neither ought more matter to be given on a subject which interests but a part of the community than the persons interested can find time to read. Thus, labor reports need not be very long, as mechanics have not much leisure for reading.

Q. Are there not too many newspapers being published?

A. No, not in New York, and there is plenty of room for more of them, for all the papers published there now. They help each other, and make newspaper readers. With a good supply of readers everything else follows to make up journalism.

Mr. Hudson does not overvalue editorial writing, but rather takes the view of Parton in rating them as less influential than the mode in which the news is collected and presented. Yet editorials may be made very influential. A journalist should not anticipate events, but should keep just in advance of them. If they state to-day what will take place three months ahead, the public do not care, but if they announce what will happen this very day, the information carries all the force of omniscience. It matters little about a journalist's consistency if he keeps apace with public opinion.

Q. Is it likely that evening papers will ever rival their morning contemporaries? Since the telegraph has been so widely extended, they get nearly all the news by daylight, which gives them a great advantage.

A. Yes, that is true, but I doubt if they can make much headway, owing to the short time they have in getting their news in type. Besides, people haven't much time to read in the afternoon, and prefer to have something light and lively. Yet there has been great improvement in the afternoon press of late, and it will, no doubt, develop a good deal more in the future.



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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATIONS.

BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

I am frequently asked by correspondents about the number and differences of the woman suffrage organizations, and as I have not time to answer all separately, will make a brief statement of facts in the *Golden Age*.

At present there are four so-called national organizations; one on the Pacific Slope, of which Mrs. Emily Pitts Stevens is President; the Northwestern, of which Mrs. Addie Hazlett is President; the Boston wing, called the "American," of which Mrs. Lucy Stone is President; and the National Suffrage Committee, of which I am President. These are all working for the same grand end. Their differences it might be difficult to state, as they are based more on personalities than principles.

The National Suffrage Committee made its "new departure" in the "Woodhull memorial," assuming that women are already "citizens" by the Federal Constitution, specifically declared so by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, in which for the first time a "citizen" is clearly defined, and his or her fundamental right to vote as such plainly declared.

With this view our manner of agitation is radically changed. Instead of forming county societies, rolling up petitions against unjust laws, or in favor of further amendments to State and national constitutions, we demand our rights at the ballot-box, in the courts, before judiciary committees of Congress, and in annual conventions at the Federal capital. For three years in succession we have held conventions in Washington, which in numbers and enthusiasm have marked a new era in this reform.

With lawyers, judges, statesmen and publicists, all discussing the constitutional right of woman to the suffrage, we may congratulate ourselves that this question has passed the court of moral discussion and is now fairly ushered into the arena of politics, where sooner or later it will be the interest of some party to inscribe woman's suffrage on its banner. There are some leading minds in the "Northwestern" and "American" and "Pacific Slope" societies who agree with the "National" on this point, but they have taken no official action in this direction, the majority inclining rather to a demand for a Sixteenth Amendment. This, then, is the distinguishing feature of the "National" Association.

We have our office in Washington, where tracts and reports can be obtained from Mrs. Josephine L. Griffing, Secretary. We have scattered during the year thousands of Benjamin F. Butler's able reports on the Woodhull memorial, Mr. Riddle's able argument, Mrs. Woodhull's speeches on "Constitutional Equality," "Labor and Capital," and "Finance," and Theodore Tilton's later tracts.

Some people carp at the "National" organization because it indorses Mrs. Woodhull. When our representatives at Washington granted to Victoria C. Woodhull a hearing before the Judiciary Committees of both Houses—an honor conferred on no other woman in the nation before—they recognized Mrs. Woodhull as the leader of the woman suffrage movement in this country. And those of us who were convinced by her unanswerable arguments that her positions were sound, had no choice but to follow.

Mrs. Woodhull's speeches and writings on all the great questions of national life are beyond anything yet produced by man or woman on our platform. What if foul-mouthed scandal, with its many tongues, seeks to defile her? Shall we ignore a champion like this? Admit for the sake of argument that all men say of her is true—though it is false—that she has been or is a courtesan in sentiment and practice. When a woman of this class shall suddenly devote herself to the study of the grave problems of life, brought there by profound thought or sad experience, and with new faith and hope struggles to redeem the errors of the past by a grand life in the future, shall we not welcome her to the better place she desires to hold? There is to me a sacredness in individual experience that it seems like a profanation to search into and expose. Victoria C. Woodhull stands before us to-day a grand, brave woman, radical alike in political, religious and social principles. Her face and form indicate the complete triumph in her nature of the spiritual over the sensuous. The processes of her education are little to us; the grand result is everything. Are our brilliant flowers less fragrant, our luscious fruits less palatable, because the debris of sewers and barn-yards have enriched them? The nature that can pass through all phases of social degradation, vice, crime, poverty and temptation in all its forms, and yet maintain a purity and dignity of character through all, gives unmistakable proof of its high origin, its divinity.

The *Lilium Laudivum*, that magnificent lily, so white and pure that it looks as if it ne'er could battle with the wind and storm, that queen of flowers, flourishes in all soils, braves all winds and weathers, sunshine and rain, heat and cold, and with its feet in frozen clods still lifts its pure white face forever toward the stars.

When I think of the merciless and continued persecution of that little woman by the entire press of this nation, I blush for humanity. In the name of woman let me thank you for so generously defending her. In reading the reports of her *St. Louis* speech, I could see nothing so monstrously immoral, which to base the severe editorial comments of our journals. It seems to me that the Legislatures of our several States, in granting eighteen causes for divorce, and in their bills to license prostitution by the State, are more legitimate targets for the press of a nation than one suffering woman who has been most unjustly scarified in her own flesh by the iron teeth of the law.

The fears of women of one another, lest they should be compromised by those they imagine less reputable than themselves, is as amusing as pitiful. I am told that the English women were quite nervous at the report that Anna Dickinson, Kate Field and Olive Logan talked of visiting that country—they were so afraid lest they, by some indiscretion, might injure the suffrage movement. While each of these are equally afraid of each other and the movement, the weak-minded and the ministers are afraid of us, one and all, and we in turn are afraid of each other. The women of Kansas were greatly troubled by Lucy Stone, when she traveled through that State, because she did not bear her husband's name, and had publicly protested against the civil code in the legal marriage, while she is equally disturbed with Victoria Woodhull for following her example. Women with two and three husbands living at the same time, who advocate the monogamic relation, are afraid of me, though I never had but one husband, and advocate divorce for the miserable.

Now I think we had better agree to fight this battle just as our fathers and husbands have their two revolutions—enroll all that are loyal to the principle. How much of an army should we have had for the rebellion if every man who came to enroll himself had been asked, Do you smoke, chew, drink, steal, lie, swear? Are you low-bred, illiterate or licentious? If so, you cannot fight for freedom. Was it not just this element we swept into the army? And were not they the better for suffering and dying for a noble cause? Churches and reform associations are just the places to draw in the sinners and inspire them with a new and noble purpose. Alas for those Pharisees that are forever thanking the Lord that they are not like other men. Jesus, the good and perfect one, ate and talked with publicans and sinners, and was ever kind and merciful to the erring and unfortunate Magdalens of his times. Let us, one and all, follow his example.—*Golden Age*.

## IMPERIALISM OR REPUBLICANISM.

Senator Morton made a speech at Providence, in which he administered some hard blows to the already beheaded doctrine of State Rights, advancing the proposition of Nationality in opposition to that of a copartnership of sovereign States. This the *World* seizes hold upon, and thinks it has discovered behind it another of Grant's desires to become emperor.

That there is such speculation afloat in the brains of one-idea-men there can be but little doubt, and it may be that Grant and his special confidants are the movers; if it be so they have undertaken a more difficult job than the slave oligarchy attempted, since they ignore the inevitable logic of the defect of that scheme. If there remains a single vestige of that dangerous theory in our government, then indeed did men fight and conquer for nothing.

The South claimed that they had a right to withdraw from the Union. The North objected and denied that right.

The complete success of maintaining that denial settled the question that the States could not withdraw. If the States cannot withdraw, then how are they sovereign?

Fearing lest the doctrine might be resurrected at another and more promising time, the people of the United States amended their Constitution in such manner as to forever preclude the idea of the existence of any power in the several States paramount to that of the general government. It seems that these amendments are still but partially comprehended. The order of citizenship is by them entirely reversed. All persons born or naturalized are citizens of the United States, to whom the States shall neither deny nor abridge any right, following from such a relation.

Now we would ask how it is possible for any State to be an independent sovereign, when all its subjects are also the subjects of the United States, owing them their first allegiance. As citizens of the United States they are entitled to the free exercise of all existing rights, privileges and immunities, and in return give allegiance to the general government; and that allegiance is higher than that the State can demand. So far as the authority of the State goes over matters which pertain solely to itself, in no manner involving the rights and interests of other States or of their citizens as citizens of the United States, there can be no question of sovereignty. But with that limit it ceases. And the same right extends downward until it reaches every individual; and this is the perfect exemplification of the doctrine of individual sovereignty—every individual having the absolute right to the supreme control of himself in all things that do not involve the rights of another or others.

It was not many months ago that the *World* admitted the force of the amendments, by saying that it was their intent and effect to transfer from the States to the general government all control over citizenship. If the States have no control over citizenship, what power, pray, have they? All government depends upon the power conferred by citizens, and if the citizens of the States cannot perform any act not in harmony with their United States citizenship, we hold they have no sovereign power whatever over the relations maintained to the general government.

But it seems to us if Senator Morton means imperialism, that he makes a mistake which is equally illogical with that which the *World* makes when it opposes a centralized power. Both are men of straw, and the *World* deals vigorous blows at its man. Both have fallen into the error into which all people fall who reason in straight lines, that is, upon the one-idea principle. They forget that every idea has an opposite end or counterpart, or to use a homely phrase, that there is a Sunday at both ends of the week. Senator Morton sounds the praise of nationality, and the *World* quakes at the prospect of a centralized government. Probably both are equally short-sighted, since while Senator Morton argues that the States and their citizens get their rights from the constitution, the *World* replies that such a constitution is the basis of a despotism.

Each proposition is equally fallacious. In the first place, the Constitution never had any power to grant rights to anybody, and in the second place, imperialism is an absurdity, since the Constitution is the creation of the people, framed by them to regulate and protect their rights, not to create and grant them. It has no power whatever. The government erected upon it is required to perform certain duties which the people demand, but it has no power in and of itself even to do this. In fact, the people can at any time annul the entire instrument and depose the whole government. It might be argued with equal consistency that an instrument of copartnership grants rights and has powers, as to argue that the Constitution and government do the same. It is a difficult thing for men to divorce their minds from the idea of the possession of power, and it is this illogical pretense which is set up that prevents the perfection of the practice of the theory of our government. Our theory is right; but its application is fundamentally wrong.

But the only real danger there is to be feared lies in the doctrines lately put forth by Senator Carpenter, since conditions might arise in which their practice would at one stroke deprive us of our liberties. He says the States may deprive any citizen of the right to vote for any reason other than race, color and previous condition. Now let us suppose a case of the carrying out of that doctrine and see what it means: General Grant has an army of which he is Commander-in-Chief, sufficiently strong to overawe the people. His servants in the States might enact laws depriving every citizen of the right to vote. These could, then, proclaim him king, emperor or whatever they should please. If all the officers or servants of the people, or even a majority of them, were to do this, it would be a short way to maintain themselves in power, and a deal less expensive and difficult one than the methods most are now obliged to pursue. Nor would such a *coup d'etat* be at all impossible, since it has been enacted under greater difficulties than exist now in this country where the government has become the special guardian of all the great monopolies represented by a very small portion of the people.

This illogical construction of the theory of our government the people must compel these servants to desert, else it will in time prove our ruin. The people must declare in unmistakable terms that *they* are the government, and that they do not intend to be deprived of a single right, or that it shall acquire a single jot of power to be exercised against their wish and will.

Therefore, while State sovereignty, under our construc-



tion of the amendments, is merged into the sovereignty of the whole people, they have by them also decreed that there shall be but one governmental centre to which all component parts must conform themselves. The people have ordained that neither the government of the United States nor that of any State shall interfere in any way whatever with these rights. This is as we read the Constitution. Those who read it differently admit all the dangers to which we have pointed. It must be all the people governing themselves, or it may be one of them governing all the rest, since to begin discriminations is to open the way to discriminate against all, and to deny one class of citizens a right that is exercised by another class is to admit the right to deny all rights to all classes; and there is no escaping the conclusion—except it be by the newly invented logic of Justice Cartter: "that to possess such rights would be to destroy our civilization; hence they don't exist."

#### CHURCH AND STATE—RELIGION AND POLITICS.

As a fundamental proposition nothing can be more false and nothing more suicidal to the best interests of humanity than that government is something that should be separated from and be administered without regard to religion. Yet we are aware of the fact that it has been the struggle of the centuries to separate State from Church, and that people, in the consciousness of what it has cost to attain that end, blindly jump to the erroneous conclusion that they should ever remain separated. But we think we can show the fallacy of this position; that is, if their proper force be given to reason and consistency and they are permitted to rule in the place of assumption maintained by arbitrary power.

The fact that religious ideas themselves are the result of evolution in the minds of men is not generally recognized, yet everybody knows that these ideas are not self-existent, as ideas; that is to say, religion as a whole, embodying the entirety of religious elements, does exist, is self-existent as a part of the whole of the universe; but that the specific forms through which parts of such elements have found expression are results, and that until every religious element has been expressed in form no construction of the various parts of the all-sided religion of the future can be perfected.

In our last article upon the Unity of Religious Ideas this thought was elaborated, and it is unnecessary to repeat the elaboration here, but we refer to it, since it becomes necessary to the argument that it be thoroughly comprehended, before it can be seen why it is that Church and State have struggled and separated.

When government held despotic power over all the people where now it holds it over but one-half of them, and religion attempted to wield government to compel its subjects to accept its dicta as the revelation of God to humanity, it was natural and essential that strife should enter and show not only the tyranny of the first, but the selfish hollowness of the last. Religion endeavored to use government to the selfish purposes of its exponents, and it was a part of the natural order of progress that it should be overthrown. So long as governments are obliged to make use of force to execute the will of the sovereign as in monarchies, or that of the majority of the people as in republics, so long will religion remain divorced from State, since it has come into the minds of men even that religion is not a matter of force.

But we are approaching an era wherein force will form no necessary part either of religion or politics, and in that era religion will be the very basis of all true government. No perfectness can ever be attained in any special department of science, morals or ethics, until the religious element is permitted to have its natural and modifying effect. It is not that we want religion to be dragged down to the present depths of political infamy, but that politics shall be elevated to the plane of the true religion. It is not that religion shall be defiled by politics, but that politics shall be purified by religion.

We hold, then, that no true system of government can ever be constructed, to say nothing about its administration, except it is built upon the principles of religion, that portion of the nature of humanity which allies it to its God. And they who hoot at this idea and stand aloof from a religious movement that would drag politics from their present slimy foundation, or beneath the surface of common humanity, are either so far perfected as to have no sympathy for humanity, or are so allied to the status of politics as to have no desire for progress. And they may accept either horn of the dilemma they choose, since one they must accept.

In all seriousness, let us ask the pronouncers against religion in politics how do they propose to make their high spirituality of any practical benefit to man, unless they embody its principles into form. So long as the world is in that state of development when for every one to be a law unto himself would be to endanger the life of others, we shall be obliged to have enacted law. Is it not better, then, during this state of development, that those who have caught sight of spiritual truths and can see their adaptation to human needs should use every endeavor to make their application.

Of what benefit is a truth unless it is put in practice? The open assertion that this and that are truths amounts to nothing. Suppose they do gain acceptance among the people, what benefit flows from them unless they modify and purify humanity? It seems to us that these objectors do not look at the matter in any but a superficial

light—in the light that politics and religion are naturally antagonistic—and we would ask them to seriously reconsider their position before finally concluding to make war upon the negative of that proposition. We would do this because, in the present development of the true unity of all human interests, it needs the active support and advocacy of every advanced mind, and especially of every journalistic medium for advanced thought. But if they will be incorrigible, then they, too, must be counted among the "impracticables" and be crushed beneath the advance of the rising tide of reform which proclaims that truth shall not only enter, but rule in everything.

Religion is not a mere passive acceptance of a certain set of facts pertaining specially to our spiritual natures, separated and distinct from all other departments. In other words, religion is not a mere negation—a negative force—to never be laid hold of and reduced to practical use. On the contrary, it is a positive force, than which none other has such power to move the world for good; or, if diverted from and prostituted by political power, none so much for ill. We might just as consistently have said, when the power of steam was discovered, or when the possibility of reducing electricity to subserviency, or when slavery was found to be antagonistic to human rights, that we will stand passively by and proclaim them, but will never permit practical benefit to flow from them.

Why do these same objectors apply the principle we advocate in everything else but religion? Why do they "deal justly, love mercy and walk humbly," if it is not a religious conviction that it is what they should do, as a duty, which they not only owe humanity, but also as one which they first owe to themselves? Thus would we have them regard politics, not as something to remain forever untouched by the divine fervor of religious faith and spiritual knowledge, but as that department of life into which they should enter as being that in which they can do more good to this world than in any other. We have got to make our lives unitary, to make them the embodiment and exemplification of the perfected relations of our several natures. We cannot live best or even well, until we do this, and none can ever become examples for humanity until they are thus representative.

If we trace to its source any single thing in any of our lives that is accounted either as good or great—and all things that are great are good—it will be found to have emanated from the inherent religious elements of our nature. It is this nature that recognizes humanity as a family of brothers and sisters, having one origin and inheriting one destiny. Divorced from this basic idea there is no religion, since to acknowledge God at all is to assert them as self-evident truths. Hence all our relations to humanity should have their foundation in this truth. And the false relations, or rather the absence of relations, among humanity, is because this idea is not comprehended to any extent by them.

Those who would advance the world to a higher plane of life; who would cast out the various ills to which we are now subject; who would incarnate God in humanity more perfectly than ever before; who would bring relief to the oppressed, freedom to the enslaved and comfort to the desolate, must seize hold of them with the fire and zeal and earnestness of a religious enthusiasm, enlightened and made strong and secure by scientific formulation. And government more than anything else of to-day needs to be remodeled by such action. Science alone cannot do this. It can never alone appeal to the soul of humanity and make it respond. But let it be spiritualized and invigorated by a religious devotion, or, perhaps, what would be a better statement, let religious devotion be willing to be guided by scientific rules and formulas, and every human heart must yield to their appeal with just as much certainty as that there is religion and intellect contained in the individual though they be almost dormant.

And again we declare that the time for the inauguration of such a condition of things is even now at hand—at our very doors. How it shall enter them and render us the service it shall, perhaps none on earth as yet can tell. But that it shall enter can be told, since those who have it in charge have so ordained, and their decrees are beyond human control. And they who scout these things had better look a little deeper than only deep enough to discover simply human ambition, lest haply they be found fighting against the decrees of those whom they profess so loudly. Christ was an ambitious pretender. So said the Jews.

But Christ shall yet come a second time to earth and reign over it, even as they who rejected him argued that "the prophesied one" should reign; not merely in spiritual things, divorced from earthly necessities, but in such manner as to make all earthly things subservient to the designs of heaven and the spiritual. Life is now devoted to earthly aims or end. Men live to accumulate wealth regardless of what good can be done humanity by it, and entirely with the view of how much selfish gratification they can obtain by its possession. Then all earthly aims shall be prosecuted for the sole purpose of how much good can be done by them for higher purposes. Men shall accumulate wealth for the specific purpose of doing good to humanity.

As we have said before, the people who to-day possess the wealth of the world are holding it in trust for humanity; having been incited to get it through their selfish natures, they shall, in the realization of the fact that humanity is greater than themselves, apply it to the purposes for which God has ordained its aggregation—if not gracefully and willingly, then ungraciously and by compulsion, since jus-

tice shall come and render unto all men and women their equitable due.

We can well afford to bear the weight of all possible adverse criticism; even to be set down, as we are set down, as impostors and ambitious adventurers; we can even stand the accusation of having planned the movement inaugurated at Troy, N. Y., for our special purpose, since those whom we serve know it to be false. We have asserted that all great movements of this day and age are not only inaugurated, but carried out by those who are older and wiser than we, and those who thoughtlessly or willfully oppose any of their great designs shall most surely be brought to shame, and through shame to a conviction of truth and allegiance to it.

Whatever part we may be called upon to act in the grand drama which is about to be introduced to the people still in the flesh by those who have passed to the spirit, preparatory and introductory to their assumption of earthly form and the life which shall conquer death and hell and swallow up the grave in victory, we shall perform with humility and prayerful zeal, but with all boldness and sincerity, willing, aye anxious, to resign to whoever shall at any time be called to replace our wasting energies. Until then we shall proceed along the even tenor of our way, with all the patience for the indignities that are heaped upon us that our imperfect organization will allow us.

We shall endeavor to be indifferent alike to everything that may be hurled at us by a time-serving press, which does not represent the truth that is in the souls of those who conduct it; and to the abuse of the eavesdropped tongues of those who, as yet, have no conception whatever of the religious fact that they are our brothers and sisters, but which they prate so loudly every seventh day; and to the hypocritical pulpits that belch forth their anathemas maranathas, every one of which, if they but knew it, is their own condemnation, exciting "the sheep of the fold" to hatred, and perhaps to violence, which has been counseled in some of them; indifferent to all these and caring only for the approval of those whom we serve and of our own conscience, we shall work on, endeavoring to convince the people that Religion and Politics—Church and State—should go hand in hand, and that government should be an outgrowth of and be perfected by religion.

#### THE ELEVATION OF WOMEN.

It is almost beyond the realm of patience to quietly pass unnoticed the arrogance with which men become the self-constituted judges of what women shall be and do; just as though they do not themselves know what that is. Men assume that their judgment and discretion must be consulted, and that their decision cannot be appealed from, in the matter of further grants looking to equality for women. Women, in fact, are under as inexorable despotism as the subjects of an absolute monarch are, since the sway of men is absolute. The *Saturday Review* has a long and labored article under the above head, which the *Sunday World* copies approvingly, which, among other jewels (?), contains the following, which we quote, not because it is exceptional, but to put both those periodicals on the record, to which women, when enfranchised, will refer to find who obstructed their progress, to their own. The italics are our own:

"Whatever is done in the direction of opening new careers for women should be done with a careful remembrance that, after all, the disturbance of established relations between the sexes may produce evils of the most vital importance, which no wise man can allow to be summarily dismissed from consideration by a priori assumptions as to the natural equality of human beings. The most popular nostrum, however, for improving the feminine mind appears to be the plan of giving them votes. Whatever other arguments may be urged upon this topic, we must say that the supposed educational influence of voting appears to us to be one of the boldest assumptions to which we have ever listened. Why should the fact that a woman is called upon once in two or three years to exercise an infinitesimal share of electoral power make her wiser or better? Will the prospect encourage her to study political economy and history, to say nothing of mathematics and the natural sciences? Every man thinks that he is perfectly competent to elect a member of Parliament without any education whatever, and probably women will take the same view of the case. The political lectures given at the hustings or at popular meetings have not hitherto to our knowledge exerted a very refining influence on the male constituents' minds; and we don't quite see why women should be the better for attending them. So far as we can judge from the action of their leaders, the great advantage of giving women votes would be to enable them to join more vigorously than ever in discussions about contagious diseases. We are perhaps blinded by prejudice, but the specimen which we have had of the political influence of women in this respect does not encourage us to think that either they or the country would be much improved by conceding to them extended rights. The chief effect on legislation would probably be a stronger clerical influence and a greater disposition to exceed the bounds within which legislation can be useful; the effect on women themselves would be to encourage the belief that sentiment will supply the place of reasoning. Whatever other advantages may result, the very last quality that would be encouraged is that which we are assured is specially deficient in feminine education—a thorough and systematic cultivation of mind. That is not the quality which specially succeeds in modern politics. In short, if education means an orderly development of the faculties, an inducement offered to women to leave the station for which they are fitted is so far an incitement to develop in a wrong direction."

Now we submit that the above is as complete an ignoring of all that is involved in the question of political equality as was ever attempted. The only issue there is, is scrupu-



lously avoided. Our government is founded upon the theory of the right to self-government, else our fathers were wofully mistaken, since they one and all constantly enunciated that principle. Self-government means individual sovereignty, and as much so for women as for men. If men have the right to erect and participate in a government founded on that principle, women have the same right, and it is the merest begging of the question to assume that men shall deal and measure out to women, rights, duties and privileges that inalienably belong, equally, to both. If the ballot is so unimportant a thing as one would imagine the writer of the above imagines it to be, why do not men abandon it to women altogether? That course would test their honesty; but they demonstrate the most hypocritical pretence by putting forth such stuff as the above and at the same time sticking so closely to their votes. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

## A NOVEL CORRESPONDENCE.

MARY BOWLES' LETTER.

NEW YORK, Nov. 23, 1871.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull:

HONORED LADY: Will you, too, shrink from me and from reading this letter when I tell you that I belong to a class from which society withdraws all sympathy? Perhaps not when I tell you that the brave words which you uttered at Steinway Hall the other night have touched the hearts of thousands of degraded women with a thrill of joy and hope, and that that speech is the cause of my addressing you.

I was reared in more than ordinary comfort, if not luxury, and was not, as you may recognize, left wholly uneducated. But at twenty years of age, by a train of circumstances not greatly different from such as have been the fate of thousands of other unfortunate women—an uncongenial marriage, an abandonment, inexperience, desperation, total want of comprehension and sympathy by my own family—by my own folly, if you will—I found myself the inmate of a house of ill repute in this city. I will not trouble you with the details of a history which had no more than the ordinary excuses for similar results. There were, however, subsequently certain peculiarities in my case. I conceived an intense indignation, amounting almost to hatred, for society which had condemned and excluded me, and for men, especially, in their mean and hateful treatment of women of our class—intimate with and caressing us in private, and coolly passing us by without recognition before the world. At the same time there grew up an infinite sisterly tenderness in my heart for the unfortunate women themselves, among whom I found affection and many virtues in return. I had, however, at the same time a natural tact for concealing my soul's feelings, and was popular with both sexes.

I discovered in myself a shrewd business capacity, and after a few years of acquaintance with the world I found myself the successful mistress of a house of the kind of what I had been an inmate before. If I were to mention the name by which I have gone during the eleven or twelve years past in New York, most of the male population of the city would recognize it, but the name I sign is neither my real name nor the business name by which I am known. If you should wish, after what I have to say, to communicate with me, the messenger who takes this will bring your letter, or, if you should condescend to an interview, I will meet you when and where you may indicate.

I hardly know what originally prompted me to the idea, but from the time that I opened my house—and I have always kept what is known as a first-class house—I have kept a sort of diary or record of the men who have visited it. I had no distinct thought of ever using the information against them, but it gave me, somehow, a sense of power over them, which was a happiness to me. I finally procured a large ledger, and subsequently a second book of this kind, which is now also nearly full, and entered in a business way the names and residences and some of the incidents of each visit of all the visitors at my establishment. I found, of course, that they deceived me, and I went so far as to keep a man engaged in tracking them to their homes, offices or hotels and ascertaining who they were. This was my amusement, with a feeling also that it might be of some use, which I did not understand.

My business has been successful, but I am tired of it. I am arranging to break it up and to go in a few days traveling, perhaps to Europe. What occurred to me was this. If you, in the prosecution of your blessed mission as a social reformer, have any need to see more behind the scenes and to understand the real state of New York society better, I will give you access to my two big books, or would even leave them with you in my absence. You will find in them the names of all classes—from doctors of divinity to counter-jumpers and runners for mercantile houses. Make what use of them you please. I do not know that they will ever be of any use to me. I should be glad if they could be used in some way to bring the two sexes to the same level. I do not wish them to pass out of my hands, however, till I am perfectly free and ready to leave.

In conclusion, let me say that your lecture has awakened a soul in me which I thought was dead. If your views could prevail virtue and happiness could be again mine. God bless you for your honest effort for woman, even though it should fail. Till now I had no hope but in the grave; now I have some. With love and admiration,

MARY BOWLES.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN'S ANSWER.

44 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, Nov. 25, 1871.

Mrs. Mary Bowles:

MY DEAR SISTER: My sister Victoria is at the West on a lecturing tour, and it falls to me to answer her letters. I answer none with more pleasure than yours. I am proud of the opportunity to call you, also, sister, as I do every one of the daughters of our common Father in heaven. Perhaps I, even more than my sister Victoria, am interested, as a specialty, in the social question. She has taken on herself more fully the political career. There is a tradition in our family that, when I was a very little child, the spirits announced that Jesus Christ was born to save the world and that I was born to convince the world. You may not perhaps know that my precocious clairvoyant and prophetic power gave me a wide popularity as an infant prodigy. My mother

has always treasured that saying in her heart, and believes that I was born to accomplish some wonderful mission, and has been ready to fight everything and everybody which threatened to divert me from what she conceived it to be. To me it has never seemed as anything; until, of late, it has begun to come often into my mind that, perhaps, I may be called to say or do something which will shame the world out of its cruelty to unfortunate women, and prove to so-called Christians that there is a better way to treat the frail and erring than to cut them off from all hope and thrust them into outer darkness. For my own part I don't see or feel the difference between them and other people which the saints of society—and such saints, the very men who debauch them, and the wives and sisters of these men—pretend to discover. At any rate, I live on Murray Hill, quite among the respectables, and am visited continually by all classes, from the family of the President, and from clergymen and their wives and the presidents of colleges down to the most humble, and I shall be happy to receive you at my home at any time, alone, with others of your class; and shall be as ready and willing to accompany you on the street or to dine with you at the restaurant as if you were, in all respects, the first ladies in the land. It is enough for me that you are human beings, and such as Christ loved and associated with. If you are not doing as well as you might under all your conditions I hope to love you into doing better, and I hope, in turn, that you will love and develop me into all the good which your peculiar experiences have brought and which mine have not. I do not claim to be any better than you, but let us mutually help each other.

I confess to something of the same feeling which you express as respects men and their bitter injustice to women, and I am deeply in earnest on this subject. I mean and demand and will have the complete emancipation of my sex. It is not that I desire that women should be vicious. God forbid! But I curse and denounce a virtue which is forced on women, as slaves, by men who are themselves confessedly steeped in the same vice, and who have secured impunity even from woman in their vices. I have to associate every day with male prostitutes, in my business, in the family, everywhere, and if I then condemn and despise and avoid women of equally bad character am I not glaringly false and traitorous to the dignity and equality of my own sex, and a participant in the injustice and outrage which men would and do heap upon us? Men, it is said, cannot be ostracised from society by women, and that is true; but we can accept all of our own sex on the same terms as we are compelled to accept men, and by this means establish an equality as a basis upon which we may begin to improve.

In respect to the books you speak of, I do not know what use can be made of them, for my sister and myself have scrupulously adopted the policy of avoiding personalities when possible. But the time may come when that policy will have to be abandoned, for our enemies do not scruple to resort to them in the most scandalous manner.

I will arrange through your messenger and otherwise on that subject. Very truly your friend,

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

## WOODHULL &amp; CLAFLIN IN CHINA.

HONG KONG, October 8, 1871.

Capt. A. W. Lavender, New York,

DEAR SIR: Having noticed your advertisement of the "Aletic China Water" in the *Woodhull & Claflin Weekly*, and as I am on the spot and have had every facility of testing this most wonderful and valuable "Tonic," besides having conversed with many of the oldest Chinese of its uses and beneficial qualities, I feel very happy to bear testimony of its great value. Truly this is a most wonderful mineral water. The Chinamen all agree that those who use it will never be sick, and can only die of old age; while many go farther and even say that it springs from the pool of "Sileme." The cures it performs seem almost magic. I have tested it on board my ship for the cure and preventative of sea-sickness, and it acted like a charm; and I firmly believe it will cure any and all the diseases of the human family.

Do advertise it extensively throughout the world. Give it the momentum of an avalanche, that all may give up sickness, sorrow and death.

Please use my name with all the undersigned.

J. BISHOP SPEARWATER,

Master of American Bark "Mary Belle Roberts."

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| BOSTON JACK.      | CO CHUNG.           |
| YEGU LEE.         | AH WEE.             |
| WOR DANG.         | YUNG YORK.          |
| WING WO SHONG.    | KIVONG CHANG LOONG. |
| KWONG SHING LUNG. | SUM CHING SONG.     |
| SONG WOO & CO.    | HOP KEE & CO.       |
| WONG SHANG.       | CHING KONG KEE.     |
| KUM CHING TOIN.   | WING MOW CHUNG.     |
| AH CHOW.          | CHEONG WO.          |
| LONG HEIM.        | YOT LOU.            |
| KING CHUNG.       | KING CHUNG & CO.    |
| CO PING.          |                     |

P. S.—I can ship you 200 casks in three months from this time, direct from the spring. J. B. S.

## THE COMING CRISIS.

Woman must be emancipated, not only from political serfdom, but from social bondage, which is even more tyrannical. The two act and react upon each other. The tyranny of social bondage is the more dreadful because more insidious. The one we can see and know, the other blinds while it oppresses us. So long have certain limitations been prescribed for women, and so terrible are the penalties of overstepping them, that the majority of women shrink in abject terror from even a candid examination of facts and tendencies. So great has been the power of the Bible fable in which woman is taken from one of Adam's ribs, to make a helpmeet for him, that all down through the ages man has been considered as woman's master and superior, and women themselves have conceded that they were formed for man's amusement, gratification and uses. And men and women

rise and fall together. The abject subservience with which the claims of power and lordship in man have been conceded by women, results in him in a liberty and license which in all its tendencies is brutifying; while upon her it reacts in insipidity and degradation.

It is no use to say, "Peace, peace where there is no peace." The injustice which encompasses the life of woman keeps man on a low platform. Men make laws for themselves. Looking at woman from their own point of view, they legislate for her, not through malice, but through obtuseness, heedlessness and ignorance, and she therefore, too timid, feels oftentimes her life exhausted and drained by undefined and unsatisfied yearnings; which means, interpreted rightly, inactivity, a suppression of her natural powers and forces, a compression into a narrow and stunted bound, that under high-sounding terms crushes out the very elasticity and life of her soul. And how many poor slaves, like the ladies in Eastern harems, with all the appliances of luxury, believe themselves contented! How many more chafe at the unnatural limitations!

Philosophical and thinking minds in the light of this latter part of the nineteenth century, know that this thing cannot be forever. Not only in this republican America, but in England, France, Germany, Russia, even Spain, the question of woman's emancipation is commanding the attention of progressive minds.

It is no use to shirk the consequences; the subject of woman's condition, absolute and relative, once agitated must be probed to the core. Those agitators who contend for woman's suffrage alone, attempting to suppress and ignore all other coexisting issues, must learn that they are standing on the crust of a volcano, with an ocean of disturbed elements seething and bubbling beneath.

The whole question must be met. The mere fact that the time has come when woman's political rights are a subject of agitation throughout the land, if not the civilized world, indicates that the time is ripe for her condition in other respects to change also. Her platform must be as broad as her powers and capacities can make it.—*Toledo Sunday Journal*.

## LEAVES.

If this were all—

The cradle couch, the coffin pall,  
And then the end—as leaves to fall,  
The gain were small.

But dropping leaves  
Reveal the bud that's newly formed,  
That, by the autumn sunshine warmed,  
New strength receives.

The covering  
Drops off our soul as the leaf doth,  
And shows the fruit-bud in its growth,  
Waiting for spring.

The autumn is  
The sister of spring, and clasps  
Her hand 'cross winter's chasm; grasps  
The coming bliss.

And so we lie,  
With souls that meditate upon  
The year to come, the year that's gone,  
And wait reply.

To questions broad;  
While shadows of eternity  
Wave across our souls, which see  
But dimly God.

The untranslate  
Within us stirs; but, strong and wise,  
God's hand lies heavy on our eyes;  
We feel its weight.

And, powerless,  
We lie throughout winter's cold,  
And hide our feelings manifold  
In lowliness.

Yet all is right;  
The tree that last year blossomed well,  
And bore of fruitage branches full,  
This year bears light.

And souls, as trees,  
Must have their rest, their winter time,  
Hidden beneath its snows and rime,  
As snows hide these.

When warm days come  
The buds stir 'neath their covering;  
Our thoughts awake; we dream of spring,  
And press for room.

## WOMAN INSURANCE.

We lately noticed in these columns the foolish and unjust discrimination between male and female lives in insurance. The woman life average is notoriously longer than that of man. Women have fewer vices or vicious habits than men. The only social habit that tells against her is that of dress; her only natural disadvantage is child-bearing, which, under proper surroundings, ought in the ordinary course of nature to be no bar to her longevity. Alexander Delmar, late director of statistics, says on this subject: "Maternity is not a disease. In England, twenty years ago, where 10,000 living children were born, but forty-two mothers died in consequence." Again: "The mortality records of New York establish the fact that the mortality of males is greater than that of females of nearly all ages." If men of business, in pursuit of their own pecuniary interest, are so blind as to accept an untenable proposition based on erroneous data, and maintained by prejudice, what can we expect from the men who are to determine the question of woman's social, legal and moral status, in which men are only relatively and indirectly involved. It is a popular truism that none but a woman can understand a woman; this being so, none but women can intelligently do justice to women.



## THEORY OF MONEY.

## A CHEAP CURRENCY AND A CHEAP CREDIT SYSTEM.

BY ALBERT BRISBANE.

## No. 6.

The simplest and most important measure to be carried out at the present day to promote the INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS of the country, and those of the classes engaged in labor, is the abolition of the MONOPOLY of MONEY. Many monopolies exist in our false social system, but the easiest of eradication is that of Money—of the means by which the exchange of products is effected. The working classes throughout the civilized world are now making great efforts to improve their condition. They comprehend the social injustice which weighs upon them, and wish to reform the social abuses which inflict the injustice. They now aim at three things: 1. Co-operation; 2. Combinations to resist the power of capital, and to increase wages or diminish the hours of labor; 3. Radical social changes, to be effected by political action, and, if needs be, by revolution. Let them comprehend the importance and the practicability of breaking the MONOPOLY of MONEY, and the power of those who hold and reap the benefits of the monopoly, and they will add a fourth and most important measure to those they are now advocating. It is a measure in the realization of which they would be aided by many among the middle and richer classes.

The monopoly and control of the currency by individuals or corporations give rise, as we have stated, to four great evils in the industrial system. 1. To interest and usury, and at such rates that a people pays for the currency in from six to ten years for the use of it—six in new countries where money is dear. 2. To interest on all debts or deferred payments, such as promissory notes and book accounts, and in part to the rental system, for if money draws interest when loaned, it must do the same when invested in houses. 3. To favoritism in credit, affording to individuals opportunities for speculation, financial scheming, and for practising other modes of spoiling productive industry. Lastly, the monopoly has for its most injurious effects the placing at the disposal of the intermediate classes the circulating medium and the credit of nations. The only classes that can now command money and credit are the commercial, capitalist, financiering and speculating. Having this lever to work with in our present unorganized and incoherent industrial system, they obtain over one-half of the entire wealth created by labor. If the annual total product of the United States is eight thousand millions, they take at least five thousand millions of it. The workingman who labors six days in the week, gives from three to four days of his week's work to those classes: to 1, the master manufacturer; 2, the merchant; 3, the banker; 4, the landlord; 5, to miscellaneous capitalists, such as the railroad owners. (We do not deny that these classes contain the active and intelligent men of society, who manage and direct its affairs and keep the world moving. The same position was held by the Feudal Barons of the middle ages, who took from the serfs—the working classes of those times—at least two-thirds of the products of their labor, and held them as property with their landed estates. The Feudal Barons have been displaced and their monopoly broken. The working classes must become intelligent enough to manage their own business and become their own employers; they will then displace the five classes that now live upon them, and will retain in their own hands the wealth which their labor creates. They are not now intelligent enough, and that is the obstacle in the way of their elevation.)

One of the first steps to be taken is the establishment of the monetary system or currency on a true basis, or on some approach to a true basis, so as to break the monopoly of which we have spoken. This measure is the easiest of realization because, first, the Nation with its greenback system is near to it; and second, it can be carried out by political action. The realization of co-operation in labor is a very difficult operation, and so is the realization of many other measures now proposed, but a reform in the currency, or a partial reform at least, could easily be effected. If carried out as we conceive it, it would be a great LESSON, and would teach the world an important TRUTH—a truth of which it is now ignorant, namely, the possibility of a non-monopolizable currency and of the abolition of interest.

We explained in our fourth article the monetary reform which it is now practicable to carry out. From conversations with persons since its publication, we see that it is not clearly understood. We will return to it and present it again briefly.

The government of the United States now lends to our National Banks three hundred and fifty millions of dollars without interest. This money is lent to a single class in society, the bankers. This class relends the same money to the people, charging interest, and at good round rates. By this charge of interest on the part of the banks, and by the influence of old customs and prejudices, the important truth is not perceived that interest is a conventional and artificial thing, and can be abolished. The government demonstrates, it is true, this great truth by lending three hundred and fifty millions without interest, but the people do not comprehend it, and hence do not deduce from it its legitimate consequences.

The government requires as security for this gigantic loan

to the bankers its own bonds. It pays the bankers who hold its bonds 6 per 100 interest in gold, while lending them its notes or currency for nothing.

Now, first, to teach the great truth that interest can be abolished; second, to economize the government expenses; and third, to afford all adequate monetary facilities to the industry and business of the country, we propose the following innovation or reform. It is a slight one, and can easily be carried out. Our legislators at Washington can effect it at once, and without any profound knowledge or study of economic questions. If intelligent reformers and the working classes would petition actively for it, they could secure its realization.

Let Congress fix upon the amount of money, currency, or circulating medium (for they are all one—the representative and sign of property, products, labor and services) which the country requires in its industrial and business operations. We estimate it at one thousand millions. We take our data from France and England, and we are certain that the amount is moderate rather than exaggerated.

Let the government then prepare for issue and circulation that amount of currency, and at the same time, let it prepare an equal amount of bonds to be used as security.

It will make arrangements for lending the new currency to the public either through the post offices or special bureaus for the purpose. It will lend it direct to the manufacturers, merchants, farmers, mechanics and others on the deposit of the bonds as security. It will lend dollar for dollar, i. e., \$100 in currency for \$100 in bonds.

It will charge for the use of the currency the cost of issuing and managing it. It will not charge interest; it will abolish the principal, and replace it by that of the cost of management. We estimate the cost at about 1 per 100 per annum. If it is 1½ or 2 per 100, it will charge this rate. By this measure it will teach the great truth which the world, after at least twenty-two centuries of investigation (for Aristotle treated the question of interest), has not been able to comprehend, namely, that interest and usury are the arbitrary prices paid to the monopolists of the currency for the use of it, and hence a conventional and fictitious thing, not a natural and necessary principle, as it is now stupidly believed to be.

The government should, in strict theory, pay the same rate of interest (we use the term to be understood) on its bonds that it charges for the currency, for the people in taking them gives credit to the government. But here we would recommend a departure from that theory. We would advise that a low rate of interest—between 3 and 5 per 100—be paid on the bonds, and for reasons which we will explain, presently.

When the government is prepared to issue and furnish the new currency, let it then call in slowly the present circulating medium—its own greenbacks and the notes of the national banks. Let it call in five or ten millions a month to commence with, so as not to disturb the business of the country, standing ready to loan this amount or more, and thus to replace the present currency withdrawn by the new. If the new is applied for in large amounts, it will then call in more rapidly the old. It could call in monthly 8 per 100 of the entire amount now in circulation, which would close up the present system in a year, and inaugurate the new financial regime of CHEAP CREDIT or of CREDIT AT COST.

As the old currency is withdrawn the new will necessarily be called for, as people must have a circulating medium, and the bonds will be taken, so that the new system will force its own realization.

But, it will be asked ironically, how will people get the bonds with which to obtain the currency? If they want money, it is a sign they have none; and if they have no money, how can they buy the bonds?

We answer: 1. The large sums now deposited in the banks, or kept on hand, will be invested in the bonds, drawing say 3-65-100 per cent., and business men will make arrangements to accommodate each other instead of passing through the hands of the banks. 2. Portions of the funds, now deposited in savings banks, loaned to individuals, and invested in bonds and mortgages, will also be invested in the government bonds. By these means, the thousand millions will soon be taken. Persons not using their bonds will then lend them to relatives, or will lend them to others for an additional amount of interest. As we said, the system is not the absolutely true and final one; it is only the transition to and preparation for it. Hence it has defects like all imperfect systems, and among them is the charging of additional interest on the bonds, which would be a kind of indirect usury. But the following real advantage will be derived from the system:

1. It will break up the monopoly of the currency, and place the control where it should belong—under that of the government, which is or should be the true representative of the collective interests.

2. It will furnish credit at cost, and demonstrate the practicability of abolishing interest on money.

3. It will make loans direct to the people without favoritism, and on conditions known and accepted, thus releasing them from the humiliation of applying to the present dispensers of credit, and of paying often enormous rates of interest.

4. It will offer means of making deposits, which are safe and convertible at will, and which draw a moderate amount of interest.

5. It will diminish materially the interest paid by the nation on its debt. If 3-65-100 is the rate of the new bonds, as

proposed, then about thirty millions will be the sum saved annually to the country.

6. The abolition of interest on the currency of the nation will in time lead to its abolition on book-accounts and promissory notes, and lessen it on mortgages; it will also lower the rents of houses, which depend, as a general law, on the rates of interest.

7. It will break to some extent the power of the intermediate classes to plunder productive industry, which they can now do because they command and control the circulating medium and credit—the instruments of speculation, monopoly and spoliation.

Such are the leading advantages which will flow from the reform in the currency we propose. But leaving aside these various considerations, we feel confident that it would be an immense benefit to the industrial and business interests of the country if the government would issue and lend at 1 per 100 direct to the producing and business classes the currency they require in their operations. The innovation or reform is not a great one; it is fraught with no danger; let it be tried and tested practically.

## THE LABOR QUESTION.

Taking as a text that every man is entitled to the right of labor and to the proceeds of his labor, the Washington Chronicle utters some forcible opinions on the great labor question which is now causing so much agitation throughout the country. Our contemporary holds that the great object of all well-devised governments is so to provide that labor shall reap its just reward. Labor is in constant conflict with capital—that is, money. It may be said, with truth, that one is dependent upon another. But mere labor which produces and fashions is at the mercy of capital, especially when capital combines itself into corporations and monopolies. There is deep meaning in labor and trades unions. It is the weak uniting for protection against the strong. But these unions, as associations, while they are useful to a certain extent, cannot in themselves adequately protect labor. Strikes for high wages are equally inadequate. They are necessarily temporary, and make no lasting impression on capital. What is needed is just laws to preserve the balance between labor and capital. Banks, corporations, monopolies, must be restrained and governed. They must be legislated into a proper regard for labor.

There is a general feeling in the country that the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. We are approaching in this respect the condition in Europe. There must be a cause for this, and there should be a remedy. We believe this remedy is with the lawmakers. The laboring portion of our people know their rights, and they realize their wrongs more than those who descend upon them. We would wage no war upon capital. It is essential in its place. But it is nothing without labor.

There is a groundswell on this question which threatens the foundation of parties. The feeling which causes this movement may be allayed by timely action. Let justice be done, and laboring men and women will be content. To a very large extent they yet have the power on this question in their own hands. Voters govern this country. Laborers and workmen have the majority of these votes. Let them use them, not to rend and scatter their respective party organizations, but to bring them up to a point at which they will do justice to laborers and workmen.

Justice must be done to the workingmen of the country. We feel sure it will be done if they will assert their rights and prove true to themselves. Capital combines. Let them combine. Let them insist on their rights. Let them vote for their rights. To do this they need not go outside the Republican party. That party is the party of the people, and has never thus failed to respond to any just demands which laboring men have made upon it.—*Leicester Express*.

## A FOOLISH WISH.

Why need I seek some burden small to bear  
Before I go?  
Will not a host of nobler souls be here,  
God's will to do?  
Of stronger hands, unfailing, unafraid?  
O, silly soul! what matters my small aid  
Before I go?

I tried to find, that I might show to them,  
Before I go,  
The path of purer lives: the light was dim—  
I do not know  
If I had found some footprints of the way;  
They will not heed; they care not what I say,  
Before I go.

I sought to lift the little ones; I said  
"Before I go,  
If I might help, in the good gard'ner's stead,  
One blossom grow!"  
But I was weak; ofttimes I stumbled, fell,  
They seek a stouter guide. Sweet souls farewell,  
Before I go.

I would have sung the rest some song of cheer,  
Before I go;  
But still the chords rang false; some jar of ear,  
Some jangling woe,  
The saddest is I cannot weave one chord  
To float into their hearts my last warm word,  
Before I go.

I would be satisfied if I might tell,  
Before I go,  
That one warm word—how I have loved them well,  
Ah, loved them so!  
And would have done for them some little good;  
Have sought it long; still seek—if but I could!  
Before I go.

'Tis a child's longing, on the beach to play;  
"Before I go,"  
He begs the beckoning mother, "let me stay  
One shell to throw!"  
'Tis a coming night; the great sea climbs the shore—  
"Ah, let me toss one little pebble more,  
Before I go!"



## THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

## PANTARCHY.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

[I publish, for its intrinsic value, the following extract from a private letter addressed to Women of the Pantarchy by a gentleman of the same ilk, whose name, if I were free to use it, would carry great weight with the whole army of reformers. At present he prefers working more privately and in his own way. He is not fond of teaching any branch of action incidentally, but throws his whole soul into the channel he selects to work through.

S. P. A.

"I have pretty much made up my mind to hold no more intercourse than I am actually obliged to with persons of either sex who are not as absolute devotees to integral reform as the amorous girl is, for the time, to her first love. I think, also, that the time has nearly gone by for considering devotion to mere ideas the highest type of usefulness. Willingness, readiness, ANXIETY to clothe them with substance, and to give form and shape to them are now needed; and I think that these characteristics abound more in your sex [addressed to a woman] than in mine. The simple love of truth is far more potent for good, if backed up even by an inferior or uncultivated mind, than the most highly cultivated intellect unaccompanied, or rather uncontrolled, by the love of truth. Men, I find, are mighty scarce just now; on the other hand, there have never been, I venture to say, during any period of the world's written history, as many women looking anxiously for a new dispensation as at this time. This is due, to a great extent, to the agitations on the Freedom of the Affections, Freedom of Divorce, and Woman Suffrage. These agitations have predisposed woman to consider her wrongs, and she is on the look out, generally, for a better time coming; while they (the agitators) have predisposed men to consider themselves likely to be deprived of vested rights, and to examine every subject with reference to holding on to all they have, right or wrong, and to concede nothing to the other sex. This used not to be the case. Some years ago I could place my hands on five liberal men for one woman; now I could more easily find ten liberal women than one man."

"Who shall justify the ways of God to man?"—Job.

To attribute the late fire in Chicago to the vengeance of God, as many of the papers and pulpits have done, is a libel upon the Divine character. If we are to believe that God visits the sins and iniquities of the war upon the South by the destruction by fire of cities of the North, as some maintain, making the like sufferings of the innocent with the guilty an act of Divine justice, then are the mercies of God cruel and His ways not justified by the moral sense of right, much less of love.

To represent God as laughing at man's calamities and mocking at his fears is giving him attributes better fitting a devil, and no one would feel like loving or worshipping a Being of such fearful indulgences toward his children.

No, no, it is not possible that the Supreme Intelligence of the universe ever metes out the least revenge upon either individuals or nations, but permits the violations of all laws to be followed by their just penalties; and though "God was in the fire," it only obeyed in its wildest fury the laws of that element which no power was able to stay.

LUNA HUTCHISON.

DEAR PANTARCH: In compliance with your request, I will say a few words in furtherance of the objects of "The Pantarchy."

As far as yet comprehended by me, it seems to be the Institution now wanted, and one which will be of great usefulness in the better reorganization of society. It does seem that the time is near at hand when the practical details of such a plan of action must be worked into a living, vital system for the practical illustration of the principles of a true Science of Life.

I, however, apprehend that this work will more specially belong to the "New University for the Integral Education of all persons, irrespective of age, sex or condition in society."

I like the idea much, and think it practicable in the immediate future—a school for the instruction of the educators of the new movement. At the present time the organization of society is so contracted in all normal, healthy directions that it seems almost impossible to move the great lever which will raise and dignify all reform measures.

The suffrage and labor questions seem to push forward into a hopeful prominence in the minds and aims of a mass of liberal progressives which suggests that we must not be unmindful of urging the claims of other measures of reform which strike at revolutionizing the very groundwork of society.

Let universal suffrage be gained in order to place all persons upon a sound political basis; then settle the currency and labor questions in the way which will best secure stern justice and equality to every member of the nation.

When this is accomplished society will be ripe for the solution of social problems which make up the more fundamental elements of a correct science of life.

In the meantime I would suggest that these incipient reforms be pushed with vigor in all of the different directions in which they tend, as continued agitation will liberalize thought and practice in every ramification of society, and thus prepare the way for success much sooner than possible by only working at one prominent reform at a time.

Let the university idea, especially, be more fully developed in its minute and practical details, and most especially with a view to educating those who are to be teachers when the time for real work comes. I do not mean by education a theoretical one; but let experiment and practical details go hand in hand, forming a true marriage with theory, which can only thus give a correct practical science of every-day life.

I apprehend that the university will consult nature as developed in objects and things as being superior to science as developed by books alone, and thus carry education into the elementary principles of life.

Thus viewing its objects, I apprehend one of the most important questions to be determined in the new order of

things will be how best to care for our physical bodies, because upon their integrity depends the whole problem of practical action. No knowledge is more important while we have physical organisms than how to place ourselves in proper relations to the elementary principles, which go to make up all organic life.

To illustrate: We may take food and ask how many families know how to prepare it in the most healthful manner, and the answer must be that not one in one hundred understands the very first ideas of right cooking, as the preparation of a faultless normal diet, which will insure health and conduce to the best development of the individual body. This is a strong assertion, but I am fully prepared to back it with facts born of bitter practical experience. The same is true in reference to a knowledge of the right use to make of every constituent element of nature, which in countless combinations build up our bodies.

I need not enlarge upon the vast importance of these points, but will simply suggest as a practical idea that the university teach how to improve the race by correct generation, how to best secure pure air to breathe, healthfully cooked food to eat, a plenitude of sunlight in our homes and how best to secure the culture and growth of our mental, physical and spiritual natures by a correct system of exercise which will tend to a harmonious expansion and growth of all our individualities of nature and character.

Teach every individual so much about physiology and the laws of life that they will keep well, and thus do more for themselves than any system of medicine can do for them. Teach every person enough about natural theology to understand that there is a way open to all to come in communication with the divine in nature, thus dispensing with artificial preachers, when the way to travel shall be seen to be so simple and easy of access for all.

Teach all to understand every law of the land so well that there will be no necessity for the employment of lawyers.

This can best be done by having laws universal and so plain and simple in their construction and arrangement that all can understand them.

Universal co-operation in government laws, religion, finance, labor and production, science, philosophy, sociology or the whole science of life will ultimately make the brotherhood of man one nation of free people, who cannot be enslaved, but will move solidly forward in one phalanx of intelligence swayed by Love, which is God.

JOHN BROWN SMITH.

Philadelphia, Penn., November, 1871.

[Although the matter is nearly a year old, I publish with pleasure the following speech made by Mrs. Elizabeth La Pierre Daniels in behalf of the working women of Massachusetts, before the Committee on Banks and Banking of the Legislature of that State, at the hearing on Friday,

28th, 1871, in opposition to the bill of Messrs. Quincy and Ware, introduced on leave in the Senate by Mr. Crosby, of Hampshire. The speech will explain itself. It killed the bill, which was, otherwise, sure to have passed. I republish it, not so much with reference to the particular issue, as for a specimen of terse and eloquent legal pleading, and as an instance of the actual power which the female intellect and earnestness are capable of exhibiting in the arena of politics.—S. P. A.]

## SPEECH OF MRS. E. L. DANIELS.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I see by the note appended to this bill as printed for the use of the Legislature, that the plan set forth in it is of German origin. Mr. Quincy and Mr. Ware give us, upon their own showing, nothing of theirs in what they say; but, in the presentation of their project, they simply offer us, working people of Massachusetts, something that has commended itself in a country of despots and slaves. I have nothing but words of commendation for Mr. Quincy. What could I have to say against a loyal, intelligent and brave soldier, who took his life in his hand, a few years ago, to defend the star-spangled banner, the symbol of our republican liberty, against the assaults of misguided rebels upon the rights, as guaranteed in the constitutions of almost all the States, of the individual citizens of this country? And what could I have to say against Mr. Ware, a pains taking, laborious and self-forgetting professor of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, all of whose energies are devoted to the single task of training up our young men to be worthy and useful citizens of our great and renowned commonwealth? In my humble opinion, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Ware have meant well by the working people of this community, but have been deluded. In what I shall take occasion to say, those gentlemen will no longer be present to my mind. I recognize the integrity of their intentions, and dismiss them from my thoughts. I shall address myself, solely and simply, to an impartial consideration of the features of the bill.

Gentlemen, my proposition, and the one that I shall endeavor to establish by candid and straightforward argument, is simply this: That the bill before you, which presents itself as an angel of light, is a devil of the darkest shade—that it is an emanation from the murkiest recesses of the bottomless pit—that it contains within itself all the elements of an outrage, a fraud and a swindle on the working women of Massachusetts.

The bill provides, in the third section, "that each member shall be jointly and severally liable for the whole amount of the debts of the association."

Mark you, gentlemen, the words "whole amount" are very broad. Every working woman who joins one of these associations will be liable for the "whole amount" of the common debt of the concern. When any of you, gentlemen, take stock in any enterprise, you inquire about the personal liability of the shareholders, and, if there is no limitation upon the liability, you will have nothing to do with the business. The whole legislation of Massachusetts, in matters of incorporated interests, has run to the limitation of the risk of shareholders; and yet, if you pass this bill, you inveigle, or do all you can to inveigle, the working women into a position where no capitalist would dare for a moment to stand. Show the same liberality to the working women that you have always shown to capitalists! Limit the liability of the working women who are to enter into these associations, and then we will look upon your project as something reasonable.

You provide, in the sixth section of the bill, that "any sum to be raised after the whole of the assets of the association shall have been exhausted, shall be equally assessed

per capita on all the members." That is, if the concern fails, the working women who go into it, without understanding it exactly, and who hope to increase their daily revenue by it, will have their labor so mortgaged that they will become Mexican peons and slaves. Yes, gentlemen, slaves! For the working women, when their labor belongs to another, and not to themselves, become slaves! And we know what it is to get involved in transactions we don't understand, and to have liabilities piled upon us of which we know nothing till they are pointed out to us in court. We know what it is to walk into traps that have been laid for us, and of which we know nothing, except from the consequences. Other people, in their shrewdness, reap the benefits; we, in our innocence, reap all the disasters. A person is a slave for the precise reason, and no other, that his labor is mortgaged in the hands of another person.

Gentlemen, I am not eloquent. I wish I were! I wish I could speak to you as Patrick Henry would speak to you, if he were here at this time, and employed as counsel on our side. I would tell you that, by this bill, the commonwealth, if it should pass it, would be guilty of an attempt to entrap us, unwarily, into slavery; and I would add, in his words, "if that is treason, make the most of it." I would say also, as it respects slavery, and of the willingness of the working-women to be subject to it, "give us liberty, or give us death."

I quote the seventh section, because of its importance, at length. You say, "the joint and several liability of members for all the debts of the association is hereby constituted a legal ground of action, which shall accrue to each and any creditor of the association after the close of proceedings in bankruptcy against such association, and for the unpaid balance of such claims only as shall have been presented and allowed in such proceedings." Gentlemen, the working-women confide in the men; they believe in them; they put their trust in them. When the men show themselves to be devoid of honor and honesty, as sometimes happens, we working-women find ourselves to be nowhere. It is natural for us to be cheated and swindled by the men, when the men are wolves in sheep's clothing. And I must say that, as far as my observation has extended, the working-men are as easily swindled, and are almost as innocent and guileless as we are. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I believe in the men, notwithstanding what I say here; and when the men get so bad that I can't trust them any more, then I want to die; after that, this world will be no pleasant abiding place for me. But, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen!—You know better than I do that the management of joint stock institutions has, in this country, been gradually gravitating, during the last ten years, into the hands of scoundrels. I don't say that all, or anything like a majority, of the Presidents, Cashiers, Treasurers and Directors of joint-stock companies, are scoundrels; I know better; I am thankful that there are many rich, influential and powerful men that I can still look upon with admiration and respect. But the steady current is, and has been, in the direction I have mentioned. Banking, Railroad and other companies have, if we can believe the law reports in the newspapers, been able to bribe and corrupt the Courts of Justice. Iniquitous injunctions, and other unrighteous legal processes, with still more iniquitous transfers of cases from one court to another for the scandalous purpose of defeating justice, with other judicial and legal wicked manoeuvres, have been resorted to daily, and in a way to turn the head of any poor woman who should try to follow up, and understand, the windings of the concentrated and double and twisted devilry of the stock-jobbing directors, lawyers and judges. I know nothing of these matters personally; I speak of what I read in the newspapers. Some of my gentlemen friends tell me that the newspapers lie, and calumniate the management of the Erie Railroad, and the management of a hundred other like enterprises. I hope, sincerely, that the business community is better than it is represented to be in the newspapers. Now, gentlemen, the charge I bring against this bill is this, that it prepares, beforehand, and pads, wads, and makes soft, a nest for scoundrels. Pass this bill, and the most lucrative, and at the same time, the safest business going, will be, by means of these institutions, the cheating and swindling of laboring men and women. The creditors of the old joint-stock companies, in conjunction with dishonest directors, get control of the joint-stock property only; but, in these new institutions, proposed by this bill, the creditors, in conjunction with the scoundrels who will infallibly get the management of the institutions, will be able, through the general liability of the associates, and through the legal processes for the collection of debts that are provided for in the bill, to get a mortgage on the labor of the individual associates, and, through such mortgage, to get a mastery of their persons.

Gentlemen! the working people have all faith in you. If you pass this bill they will organize under it. No one could make the working-women, for example, believe that you would deliberately betray them, and deliver them, bound hand and foot, into the hands of their natural enemies. If you pass this bill, you will cause all the disasters that I have pointed out to, fall upon a portion of the people, who will be ruined because they repose confidence in you. The simple fact that the law is on the statute book will be taken for a guaranty of the knaves who will run the institutions. I beseech you, therefore, to think of your mothers, for all of you have, or have had, mothers, and to think of your wives, sisters and daughters, such of you as have, or have had, wives, sisters or daughters, and to take pity on the patient, suffering and overtasked working-women, who will be defended by nobody if you abandon them. It is to you only that I look, at this time, as the champions of the working-people, and you only are competent to ward off the disasters with which we are threatened by this infernal project of a law calculated to carry misery and slavery into the lonely rooms, fox-traps and pigeon-lofts, which the isolated and defenceless working-women of this commonwealth decorate by the holy name of home.

THE CRUCIBLE says: "We at last have direct proof of the truth of Theodore Tilton's representations regarding the treatment Mrs. Woodhull receives from her family. Whoever may have doubted before can doubt no longer, since her own sister, prompted by her vanity, endeavored to create a disturbance at her lecture in Steinway Hall on the 2d inst., constantly interrupting until a policeman appeared and compelled her to desist. Mrs. Utica V. Brooker has once more demonstrated the truth of the old adage, that a person's worst enemies are those of his own household. But when this darling sister was invited to come to the platform and express herself, she displayed the compass of her intellect and abilities, by propounding a question which had been thoroughly answered. Neither the fools nor devils are all dead yet, and some combinations of both also exist."



## THE NEW ERA.

Almost simultaneously with the enunciation of the Principles of Social Freedom, in other words, the Natural Laws which underlie the Social Relations of the Sexes, comes the voice of Alfred Tennyson from beyond the seas. *Harper's Weekly*, the journal of civilization, gives us his last utterance, "The Last Tournament." In the Poet Laureate's melodious lines we find the rhythmical echo of those solemn and all-important truths which we had put forward in ruder, but not less earnest prose. That the Harpers should publish truths in poetry which they denounce in prose does not surprise us. The form and manner of the utterance make such a difference; the renown of the prophet insures an audience; publishers are mortal. With them it is not the doctrine, but its pecuniary acceptableness. Does it pay? But we wait with wonder to see what the press shall say of this newest proclamation, "by authority," of self-evident truths. The "bald and bold" pronouncement of Steinway Hall is overlaid by the subtle refinements and pure elegance of the most sentimental and most philosophic poet of the age. We are denounced as wishing to reduce the sexual relation to simple promiscuity, while our faith and our contention are that perfect freedom would annihilate all temptation to promiscuity. We denounce promiscuity and licentiousness with all our might, and shall protest against them to our latest breath. Let Sir Tristram speak for us:

"The vow that binds too strictly snaps itself.

We run more counter to the soul thereof  
Than had we never sworn."

We shall be glad to hear what our supersanctified, self-approved judges, who condemn us to the lowest Tophet, shall say of Tennyson for his definitions of Freedom without any discrimination of phase or person. What will they say of the good Harpers for publishing such infidelity and immorality—

"Good now, what music have I broken, fool?"  
And little Dagonet, skipping, "Arthur, the king's;  
For when thou playest that air with Queen Isolt,  
Thou makest broken music with thy bride,  
Her daintier namesake down in Brittany—  
And so thou breakest Arthur's music too."  
"Save for that broken music in thy brain,  
Sir Fool," said Tristram, "I would break thy head.  
Fool, I came late, the heathen wars were o'er,  
The life had flown, we swore but by the shell—  
I am but a fool to reason with a fool—  
Come, thou art crabbed and sour; but lean me down,  
Sir Dagonet, one of thy long asses' ears,  
And hearken if my music be not true.

"Free love—free field—we love but while we may;  
The woods are hush'd, their music is no more;  
The leaf is dead, the yearning past away;  
New leaf, new life—the days of frost are o'er;  
New life, new love to suit the newer day;  
New loves are sweet as those that went before;  
Free love—free field—we love but while we may."

"Ye might have moved slow-measure to my tune,  
Not stood stockstill. I made it in the woods,  
And found it ring as true as tested gold."

Then Tristram, pacing moodily up and down,  
"Vows! did ye keep the vow ye made to Mark  
More than I mine! Lied, say ye? Nay, but learnt,  
The vow that binds too strictly snaps itself—  
My knighthood taught me this—ay, being snapt—  
We run more counter to the soul thereof  
Than had we never sworn. I swear no more.  
I swore to the great King, and am forsworn.  
For once—ev'n to the height—I honor'd him.  
'Man, is he man at all?' methought, when first  
I rode from our rough Lyonesse, and beheld  
That victor of the Pagan throng in hall—  
His hair, a sun that ray'd from off a brow  
Like billows high in heaven, the steel-blue eyes,  
The golden beard that clothed his lips with light—  
Moreover, that weird legend of his birth,  
With Me lin's mystic babble about his end  
Amazed me; then, his foot was on a stool  
Shaped as a dragon; he seem'd to me no man,  
But Michael trampling Satan; so I swore,  
Being amazed; but this went by—the vows!  
O ay—the wholesome madness of an hour—  
They served their use, their time; for every knight  
Believed himself a greater than himself,  
And every follower eyed him as a God;  
Till he, being lifted up beyond himself,  
Did mightier deeds than else he had done,  
And so the realm was made; but then their vows—  
First mainly thro' that rallying of our Queen—  
Began to gall the knighthood, asking whence  
Had Arthur right to bind them to himself?  
Dropt down from heaven? wash'd up from out the deep  
They fail'd to trace him thro' the flesh and blood  
Of our old Kings: whence then? a doubtful lord  
To bind them by inviolable vows,  
Which flesh and blood perforce would violate;  
For feel this arm of mine—the tide within  
Red with free chase and heather-scented air,  
Pulsing full man; can Arthur make me pause  
As any maiden child? lock up my tongue  
From uttering freely what I freely hear?  
Bind me to one? The great world laughs at it.  
And worldling of the world am I, and know  
The parramian that whitens ere his hour  
Wooes his own end; we are not angels here  
Nor shall be: vows—I am woodman of the woods,  
And hear the garnet-headed yaffingale  
Mock them: my soul, 'we love but while we may,'  
And therefore is my love so large for thee,  
Seeing it is not bounded save by love."

Here ending, he moved toward her, and she said,  
"Good: and I turn'd away my love for thee

To some one thrice as courteous as thyself—  
For courtesy wins woman all as well  
As valor may—but he that closes both  
Is perfect, he is Lancelot—taller indeed,  
Rosier and comelier, thou—but say I loved  
This knightliest of all knights, and cast thee back  
Thine own small saw, 'We love but while we may,'  
Well, then, what answer?"

He that while she spake,  
Mindful of what he brought to adorn her with,  
The jewels, had let one finger lightly touch  
The warm white apple of her throat, replied,  
"Press this a little closer, sweet, until—  
Come, I am hunger'd and half anger'd—meat,  
Wine, wine—and I will love thee to the death,  
And out beyond into the dream to come."

So then, when both were brought to full accord,  
She rose, and set before him all he will'd;  
And after these had comforted the blood  
With meats and wines, and satiated their hearts—  
Now talking of their woodland paradise,  
The deer, the dews, the fern, the founts, the lawns;  
Now mocking at the much ungainliness,  
And craven shifts, and long crane legs of Mark—  
Then Tristram laughing caught the harp, and sang:  
"Ay, ay, O ay—the winds that bend the brier!  
A star in heaven, a star within the mere!  
Ay, ay, O ay—a star was my desire;  
And one was far apart, and one was near:  
Ay, ay, O ay—the winds that bow the grass!  
And one was water and one star was fire,  
And one will ever shine and one will pass—  
Ay, ay, O ay—the winds that move the mere."

## HENRY WARD BEECHER ON SPIRITUALISM.

Mr. Beecher, in his sermon yesterday, referred as follows to spiritualism:

It is generally admitted that from the very beginning of things this world has been open to the influence of spirits. We can readily believe that there is a spiritual influence which we can neither understand nor appreciate. This is certainly the doctrine of the New Testament. It was taught, both by the Saviour and the Apostles, that both divine and demoniac influences did roll in upon the human soul; and I aver that there is nothing men should so much desire—and do so much need—as those divine influences which the Bible teaches have been wafted over into this sphere. That fantastic and false notions have arisen during all ages concerning this spiritual doctrine does not prove its fallacy by any means. How do men account for the fact that out of the lowest savage animal condition of man there has come this conception of a free spirit and consequent spiritual illumination? This idea was with the race of man as far back as the beginning, and their vague feeling out after light showed then as now their need of it. Of course, mere seeking does not prove the existence of an object, but it shows a need which it is not a part of God's economy to allow. Our Saviour asserts the reality of these spiritual influences, and declares it is not possible for men to understand them. It is impossible to interpret a higher sphere to those in a lower; hence this great truth cannot be unfolded in detail as if it were an earthly truth.

Those living in the present have not so much need of this spiritual help; but for that great part of the race who live in daily consciousness of imperfection, who struggle on in darkness and doubt knowing not how to comfort themselves, it is the one thing needful. It is the office of the Divine Spirit to inspire and comfort men. There are times when we are all of us conscious of being influenced by a spirit outside of ourselves, and although it is true that this influence transcends our understanding, we are nevertheless able to prepare ourselves for its reception by making ourselves susceptible to spirit presence. If you have a sense of personal communion with the spirit world, believe that God has found you. Do we not long to separate ourselves from mere physical consciousness? Can anybody endure the thought of going down to the grave to annihilation? Is there anything we desire more than a light to shine upon the road that leads to the great beyond? No better argument can be made for Spiritualism than that it settles faith.—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 4.

## THE SIGNS OF "THEIR" COMING.

Some time since we said there was an organized movement prepared in the spirit world to move upon and convince this mundane sphere that life and immortality are not away in the distant future, as old theology teaches, subject to a resurrection upon a given judgment day; but that they are in our very midst. Almost every day some evidence is given somewhere of an increased facility of communication between the two spheres. Some incredulous people ask: Why do not spirits do something worthy of heaven, if they do in reality communicate? And this has been a stumbling-block over which many honest investigators have fallen. But they forget that nothing is perfected at once. Children begin with their A, B, C's. We used to ride in the slow stage-coach, where we now fly in the railroad-car; and mail-coaches and ships once carried our messages to distant friends, requiring even months to make the passage, where now telegraph accomplishes the same thing in time calculated by seconds. So with spirit communication, the methods of which are still very meagre and oftentimes even unsatisfactory; but we are rapidly approaching much more perfect and satisfactory things, when the whole spirit-world will be opened to our astonished vision. One of the most evident signs of this approach can be seen by the close observer of the general order of things, in the treatment the subject receives at the hands of the press. They accept the situation, speaking of it as one of the accomplished facts of the age, although in still too many instances it is clothed in language which they suppose conveys the impression that they are incredulous. Among the many papers whose columns contain "spiritual matters," the *N. Y. Sun* stands prominent. In a late issue appeared

the following rather remarkable facts, which we commend to the careful consideration of our skeptical readers:

## A MARVELLOUS CURE IN MAINE'S CHIEF CITY—CURIOUS PHENOMENA IN THE SICK ROOM.

On the 24th of March last Mr. N. W. Woodman, a prominent merchant of Portland, Me., fell through the scuttles of his store in Commercial street, a distance of twenty-three feet, and was picked up in a most pitiable condition. His ribs were wrenched from their place, his spine was twisted, although the vertebrae were not separated, and one of his intestines was displaced so as to obstruct the passage from the stomach. For four days he remained in bed unable to move, and at intervals unconscious, at the expiration of which time, as he firmly believes, the spirits took charge of his case, and through their care, after a long and tedious illness, he has finally been restored to health. So remarkable an occurrence could not fail to excite interest in the community where Mr. Woodman lives, and for the purpose of gratifying the curiosity which had been generally expressed, the Hon. G. W. Woodman, on the evening of the 19th inst., in Army and Navy Hall in Portland, gave a public description of the details of the cure.

From the Hon. G. W. Woodman's account it appears that the injured man remained in a helpless condition until the evening of the 27th of March, when at 7 o'clock, in the presence of Dr. Hopkins, a healing medium, he suddenly raised himself upright in bed and spoke through his controlling spirit, saying:

"I am terribly injured, and something must be done. It must be done within forty-eight hours, or you will see the necessity for it."

On Wednesday following this was repeated, and the injuries described. The spirits, speaking through the controlling influence, then said:

"Now, friends, let the powers of earth handle him," upon which he was raised up and poulticed according to spirit direction.

The spirits gave directions that the poultice must not remain on him over one hour and ten minutes. The patient at once fell asleep, and was left alone. In two hours his wife entered the room, found the bed undisturbed, the patient still sleeping, and the poultice ten feet distant, nicely pinned up.

It was now deemed desirable that Mr. Woodman should have the benefit of the best attainable medical advice, and Drs. Wilbur and Lerow, the first said to be a Prussian physician of distinction, and the second a Frenchman of eminence—both of whom have been a long time dead—were induced to examine him through the medium, and to give their advice as to his further treatment. On the 3d of April the spirits said that the patient must get up and be dressed; whereupon he was raised from the bed; twirled in the air and set on his feet. In an incredibly short space of time the spirits dressed him without the aid of mortal hands, after which he walked about the room. At another time, after an examination and exercise, the patient was left standing at the foot of the bed, with his back to the footboard. Then he was seized by invisible hands, lifted horizontally over it, and laid on the bed. All this time Mr. Woodman, in his normal state, was unable to move. The spirits said to the attendants that they gave him medicine every night, applied shower and steam baths, and turned him in bed when no one saw their proceedings.

The sick man was again exercised by the spirits on the 13th of May, and stood at the foot of the bed. Suddenly he was lifted into the air, in a horizontal position, and balanced across the foot-board, where he remained several minutes, after which he was turned over, and the operation was repeated. On the 16th of May, the Hon. George Woodman, while rubbing the patient's back by direction of the spirits, was seized and thrown some distance. Other extraordinary experiences occurred to the patient as well as to his friends during his gradual recovery, the spirits affording less and less assistance as his restoration progressed and his health returned.

Many curious phenomena were observed by the friends of the invalid during his protracted illness. At one time the persons present were placed in communication with the patient and medium, when angelic music was heard. Mrs. Woodman immediately hastened down stairs, threw open the piano and played and sang Italian music, joining with the mysterious voices above, which goes to prove that Italian is the language of the spirit world. She then returned to the room, and recovered all at once her normal state, having no recollection of what she had done. On Sunday, April 16, at midday, a supernatural goblet was seen let down from the ceiling, as though suspended by a thread, in answer to the patient's request for water. The goblet stopped at the sick man's mouth, and its contents were administered by unseen hands. He complained that it was bitter, like tansy, and water was given him several times to remove the bad taste.

Dr. Hopkins, the medium who officiated all through these scenes, on one occasion was taken up and carried three times around the room, and on another occasion colored lights were seen around the bed.

On the 7th of May, after the customary exercise by the spirits, the sick man was requested to cross the room and take his wife's hand. She held it about two minutes, when she saw a form, clothed, and with well-defined features, who proved to be a lady whom she had known well. There was another form seen, but not distinctly enough for recognition. The same evening a manifestation of spirits took place. The curtain fell down as they were about to close out the strong light, but it was replaced by an unseen power before the spectators could reach it. The next day the patient was taken out into the hall by the spirits, some sixteen in number. One of these was James C. Woodman, a lawyer of marked ability and a prominent Spiritualist, who died last year. He appeared with great distinctness, and wrote at a table. He sat by the side of the Hon. George Woodman, and talked with him of matters known only to themselves.

Mr. N. M. Woodman, who was the subject of the spiritual cure, and the Hon. George W. Woodman, who vouches for the truth of the particulars given above, are prominent men, well known to the entire community of Portland. There is no doubt that the Messrs. Woodman are entirely in earnest in their belief, but the reader will form his own conclusions as to the credibility of their story.

## POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Dec. 9, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11 A. M., on Wednesday at 10:30 M., and on Saturday at 11:30 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.



## ART AND DRAMA.

"Mignon" is certainly not a great opera. It needs all the prestige of Nilsson's name and performance to keep it before an audience. It is meant to be a serio-comic, but the serious—even the lugubrious—preponderates. *Mignon*, a young gipsy with a soul above her vagabond life, refuses to sing at a village fete and is in danger of being beaten. *Guglielmo*, the tenor, rescues her from her brutal owner and purchases her freedom. She accompanies him as page. At home *Lotario* falls in love with *Filina*, a sprightly young comedienne, and *Mignon*, enraged and jealous, throws off her page dress, sets fire to a castle and runs away. Subsequently an old gentleman who had been wandering the country as a harpist, in despair for the loss of his infant child, discovers the object of his tender memories in *Mignon*, takes her to the paternal bosom and gives her in marriage to *Guglielmo*, who is now willing to concentrate on her his somewhat uncertain affection. This very weak plot is enlivened by the vivacity of *Filina*, who sings the most pleasing music of the opera, embellished with any quantity of musical pyrotechnics. She is by far the most effective character, *Mignon* being moody and melancholic; her only touch of life being in the scene in which she is witness to her master's flirtation with the too engaging actress. The music has been compared by one critic to *Auber*, by another to *Offenbach* and a third finds traces of *Meyerbeer*—I can find neither one nor other. The general characteristic is that, with the exception of a delicious waltz or seguidilla movement familiar to us as the *mignon* waltz, the vocal airs are generally insipid, while the orchestral accompaniment is generous of instrumental aid and prodigal of embellishment, often completely overlaying the singers, not merely by the noise but by the profusion of instrumentation.

This style in the instruments is unusual; and we find in the opera none of those charming bits of melody which fix themselves in the hearer's memory and become favorites in the public taste. The elevated sentiment and pathetic expression of "Faust," the brilliant vivacity of "Martha," or the charms of other operas so hackneyed yet so fascinating, are wanting in "Mignon." If I do not rave about the opera, I am in duty bound to rave about the great songstress. Every one does it, how dares one stand alone? I cannot accept Nilsson's unmeasurable superiority to all the past and the present. She is good, she is beautiful, she is graceful, she is dramatic—an actress such as we seldom see on the lyric stage. She is all these, and yet is not equal to some of the dead nor better than some of the living. This preposterous eulogy is injurious to art; it creates a false standard of taste, and it is injustice to other conscientious and capable artists, who are thrown into the shade not by their demerits but by fashionable affectation.

I am glad to see justice done at last to Mademoiselle Duval. This lady's talents have been depreciated through the admiration of Nilsson's superiority. It is not the thing to praise the second when one is retained to praise the first. Duval has come to the front in "Mignon"—her ability stands admitted. Justice is tardy! But better late than never.

THE GRAND OPERA Sunday evening concert is one of the finest musical performances of the kind ever heard in this country. The orchestra is immense, the harmony complete. The delicacy and refinement of Theodore Thomas' stringed instruments cannot be expected in a military band, but the fine intonation and finish of the reed instruments with the contrast of the heavy brasses form a light and shade which it is difficult to parallel. Mr. Fisk has been made the butt of a good deal of obloquy and ridicule, but whatever his other virtues, we owe him a debt of thanks as a bountiful provider of public amusement. Not always, perhaps, the highest art, but it is not given to every horticulturist to naturalize a Victoria regia. Some people must, perforce, content themselves with a pure collection of humbler flowers for the most part pleasing and attractive. The Grand Opera is as good in its way as the Academy. The theatre is superb and the entertainment magnificent. Among the attractions last Sunday were Wagner's "Kaiser March," a tremendous piece with a mighty crash of drums, trumpets and ophicleides; the sparkling "Rolli Yodel," and a Reverie of Vieuxtemps, written of course for the delicate handling of the violin, but wonderfully rendered by that great orchestra with a precision that seemed marvelous, while the volume of sound in the swell and the gently dying fall carried away the hearer. If this be not, as I have said, high art, it is very humanizing; and Mr. Fisk helps us upward. Lichtmay's "Ocean, thou mighty monster," is only second to Parepa's great performance, while Lichtmay's is the superior in dramatic coloring.

Booth's.—Mr. Booth returns to his own theatre. He opens with "Hamlet." This has been so often "done" by the critics, that it is almost an insult to the reader to offer any remark. There is nothing new and the old is well known. *Hamlet* suits Mr. Booth's temperament. His elocution is consummate, his study masterly. It is impossible to suggest improvement in his readings; his action and bearing are that of the finished gentleman. All indeed is perfect except that Mr. Booth lacks that outgo of natural feeling, that intensity of expression, which carry the hearts of the audience. We never forget that Mr. Booth is player the semblance, not the reality, moves before us. It is the absolute perfection of the reader and the elocutionist, but we could compound for less of excellence if we only had more of vitality. We feel this less keenly perhaps, in *Hamlet* than in some of Mr. Booth's other roles. The other characters at Booth's are seldom well sustained. It is as though the great actor could not bear a rival or that the treasury cannot bear the expense. I look with some apprehension to the coming "Julius Caesar," a play which more than any other calls for a full cast of able actors. Miss Bella Pateman, as *Ophelia*, does her business satisfactorily and is entitled to a more extended notice than my space permits.

VANDYKE.

## MY CREED.

I hold that Christian grace abounds  
Where charity is seen; that when  
We climb to heaven, 'tis on the rounds  
Of love to men.

I hold all else named piety  
A selfish scheme, a vain pretense.  
Where centre is not, can there be  
Circumference?

This I moreover hold, and dare  
Affirm where'er my rhyme may go.  
Whatever things be sweet and fair,  
Love makes them so;

Whether it be the lullabies  
That charm to rest the nestling bird,  
Or that sweet confidence of sighs  
And blushes without word;

Whether the dazzling and the flush  
Of softly sumptuous garden bowers,  
Or by some cabin door or bush  
Of ragged flowers.

'Tis not the white phylactery,  
Nor stubborn fast, or stated prayers,  
To make us saints; I judge the tree  
By what it bears.

And when a man can live apart  
From work, on theologic trust,  
I know the blood about his heart  
Is dry as dust.

## WOMAN ITEMS.

Seven thousand women belong to the Belgian International.

A bill in the Illinois Legislature proposes that women shall not be debarred from any occupation except the military.

Miss Alta M. Hewlett, of Illinois, has studied law and passed a successful examination, but coming before the courts was denied the right to practice.

Madame Janauschek's jewels, it is said, is worth \$80,000, and includes presents from half a dozen crowned heads in Europe, and a diamond worth \$16,000, presented to her by the Czar of Russia.

Miss Dimmock, an American lady, has been made Doctor of Medicine by the University of Zurich, Switzerland. She studied in the medical school of the University.

A loving wife in Danbury, Conn., on the decease of her husband, sent the following thrilling telegram to a distant friend: "Dear John is dead. Loss fully covered by insurance."

The world is a looking-glass, gives back to every man the reflection of his own face. Frown at it, and it will in turn look sourly upon you; laugh at it and with it, and it is a jolly, kind companion.

The Austrian women have certain legal rights which those in America might be happy to boast. They can refuse to accompany their husbands to any locality which endangers their liberty, life or health.

Elizabeth B. Chace was re-elected President of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, which held its annual meeting recently in Providence. The Association voted to become auxiliary to the American Association.

Mrs. L. D. Mansfield, Lady Principal of the Rockland Institute at Nyack, N. Y., and other ladies of the Institute voted at the recent elections on the 7th inst. The votes were properly registered and voted upon under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

A recent book on women, by Dora D'Istria, gives a number of curious facts. Jenny Lind died in 1860 at Dresden; half the male population of America has been destroyed by drunkenness; Mrs. Julia Ward and Mrs. Howe are two great poets; and Miss Lardner (Lauder) is a sculptor of some fame.

Did you ever think how much in the aggregate one single New York party costs? Original cost of the entertainment—cards, supper, flowers and music—\$1,000. Say there are 200 people present, their expenses will easily average, for carriages, gloves and the like, twenty dollars—\$4,000 more; amounting altogether to the neat little sum of \$5,000, a fortune for a good many people.

Miss Fowler, a physician of Orange, N. J., has lately been married, and is now Mrs. Ormsby. She is a sister of Fowler, the phrenologist, and has met with extraordinary success as a medical practitioner of the homeopathic school. Her income from her profession has for years past been from \$15,000 to \$20,000 a year. She treats patients of both sexes, has the names of over 600 families on her practice-books, and has more business than all the half dozen male doctors of the place put together. In carrying on her profession she drives between forty and fifty miles every day. She is a handsome woman of 40, clear-headed, stout-hearted, strong-willed, vivacious and intellectual. Her husband is a New York merchant.

Miss Lydia S. Hall, who is now acting United States Treasurer in the absence of the male chief, was once a Lowell factory girl, and was a contributor to the *Lowell Offering*, over the nom de plume of "Ade-lade." The *Lowell Courier* says Miss Hall has been a missionary to the Choctaws, and in border-ruffian days lived in Kansas, where she was an owner of considerable real estate. Meeting with some misfortune in regard to titles to property, she went to Washington, and has filled a clerkship in the Treasury department since, being also engaged in studying law, in order to enable her to secure her rights to her property in Kansas, which she will no doubt do and return to that State.

Boffin's Bower is the name given to a Boston institution in the interest of poor working girls. It is lo-

cated on Washington street, right in the midst of trade and travel, and as a devotion to the cause of working women it is a success. Working women who earn small salaries and live in boarding-houses, among strangers, and have not the means to attend the popular lectures and concerts, nor to buy the magazines and newspapers of the day, find at the bower all these things without money and without price. Miss Collins, its founder, was a poor shop-girl herself, not many years ago, and knows how to sympathize with the working women. She believes in woman asserting herself; that God makes no distinction between men and women, but that in the nobler and primary gifts He has been impartial; that culture should add to nature that which nature does not possess, because culture begets power, and power courage, and the result of it is the lack of skilled labor among women.

"I do not deny it. I am so ingenuous as to write every evening, sometimes in a few lines, sometimes at length, the history of my day. This has for twenty years been my habit. It does not follow that this journal ever deserves to see the light; I do not even know if any pages of it be worth printing. I am running my finger through it. I find it insipid for any person but myself. It is like a ship's log, for we lead a domestic life, nearly always in the country, which is very much like life on a ship laying to. I ask, permission to fish without order and without design in this discreet water, which has absorbed a great many things without reflecting them very clearly. Fictions delight me. I lose and willingly relinquish my individuality in them. Nevertheless, they do not absorb all my time—far from it. I waste a great deal more in reverie, thinking of nothing which may be executed or manifested. I should be embarrassed to express this mode of inner action, which each person undergoes in his own way, and which must vary infinitely with character, temperament, circumstances and age.—Excerpt from George Sand's Journal in the Paris Temps.

Monsieur D. Conway vouches for the authenticity of this story:

During the Commune an eminent surgeon in Paris, who had no sympathy with it, employed himself in aiding the wounded who were brought to his hospital. His chief assistant was a woman—a Communist—who, day and night, nursed the wounded, and was the most valuable assistant the surgeon had. When the Commune fell the surgeon was arrested and marched to the drum-head court-martial. He supposed he would be shot. As he approached the door of the tribunal he met his late female assistant coming out between two soldiers. "Why, Adele," he exclaimed, "how came you here?" The Roman fixed hard eyes on him and said, "I don't know you, sir." The surgeon concluded that his case must indeed be hopeless, as this woman declined to acknowledge his acquaintance. Nevertheless he got off somehow, and then learned that all the time when Adele said, "I don't know you, sir," she was on her way to be shot. For fear of prejudicing his case, she had repressed any disposition to cry to him for aid—she had denied herself the last word of sympathy proffered on her way to death! So much for one of these fiends in female form.

An exchange tells this capital story: A charming actress who plays light parts in one of our theatres, who is also an excellent wife and mother, has been annoyed by the overwhelming attentions of a young down-town jeweler. At last, his notes and bouquets becoming too frequent, she mentioned the fact to her husband, who immediately fired up and threatened to punish the infatuated youth. A powerful athlete, he armed himself with a cane of the "genus" bludgeon and left his hotel the next morning with the avowed intention of giving his rival a few blows and teaching him to mind his own business. Entering the shop where he was employed, he strode hastily through and inquired if there was a young man there named H—. "There is," said the owner of the establishment; "he is at the window tinkering watches. Mr. H—, you are wanted." As the little male flirt arose and confronted the large man, he trembled and turned pale. "Did you send my wife these notes?" said he producing some of the offending billet doux. "I—I—yes—I did," stammered the culprit, trembling in every limb. He saw the weapon, and he thought his time had come. "Well, well," said the broad-shouldered, big-hearted actor, reaching over the counter and patting the poor, frightened fellow gently on the top of the head, "look here, bubby, you must not do so any more." And he left poor H— to the tender mercies of his fellow clerks.

A Paris letter says: Hortense Schneider is what would be called a handsome woman, not tall, but stout, with an exceedingly pleasant face, and the most mischievous pair of gray eyes that ever twinkled over the footlights. There is nothing extraordinary in her voice; but there is in her gestures. And she hasn't the slightest fear of injuring her features by the grimaces she makes. She opens her mouth and shows her tongue in a manner quite alarming to nervous people. The old fellows in the pit, however, didn't seem to be afraid. There is an abandon, a freedom amounting to recklessness in her movements that would be disgusting in anybody else; but it all appears so naturally the expression of a happy temperament, you can't find it in you to blame her. If you did you would reverse your judgment the instant you heard the laugh. There's no withstanding the contagion of that ringing, musical, jolly sound. Schneider's diamonds are wonderful. I have never seen so many and such fine ones in the possession of one individual. They remind you of the royal treasury at Dresden.

The Pittsburgh Commercial of recent date laments after this fashion:

It is a fact that cannot be acknowledged any too soon, that the demi-monde, the cyprins of this city, are gaining ground daily. What shall be done with them? Where shall censure begin—where, in Chris-

tian charity, shall it end? There is one proposition about which there can be no disagreement, unnecessary severity is in no case a virtue. Still there is a point beyond which the proper regard for the decencies of life forbid they should be permitted to advance. They should not be allowed to flaunt themselves in the very face of society, and challenge notoriety by their ostentation and display of gaudy attire. In this respect, they are daily becoming more and more obnoxious, and more disposed to walk beyond the lines of seclusion which a just public sentiment has prescribed for them. This is particularly the case at the Saturday matinees of the theatres, where they have gradually and steadily advanced themselves to the parquet, and from the parquet to the dress circle, and even to the so-called private boxes, and thus challenged the public observation. Surely this is not a proper or allowable exhibition of gilded shame in the presence of the youth and innocence, for whose special benefit the matinees are given. We believe there is a special clause in the social-evil bill looking to the suppression of these outrages, and why is it not enforced? The evil should receive a sudden and effectual check.

Here is your Christian charity! Make Cyprins by social usages, and then extirpate them for being Cyprins.

THE SPIRIT-WORLD.—To me the spirit-world is tangible. It is not peopled with ghosts and spectres, shadows and outlines of beings, but with persons and forms palpable to the apprehension. Its multitudes are veritable, its society natural, its language audible, its activities energetic, its life intelligent, its glory discernible; its union is not that of sameness, but of variety brought into that moral harmony by the great law of love, like notes, which, in themselves distinct and different, make, when combined, sweet music. Death will not level and annul those countless differences of mind and heart which make us individual here. Heaven, in all the mode and manner of expression, will abound with personality. There will be choice and preference and degrees of affinity there. Each intellect will keep its natural bias, each heart its elections. Groups there will be and circles; faces known and unknown will pass us; acquaintance thrive on intercourse, and love deepen with knowledge; and the great underlying laws of mind and heart prevail and dominate as they do here.—Rev. Mr. Murray.

"FINVOLA" an exquisite story written expressly for this paper, will be given to our readers next week. It is from the pen of an English lady who moves in high circles, and who as she writes to us recognizes "the philosophic truths advocated in the columns of the WEEKLY"—and is deeply impressed with their universality of application to the wrongs and incongruities with which society is encumbered. Making profession of all virtues a mere abstract idea, while practice of that same profession is considered so ridiculously absurd as to be impossible. We will not anticipate the good opinion of our readers by a criticism of our gifted friend's story. "Finvola" will best speak for itself.

THE NAUGATUCK VALLEY SENTINEL is the name of a lively new Connecticut paper, which opens upon Victoria C. Woodhull in the most approved style. We hope its readers will be orthodox in faith and live up to the profession it makes for them in advance.

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SPRINGFIELD, MASS., June 12, 1871.

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P. S.—Since using your China Water I know of three persons who have been cured from rheumatism.

[From R. H. DIXEY, Esq.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Nov. 19, 1870.

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If you wish the Aletic China Water to be properly introduced, send me a large quantity.

Yours respectfully,

R. H. DIXEY.

NEW ORLEANS, January 14, 1871.

The China Water sent me by Captain Lavender was used by myself. I am suffering from a torpid liver from long residence in a tropical climate. It has been giving me great relief. I think its efficiency can not be overestimated, even in that particular complaint, and have no doubt it is equally efficacious in other diseases.

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