

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 4.—No. 7.—WHOLE No. 85.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 30, 1871.

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73-85.

THE LOANERS' BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

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Subject to increase to.....1,000,000

This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLECTIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.

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

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

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OFFICE OF FISK & HATCH. BANKERS,

AND
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,

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Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

FISK & HATCH.

76-88.

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

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

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78 to 108.

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 allowed from date of each deposit for full number of days, not less than thirty, on sums of \$50 and upward, withdrawn before January.

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Accounts strictly private and confidential.

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Assets, \$2,473,303 05.
Surplus, \$300,372 95.

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59.

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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 Ireland, 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 collaterals and against merchandise consigned to our care.

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DEALERS IN

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INTEREST ALLOWED ON DEPOSITS SUBJECT TO CHECK AT SIGHT.

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

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

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No. 11 WALL STREET.
56 107

Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell write to

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RODOUT & OSWEGO RAILROAD.

Principal & Interest Payable in Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 100 miles of the most direct possible 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 before October 1st, 1873, 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 Lumber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricultural 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 \$30,000 per mile of COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in this city.

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

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

Edward Haight & Co.,

9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY.

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

MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

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Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

HENRY R. CONKLIN, Secretary. 60-86 WM. VAN NAME, President.

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD,

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

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

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

Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old), and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day. [Evening Mail.]... The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful readiness 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. [E. 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 "
12 " 2 25. " 39 "
It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
TURNER & CO., Proprietors,
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THE BALTIMORE & OHIO R. R.

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

Louisville in 2 3/4 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 Third 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

PHELAN & COLLENDER

788 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
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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.

Includes and liberal account of the most important
moral 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 diverts 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.

SYMPHER & CO.,

(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1826.

A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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

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

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Dec. 23, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11 A. M., on Wednesday at 10 A. M., and on Saturday at 11 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

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).—Thursday, 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. 15 E. 38th street.

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

AN APOLOGY.—The great length of the article from the pen of KARL MARX prevents the publication of the long-deferred documents relative to the Progress and History of the I. W. A., promised last week for the use of persons desiring to form new sections. It is not my fault that they do not appear in this number of the WEEKLY; but they will be inserted in the next number, and meanwhile printed slips will be sent to all applicants.

WILLIAM WEST.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

Recently we gave our readers some account of this talented lady, whom we are able to count among our most respected friends. She is open to engagements to speak upon any subject of general interest—religious, political or social—anywhere in the States east of the Mississippi River. Terms, \$75 and expenses. We take pleasure in recommending her to our friends, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

NOTICE TO CLERGYMEN.

We have recently been the recipients of numerous letters from clergymen in different parts of the Union asking our terms to them for the WEEKLY. In view of the greatly increased interest manifested by this class of citizens in the principles we advocate, since the Steinway Hall lecture, we take great pleasure in announcing that we will send the WEEKLY to them complimentary upon an application for it.

THE "INTERNATIONALE" INITIATIVE.

We reproduce an important document, principally the production of Karl Marx, the world-famous leader of the "New Socialism," which will be read with great interest at this time, when the progress of the "International Workingmen's Association" makes the historical evolution so clearly described in this manifesto one which should be understood by those who are desirous of comprehending the movement.

The tone of this manifesto is probably bitterer than the great radical publicist would give to the same statements now, but the truths given and the deductions therefrom would be essentially the same. The I. W. A. received its organizing impulse from the growth and necessities of English Trades Unionism—wonderful development of the administrative capacity of industrial democracy—and that fact has greatly modified the methods of those thinkers whose lives, like Dr. Marx's, has been spent in animating the masses by the formulation of correct principles. The manifesto we reproduce is a valuable document, and if for no other end than its preservation, we are glad to give it room in our pages.

GERMAN COMMUNISM—MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(First published in February, 1848.)

The following Manifesto, which has since been adopted by all fractions of German Communists, was drawn up in the German language, in January, 1848, by citizens Charles Marx and Frederic Engels. It was immediately printed in London, in the German language, and published a few days before the outbreak of the Revolution of February. The turmoil consequent upon that great event made it impossible to carry out, at that time, the intention of translating it into all the languages of civilized Europe. There exist two different French versions of it in manuscript, but under the present oppressive laws of France, the publication of either of them has been found impracticable. The English reader will be enabled, by the following excellent translation of this important document, to judge of the plans and principles of the most advanced party of the German Revolutionists.

It must not be forgotten that the whole of this Manifesto was written and printed before the Revolution of February:

A frightful hobgoblin stalks throughout Europe. We are haunted by a ghost, the ghost of Communism. All the powers of the past have joined in a holy crusade to lay this ghost to rest—the Pope and the Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police agents. Where is the opposition which has not been accused of Communism by its enemies in power? And where the opposition that has not buried this blighting accusation at the heads of the more advanced oppositionists, as well as at those of its official enemies? Two things appear on considering these facts. I. The ruling powers of Europe acknowledge Communism to be also a power. II. It is time for the communists to lay before the world an account of their aims and tendencies, and to oppose these silly fables about the bugbear of Communism, by a manifesto of the Communist party.

CHAPTER I.—BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS.

Hitherto the history of society has been the history of battles between the classes composing it. Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebeians, nobles and serfs, members of guilds and journeymen—in a word, the oppressors and oppressed, have always stood in direct opposition to each other. The battle between them has sometimes been open, sometimes concealed, but always continuous. A never-ceasing battle, which has invariably ended, either in a revolutionary alteration of the social system, or in the common destruction of the hostile classes.

In the earlier historical epochs we find almost everywhere a minute division of society into classes or ranks, a variety of grades in social position. In ancient Rome we find Patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in mediæval Europe, feudal lords, vassals, burghers, journeymen, serfs; and in each of these classes there were again grades and distinctions. Modern bourgeois society proceeded from the ruins of the feudal system, but the bourgeois régime has not abolished the antagonism of classes.

New classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms and modes of carrying on the struggle, have been substituted for the old ones. The characteristic of our epoch, the era of the middle-class, or bourgeoisie, is that the struggle between the various social classes has been reduced to its simplest form. Society incessantly tends to be divided into two great camps, into two great hostile armies, the bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

The burgesses of the early Communes sprang from the serfs of the middle ages, and from this municipal class were developed the primitive elements of the modern bourgeoisie. The discovery of the New World, the circumnavigation of Africa, gave the middle-class—then coming into being—new fields of action. The colonization of America, the opening up of the East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonial trade, the increase of commodities generally and of the means of exchange, gave an impetus, hitherto unknown, to commerce, shipping and manufactures; and aided the rapid evolution of the revolutionary element in the old decaying, feudal form of society. The old feudal way of managing the industrial interest by means of guilds and monopolies was not found sufficient for the increased demand caused by the opening up of these new markets. It was replaced by the manufacturing system. Guilds vanished before the industrial middle-class, and the division of labor between the different corporations was succeeded by the division of labor between the workmen of one and the same great workshop.

But the demand always increased, new markets came into play. The manufacturing system, in its turn, was found to be inadequate. At this point industrial production was revolutionized by machinery and steam. The modern industrial system was developed in all its gigantic proportions; instead of the industrial middle-class we find industrial millionaires, chiefs of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois, or middle-class capitalists. The discovery of America was the first step toward the formation of a colossal market, embracing the whole world; whereby an immense development was given to commerce, and to the means of communi-

cation by sea and land. This again reacted upon the industrial system, and the development of the bourgeoisie, the increase of their capital, the superseding of all classes handed down to modern times from the middle ages, kept pace with the development of production, trade and steam communication.

We find, therefore, that the modern bourgeoisie are themselves the result of a long process of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and exchange. Each of the degrees of industrial evolution, passed through by the modern middle-class, was accompanied by a corresponding degree of political development. This class was oppressed under the old feudal régime, it then assumed the form of armed and self-regulating associations in the mediæval municipalities; in one country we find it existing as a commercial republic, or free town; in another, as the third taxable estate of the monarchy; then during the prevalence of the manufacturing system (before the introduction of steam power) the middle-class was a counterpoise to the nobility in absolute monarchies, and the groundwork of the powerful monarchical States generally. Finally, since the establishment of the modern industrial system, with its world-wide market, this class has gained the exclusive possession of political power in modern representative States. Modern governments are merely committees for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

This bourgeoisie has occupied an extremely revolutionary position in History. As soon as the bourgeoisie got the upper hand, they destroyed all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relationships between men. They relentlessly tore asunder the many-sided links of that feudal chain which bound men to their "natural superiors," and they left no bond of union between man and man, save that of bare self-interest, of cash payments. They changed personal dignity into market value, and substituted the single unprincipled freedom of trade for the numerous, hardly earned, chartered liberties of the middle ages. Chivalrous enthusiasm, the emotions of piety, vanished before the icy breath of their selfish calculations. In a word, the bourgeoisie substituted shameless, direct, open spoliation, for the previous system of spoliation concealed under religious and political illusions. They stripped off the halo of sanctity which had surrounded the various modes of human activity, and had made them venerable and venerated. They changed the physician, the jurist, the priest, the poet, the philosopher, into their hired servants. They tore the touching veil of sentiment from domestic ties, and reduced family-relations to a mere question of hard cash. The middle-classes have shown how the brutal physical force of the middle ages, so much admired by reactionists, found its befitting complement in the laziest ruffianism. They also have shown what human activity is capable of accomplishing. They have done quite other kinds of marvelous work than Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, or gothic cathedrals; and their expeditions have far surpassed all former crusades, and migrations of nations.

The bourgeoisie can exist only under the condition of continuously revolutionizing machinery, or the instruments of production. That is, perpetually changing the system of production, which again amounts to changing the whole system of social arrangements. Persistence in the old modes of production was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all the preceding industrial classes. A continual change in the modes of production, a never ceasing state of agitation and social insecurity, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all preceding ones. The ancient ties between men, their opinions and beliefs—hoar with antiquity—are fast disappearing, and the new ones become worn out ere they can become firmly rooted. Everything fixed and stable vanishes, everything holy and venerable is desecrated, and men are forced to look at their mutual relations, at the problem of life, in the soberest, most matter of fact way.

The need of an ever-increasing market for their produce drive the bourgeoisie over the whole globe—they are forced to make settlements, to form connections, to set up means of communication everywhere. Through their command of a universal market, they have given a cosmopolitan tendency to the production and consumption of all countries. To the great regret of the reactionists, the bourgeoisie have deprived the modern industrial system of its national foundation. The old national manufactures have been, or are being destroyed. They are superseded by new modes of industry, whose introduction is becoming a vital question for all civilized nations, whose raw materials are not indigenous, but are brought from the remotest countries, and whose products are not merely consumed in the home market, but throughout the whole world. Instead of the old national wants, supplied by indigenous products, we everywhere find new wants, which can be supplied only by the productions of the remotest lands and climes. Instead of the old local and national feeling of self-sufficiency and isolation, we find a universal intercourse and inter-dependence, among nations. The same fact obtains in the intellectual world. The intellectual productions of individual nations tend to become common property. National one-sidedness and mental limitation are fast becoming impossible, and a universal literature is being formed from the numerous national and local literatures. Through the incessant improvements in machinery and the means of locomotion, the bourgeoisie draw the most barbarous savages into the magic circle of civilization. Cheap goods are their artillery for battering down Chinese walls, and their means of overcoming the obstinate hatred entertained toward strangers by semi-civilized nations. The bourgeoisie, by their competition, compel, under penalty of inevitable ruin, the universal adoption of their system of production; they force all nations to accept what is called civilization—to become bourgeois—and thus the middle-class fashions the world anew after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the ascendancy of the town; it has created enormous cities, and, by causing an immense increase of population in the manufacturing, as compared with the agricultural districts, has saved a great part of every people from the idiotism of country life. Not only have the Bourgeoisie made the country subordinate to the town, they have made barbarous and half-civilized tribes dependent on civilized nations, the agricultural on the manufacturing nations, the East on the West. The division of property, of the means of production, and of population, vanish under the bourgeois régime. It agglomerates population, it centralizes the means of production, and concentrates property in the hands of a few individuals. Political centralization is the necessary consequence of this. Independent provinces, with different interests, each of them surrounded by a separate line of customs and under separate local governments, are brought together as one nation, under the same government, laws, line of customs, tariff, the same national class-interest. The bour-

geois regime has only prevailed for about a century, but during that time it has called into being more gigantic powers of production than all preceding generations put together. The subjection of the elements of nature, the development of machinery, the application of chemistry to agriculture and manufactures, railways, electric telegraphs, steamships, the clearing and cultivation of whole continents, canalizing of thousands of rivers; large populations, whole industrial armies, springing up, as if by magic! What preceding generation ever dreamed of these productive powers slumbering within society?

We have seen that these means of production and traffic which served as the foundation of middle-class development, originated in feudal times. At a certain point in the evolution of these means, the arrangements under which feudal society produced and exchanged the feudal organization of agriculture and industrial production—in a word, the feudal conditions of property—no longer corresponded to the increased productive power. These conditions now became a hindrance to it—they were turned into fetters which had to be broken, and they were broken. They were superseded by unlimited competition, with a suitable social and political constitution, with the economical and political supremacy of the middle-class. At the present moment a similar movement is going on before our eyes. Modern middle-class society, which has revolutionized the conditions of property, and called forth such colossal means of production and traffic, resembles the wizard who evoked the powers of darkness, but could neither master them, nor yet get rid of them, when they had come at his bidding. The history of manufactures and commerce has been for many years the history of the revolts of modern productive power against the modern industrial system—against the modern conditions of property—which are vital conditions, not only of the supremacy of the middle-class, but of its very existence. It suffices to mention the commercial crises which, in each of their periodical occurrences, more and more endanger the existence of the middle-class society. In such a crisis, not only is a quantity of industrial products destroyed, but a large portion of the productive power itself. A social epidemic breaks out, the epidemic of over-production, which would have appeared a contradiction in terms to all previous generations. Society finds itself suddenly thrown back into momentary barbarism; a famine, a devastating war, seems to have deprived it of the means of subsistence; manufactures and commerce appear annihilated—and why? Because society possesses too much civilization, too many of the necessities of life, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive power possessed by society no longer serves as an instrument of middle-class civilization, of the middle-class conditions of property; on the contrary, this power has become too mighty for this system, it is forcibly confined by these conditions; and whenever it surpasses these artificial limitations, it deranges the system of bourgeois society, it endangers the existence of bourgeois property. The social system of the middle-class has become too small to contain the riches it has called into being. How does the middle-class try to withstand these commercial crises? On the one hand, by destroying masses of productive power; on the other, by opening up new markets, and using up the old ones more thoroughly. That is, they prepare the way for still more universal and dangerous crises, and reduce the means of withstanding them. The weapons with which the middle-class overcame feudalism are now turned against the middle-class itself. And the bourgeoisie have not only prepared the weapons for their own destruction, they have also called into existence the men that are destined to wield these weapons, namely the modern workmen, the proletarians.

The development of the Proletariat has kept pace with the development of the middle class—that is, with the development of capital, for the modern workmen can live only as long as they find work, and they find it only as long as their labor increases capital. These workers, who must sell themselves by piecemeal to the highest bidder, are a commodity like other articles of commerce, and therefore are equally subject to all the variations of the market and the effects of competition. Through the division of labor and the extension of machinery work has lost its individual character and therefore its interest for the operative. He has become merely an accessory to or a part of the machine, and all that is required of him is a fatiguing, monotonous and merely mechanical operation. The expense the wages slave causes the capitalist is therefore equal to the cost of his keep and the propagation of his race. The price of labor, like that of any other commodity, is equal to the cost of its production. Therefore wages decrease in proportion as the work to be performed becomes mechanical, monotonous, fatiguing and repulsive. Further, in proportion as the application of machinery and the division of labor increases the amount of work increases also, whether it be through an increase in the hours of work or in the quantity of it demanded in a given time, or through an increased rate of velocity of the machinery employed.

The modern industrial system has changed the little shop of the primitive patriarchal master into the large factory of the Bourgeois-capitalist. Masses of operatives are brought together in one establishment and organized like a regiment of soldiers; they are placed under the superintendence of a complete hierarchy of officers and sub-officers. They are not only the slaves of the whole middle class (as a body), of the Bourgeois political regime—they are the daily and hourly slaves of the machinery, of the foreman, of each individual manufacturing Bourgeois. This despotism is the more hateful, contemptible and aggravating, because gain is openly proclaimed to be its only object and aim. In proportion as labor requires less physical force and less dexterity—that is in proportion to the development of the modern industrial system—is the substitution of the labor of women and children for that of men. The distinctions of age and sex have no social meaning for the Proletarian class. Proletarians are merely so many instruments which cost more or less, according to their sex and age. When the using up of the operative has been so far accomplished by the mill-owner that the former has got his wages, the rest of the Bourgeoisie, householders, shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, etc., fall upon him like so many harpies.

The petty Bourgeoisie, the inferior ranks of the middle class, the small manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen and farmers, tend to become Proletarians, partly because their small capital succumbs to the competition of the millionaire, and partly because the modes of production perpetually changing, their peculiar skill loses its value. Thus the Proletariat is recruited from various sections of the population.

This Proletarian class passes through many phases of development, but its struggle with the middle-class dates from its birth. At first the struggle is carried on by individual

workmen, then by those belonging to a single establishment. Then by those of an entire trade in the same locality, against the individuals of the middle-class who directly use them up. They attack not only the middle-class system of production, but even the instruments of production; they destroy machinery and the foreign commodities which compete with their products; they burn down factories and try to re-attain the position occupied by the producers of the middle ages. At this moment of development, the Proletariat forms a disorganized mass, scattered throughout the country and divided by competition. A more compact union is not the effect of their own development, but is the consequence of a middle-class union: for the Bourgeoisie requires, and for the moment are still enabled to set the whole Proletariat in motion for the furtherance of their own political ends, developed in this degree; therefore, the Proletarians do not fight their own enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remains of absolute monarchy, the land-owners, the non-manufacturing part of the Bourgeoisie and the petty shopocracy. The whole historical movement is thus, as yet, concentrated in the hands of the Bourgeoisie; every victory is won for them. But the increase of the Proletariat keeps pace with the evolution of production; the working class is brought together in masses, and learns its own strength. The interests and position of different trades become similar, because machinery tends to reduce wages to the same level and to make less and less difference between the various kinds of labor. The increasing competition among the middle-classes, and the commercial crisis consequent therefrom, make the Proletarians more and more uncertain, and the collisions between the individual workmen and the individual masters assume more and more the character of collisions between two classes. The workmen commence to form trades unions against the masters; they turn out to prevent threatened reductions in their wages; they form associations to help each other in, and to provision themselves for, these occasional revolts. Here and there the struggle takes the form of riots.

From time to time the Proletarians are for a moment victorious; yet the result of their struggle is not an immediate advantage, but the ever-increasing union among their class. This union is favored by the facility of communication under the modern industrial system, whereby the Proletarians belonging to the remotest localities are placed in connection with each other. But connection is all that is wanting to change innumerable local struggles, having all the same character, into one national struggle, into a battle of classes. Every battle between different classes is a political battle, and the union, which took the burghers of the middle ages centuries to bring about, by means of their few and awkward roads, can be accomplished in a few years by the modern Proletarians by means of railroads and steamships. This organization of the Proletarians into a class, and therewith into a political party, is incessantly destroyed by the competitive principle. Yet it always reappears, and each time it is stronger and more extensive. It compels the legal acknowledgment of attached Proletarian rights, by profiting by the divisions in the bourgeois camp. For example, the Ten Hours' bill in England. The struggles of the ruling class among themselves are favorable to the development of the Proletariat. The middle class has always been in a state of perpetual warfare—first against the aristocracy, and then against that part of itself where interests are opposed to the further evolution of the industrial system, and thirdly against the bourgeoisie of other countries. During all these battles, the middle class has ever been obliged to appeal for help to the Proletarians, and so to draw the latter into the political movement. This class, therefore, has armed the Proletarians against itself by letting them share in its own means of cultivation. Further, as we have already seen, the evolution of the industrial system has thrown a large portion of the ruling class into the ranks of the Proletarians, or at least rendered the means of subsistence very precarious for this portion. A new element of progress for the Proletariat. Finally, as the settlement of the class struggle draws near, the process of dissolution goes on so rapidly within the ruling class—within the worn-out body politic—that a small fraction of this class separates from it, and joins the revolutionary class, in whose hands lies the future. In the earlier revolutions a part of the noblesse joined the bourgeoisie; in the present one, a part of the bourgeoisie is joining the Proletariat, and particularly a part of the Bourgeois-ideologists, or middle class thinkers, who have attained a theoretical knowledge of the whole historical movement.

The Proletariat is the only truly revolutionary class among the present enemies of the Bourgeoisie. All the other classes of society are being destroyed by the modern industrial system. The Proletariat is its peculiar product. The small manufacturers, shopkeepers, proprietors, peasants, &c., all fight against the Bourgeoisie, in order to defend their position as small capitalists. They are, therefore, not revolutionary but conservative. They are even reactionary, for they attempt to turn backward the chariot wheels of history. When these subordinate classes are revolutionary, they are so with reference to their necessary absorption into the Proletariat; they defend their future not their present interests—they leave their own class point of view to take up that of the Proletariat. The social position of this portion of the people makes it, however, in general a ready and venal tool for reactionist intrigues.

The vital conditions of society as at present constituted no longer exist for the Proletariat. Its very existence is a flagrant contradiction to those conditions. The Proletariat has no property; the relation in which he stands to his family has nothing in common with middle-class family relationships; the modern system of industrial labor, the modern slavery of labor under capital, which obtains in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has robbed him of his national character. Law, morality, religion, are for him so many middle-class prejudices, under which so many middle-class interests are concealed. All the hitherto dominant classes have tried to preserve the position they have already attained by imposing the conditions under which they possessed and increased their possessions upon the rest of society. But the Proletariat can gain possession of the productive power of society, of the instruments of labor and by annihilating their own hitherto acknowledged mode of appropriation, and with this all other modes of appropriation. The Proletarians have nothing of their own to secure; their task is to destroy all previously existing private securities and possessions. All the historical movements hitherto recorded were movements of minorities. The Proletariat movement is the independent movement of the immense majority in favor of the immense majority. The Proletariat, the lowest stratum of existing society, cannot rise without causing the complete disruption of all the superincumbent classes. Though the struggle of

the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie is not a national struggle in its content or reality, it is so in form. The Proletarians of every country must settle accounts with the Bourgeoisie there.

While we have thus sketched the general aspect presented by the development of the Proletariat, we have followed the more or less concealed civil war pervading existing society to the point where it must break forth in an open revolution, and where the Proletarians arrive at the supremacy of their own class through the violent fall of the bourgeoisie. We have seen that all previous forms of society have rested upon the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, the conditions under which it can continue at least its enslaved existence must be secured. The serf in the middle ages, even with his serfdom, could better his condition and become a member of the Commune; the burghers could become a middle class under the yoke of feudal monarchy. But the modern Proletarian, instead of improving his condition with the development of modern industry, is daily sinking deeper and deeper even below the conditions of existence of his own class. The Proletarian tends to become a pauper; and pauperism is more rapidly developed than population and wealth. From this it appears that the middle class is incapable of remaining any longer the ruling class of society, and of compelling society to adopt the conditions of middle-class existence as its own vital condition. This class is incapable of governing, because it is incapable of insuring the bare existence of its slaves, even within the limits of their slavery; because it is obliged to keep them, instead of being kept by them. Society can no longer exist under this class; that is, its existence is no longer compatible with that of society. The most indispensable condition for the existence and supremacy of the bourgeoisie is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private individuals, the formation and increase of capital. The condition upon which capital depends is the wages system, and this system again is founded upon the competition of the Proletarians with each other. But progress tends to supersede the isolated portion of Proletarians by the revolutionary union of their class, and to replace competition by association. The progress of the modern industrial system, therefore, cuts away from under the feet of the middle class the very ground upon which they produce and appropriate to themselves the produce of labor. Thus the bourgeoisie produce before all the men who dig their very grave. Their destruction and the victory of the Proletarians are alike unavoidable.

COMMUNISM.

What relationship subsists between the Communists and the Proletarians? The Communists form no separate party in opposition to the other existing working-class parties. They have no interest different from that of the whole Proletariat. They lay down no particular principles alluding to which they wish to direct and to shape the Proletarian movement. The Communists are distinguishable among the various sections of the Proletarian party on two accounts—namely, that in the different national Proletarian struggles, the Communists understand and direct attention to the common interest of the collective Proletariat, an interest independent of all nationality; and that, throughout the various phases of development assumed by the struggle between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat the Communists always represent the interests of the whole movement. In a word, the Communists are the most advanced, the most progressive section, among the Proletarian parties of all countries; and this section was a theoretical advantage, compared with the bulk of the Proletariat—it has obtained an insight into the historical conditions, the march and the general results of the Proletarian movement. The more immediate aim of the Communists is that of all other Proletarian sections. The organization of the Proletariat as a class, the destruction of middle-class supremacy and the conquest of political power by the Proletarians.

The theoretical propositions of the Communists are not based upon ideas or principles, discovered by this or that universal reformer. Their propositions are merely general expressions for the actual conditions, causes, etc., of an existing battle between certain classes, the conditions of an historical movement, which is going on before our very eyes.

The abolition of existing conditions of property does not form a distinguishing characteristic of Communism. All such conditions have been subject to a continual change, to the operation of many historical movements. The French Revolution for example destroyed the feudal conditions of property and replaced them by Bourgeois ones. It is not therefore the abolition of property generally which distinguishes Communism; it is the abolition of Bourgeois property. But modern middle class private property is the last and most perfect expression for that mode of production and distribution which rests on the antagonism of classes, on the using up of the many by the few. In this sense, indeed, the Communists might resume their whole theory in that single expression—the abolition of private property.

It has been reproached to us, the Communists, that we wish to destroy the property which is the product of a man's own labor: self-acquired property, the basis of all freedom, activity and independence. Self-acquired property! Do you mean the property of the small shopkeeper, small tradesman, small peasant, which precedes the present system of middle-class property? We do not need to abolish that; the progress of industrial development is daily destroying it; or do you mean modern middle class property? Does Labor under the wages system create property for the wages slave, for the Proletarian? No. It creates capital; that is, a species of property which plunders wages-labor; for capital can only increase on condition of creating a new supply of wages-labor, in order to use it up anew.

Property in its present form rests upon the antagonism of capital and wages-labor. Let us look at both sides of this antithesis. To be a capitalist means not only to occupy personal position, but a social position in the system of production. Capital is a collective product and can be used and set in motion only by the common activity of many, or to speak exactly, only by the united exertions of all members of society. Capital is thus not an individual, it is a social power. Therefore, when capital is changed into property belonging in common to all the members of society, personal property is not thereby changed into social property. It was social property before. The social character only of property in such case is changed. Property loses its class character. Let us now turn to wages-labor. The minimum rate of wages is the average price of Proletarian labor. And what is the minimum rate of wages? It is that quantity of produce which is necessary to conserve the working capacities of the laborer. What the wages slave can gain by his activity is merely what is required for the bare reproduction

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of his existence. We by no means wish to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor; an appropriation leaving no net profit, no surplus, to be applied to command the labor of others. We only wish to change the miserably insufficient character of this appropriation, whereby the producer lives only to increase capital; that is, whereby he is kept alive only so far as it may be the interest of the ruling class. In middle class society, actual living labor is nothing but a means of increasing accumulated labor. In communistic society, accumulated labor is only a means of enlarging, increasing and verifying the vital process of the producers. In middle class society, the past reigns over the present; in communistic society, the present reigns over the past. In middle class society, capital is independent and personal; while the actual individual is dependent and deprived of personality. And the destruction of such a system is called by middle class advocates the destruction of personality and freedom. They are so far right that the question in hand is the destruction of middle class personality, independence and freedom. Within the present middle class conditions of production, freedom means free trade, freedom of buying and selling. But if trade altogether is to fall, so will free trade fall with the rest. The declamations about free trade, as all the remaining bourgeois declamations upon the subject of freedom generally, have a meaning only when opposed to fettered trade and to the enslaved tradesmen of the middle ages; they have no meaning whatever in reference to the communistic destruction of profit-mongering, of the middle class conditions of production and of the middle class itself. You are horrified that we aim at the abolition of private property. But under your present system of society, private property has no existence for nine-tenths of its members; its existence is based upon the very fact that it exists not at all for nine-tenths of the population. You reproach us, then, that we aim at the abolition of a species of property which involves as a necessary condition the absence of all property for the immense majority of society. In a word, you reproach us that we aim at the destruction of your property. That is precisely what we aim at.

From the moment when labor can no longer be changed into capital—into money or rent—into a social power capable of being monopolized; that is, from the moment when personal property can no longer constitute itself as middle-class property, from that moment you declare that human personality is abolished. You acknowledge, then, that for you, personality means generally the personality of the Bourgeois, the middle-class proprietor. It is precisely this kind of personality which is to be destroyed. Communism deprives no one of the right of appropriating social products; it only takes away from him the power of appropriating the command over the labor of others. It has been objected that activity will cease and a universal laziness pervade society, were the abolition of private property once accomplished. According to this view of the matter, middle-class society ought long since to have been ruined through idleness, for under the present system, those who do work acquire no property, and those who acquire property do no work. This objection rests upon the tautological proposition that there will be no wages-labor whenever there is no capital.

All the objections made to the Communistic mode of producing and distributing physical products, have also been directed against the production and distribution of intellectual products. As in the opinion of the Bourgeois the destruction of class property involves the cessation of appropriation, in like manner the cessation of class civilization, in his opinion, is identical with the cessation of civilization generally. The civilization whose lot he deprecates, is the system of civilizing men into machines.

But do not dispute with us, while you measure the proposed abolition of middle-class property by your middle-class ideas of freedom, civilization, prudence and the like. Your ideas are the necessary consequences of the middle-age conditions of property and production, as your jurisprudence is the will of your class raised to the dignity of law, a will whose subject is given in the economical conditions of your class. The selfish mode of viewing the question whereby you confound your transitory conditions of production and property with the eternal laws of reason and nature is common to all ruling classes. What you understand with regard to antique or feudal property you cannot understand with regard to modern middle-class property—the destruction of domestic ties. Even the greatest Radicals are shocked at this scandalous intention of the Communists. Upon what rests the present system, the Bourgeois system, of family relationships? Upon capital; upon private gains; upon profit-mongering. In its most perfect form it only exists for the Bourgeoisie, and it finds a befitting complement in the compulsory celibacy of the Proletariat and in public prostitution. The Bourgeois family system naturally disappears with the disappearance of its complement; and the destruction of both is involved in the destruction of capital. Do you reproach us that we intend abolishing the using up of children by their parents? We acknowledge this crime. Or that we will abolish the most endearing relationships by substituting a public and social system of education for the existing and private one. And is not your system of education also determined by society? by the social conditions within the limits of which you educate? by the more or less direct influence of society through the medium of your schools, etc.? The Communists do not invent the influence of society upon education, they only seek to change its character, to restore education from the influence of a ruling class. Middle class talk about domestic ties and education, about the endearing connection of parent and child, becomes more and more disgusting in proportion as the family ties of the Proletarians are torn asunder and their children changed into machines, into articles of commerce, by the extension of the modern industrial system. But you intend introducing a community of women, shrieks the whole middle class like a tragic chorus. The bourgeois looks upon his wife as a mere instrument of production; he is told that the instruments of production are to be used up in common; and thus he naturally supposes that woman will share the common fate of other machines. He does not even dream that it is intended, on the contrary, to abolish the position of woman as a mere instrument of production. For the rest, nothing can be more ludicrous than the highly moral and religious horror entertained by the bourgeoisie toward the pretended official community of women among the Communists. We do not require to introduce community of women. It has always existed. Your middle class generally are not satisfied with having the wives and daughters of their wages slaves at their disposal; not to mention the innumerable public prostitutes; but they take a particular pleasure in seducing each other's wives. Middle class marriage is in reality community of wives. At the most, we could only be reproached for wishing to substitute an open,

above-board community of women for the present mean, hypocritical, sneaking kind of community. But it is evident enough that with the disappearance of the present conditions of production the community of women occasioned by them—namely, official and non-official prostitution—will disappear.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to destroy patriotism, the feeling of nationality. The Proletarian has no Fatherland. You cannot deprive him of that which he has not got. When the Proletariat obtains political supremacy, becomes the national class and constitutes itself as the nation, it will indeed be national, though not in the middle-class sense of the word. The national divisions and antagonisms pursued by the European nations already tend toward obliteration through the development of the Bourgeoisie, through the influence of free-trade, a world-wide market, the uniformity of the modern wonder of production and the conditions of modern life arising out of our present industrial system.

The supremacy of the Proletariat will hasten this obliteration of national peculiarities; for the united action of at least all civilized countries is one of the first conditions of Proletarian emancipation. In proportion to the cessation of the using up of one individual by another will be the cessation of the using up of one nation by another. The hostile attitude assumed by nations toward each other will cease with the antagonisms of the classes into which each nation is divided.

The accusations against Communists which have been made, from the theological, ideological and philosophical points of view, deserve no further notice. Does it require any great degree of intellect to perceive that changes occur in our ideas, conceptions and opinions, in a word, that the consciousness of man alters with every change in the conditions of his physical existence, in his social relations and position? Does not the history of ideas show that intellectual production has always changed with the changes in material production? The ruling ideas of any age have always been the ideas of the then ruling class. You talk of ideas which have revolutionized society, but you merely express the fact that within the old form of society the elements of a new one were being formed, and that the dissolution of the old ideas was keeping pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of social life. When the antique world was in its last agonies, Christianity triumphed over the antique religion. When the dogmas of Christianity were superseded by the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, feudal society was concentrating its last efforts against the then revolutionary Bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of thought were the expressions of unlimited competition in the affairs and free trade in the sphere of intellect and religion. But you say theological, moral, philosophical, political and legal ideas are subject to be modified by the progress of historical development. Religion, ethics, philosophy, politics and jurisprudence are, however, of all time. And we find, besides, certain eternal ideas, for example, freedom, justice and the like, which are common to all the various social phases and states. But Communism destroys these eternal truths; it pretends to abolish religion and ethics instead of merely giving them a new form. Communism, therefore, contradicts all preceding modes of historical development. To what does this accusation amount? The history of all preceding states of society is simply the history of class antagonisms, which were fought under different conditions and assumed different forms during the different historical epochs. Whatever form these antagonisms may have assumed, the using up of one part of society by another part is a fact common to the whole past. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages should have a common ground in spite of the multiplicity and diversity of social arrangements; that it should move in certain common forms of thinking, which will completely disappear with the disappearance of class antagonism. The Communistic revolution is the most thorough-going rupture with the traditional conditions of property; no wonder, then, that its progress will involve the completest rupture with traditional ideas.

But we must have done with the middle-class accusations against Communism. We have seen that the first step in the Proletarian revolution will be the conquest of Democracy, the elevation of the Proletariat to the state of the ruling class. The Proletarians will use their political supremacy in order to deprive the middle class of the command of capital; to centralize all the instruments of production in the hands of the State—that is, in those of the whole Proletariat, organized as the ruling class—and to increase the mass of productive power with the utmost possible rapidity. It is a matter of course that this can be done, at first, only by despotic interference with the rights of property and middle-class conditions of production. By regulations in fact which, economically considered, appear insufficient and untenable, which therefore in the course of revolution necessitate ulterior and more radical measures, and are unavoidable as a means toward a thorough change in the modes of production. These regulations will of course be different in different countries. But for the more advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. The national appropriation of the land and the application of rent to the public revenue.
2. A heavy progressive tax.
3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State by means of a national bank with an exclusive monopoly and a State capital.
6. Centralization of all the means of communication in the hands of the State.
7. Increase of the national manufactures; of the instruments of production; the cultivation of waste lands and the improvement of the land according to a common plan.
8. Labor made compulsory for all; and the organization of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. The union of manufacturing and agricultural industry, with a view of gradually abolishing the antagonism between town and country.
10. The public and gratuitous education of all children; the abolition of the present system of factory labor for children; the conjunction of education and material production with other regulations of a similar nature.

When class distinction will have finally disappeared and production will have concentrated in the hands of this association, which comprises the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, in the exact sense of the word, being the organized power of one class which enables it to oppress another. When the Proletariat has been forced to unite as a class during its struggle with the Bourgeoisie, when it has become the ruling class by a revolution, and as such has destroyed by force the old con-

ditions of production, it necessarily destroys, with these conditions of production, the condition of existence of all class antagonism, of classes generally, and then it destroys, also, its own supremacy as a class. The old Bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, will be replaced by an association wherein the free development of each is the free development of all.

CHAPTER III.—SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

I.—REACTIONARY SOCIALISM.

a.—Feudal Socialism.

The historical position of the French and English aristocracy devolved upon them, at a certain period, the task of writing pamphlets against the social system of the modern bourgeoisie. These aristocracies were again beaten by a set of detestable parvenus and nobodies in the July days of 1830, and in the English Reform Bill movement. There could be no longer any question about a serious political struggle. There remained only the possibility of conducting a literary combat. But even in the territory of literature, the old modes of speech, current during the Restoration, had become impossible. In order to excite sympathy, the aristocracy had to assume the semblance of disinterestedness, and to draw up their accusation of the bourgeoisie, apparently as advocates for the used-up proletarians. The aristocracy thus revenged themselves on their new masters—by lampoons and fearful prophecies of coming woe. In this way feudal socialism arose—half lamentation, half libel, half echo of the past, half prophecy of a threatening future—sometimes striking the very heart of the bourgeoisie by its sarcastic, bitter judgments, but always accompanied by a certain tinge of the ludicrous, from its complete inability to comprehend the march of modern history. The feudal socialists waved the proletarian alms-bag aloft, to assemble the people around them. But as often as the people came, they perceived upon the hind parts of these worthies the old feudal arms and quarterings, and abandoned them with noisy and irreverent hilarity. A part of the French legitimists and the party of young England played this farce.

When the feudalists show that their mode of exploitation (using up one class by another) was different from the bourgeois mode, they forget that their mode was practicable only under circumstances and conditions which have passed away—never to return. When they show that the modern proletariat never existed under their supremacy, they simply forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own social order. For the rest, they so little conceal the reactionary nature of their criticism that their chief reproach against the bourgeoisie regime is, that of having created a class which is destined to annihilate the old social forms and arrangements altogether. It is not so much that the bourgeoisie having created a proletariat, but that this proletariat is revolutionary. Hence, in their political practice, they take part in all reactionary measures against the working classes; and in ordinary life, despite their grandiloquent phrases, they condescend to gather the golden apples, and to give up chivalry, true love and honor for the traffic in wool, butcher's meat and corn. As the parson has always gone hand-in-hand with the landlord, so has priestly socialism with feudal socialism. Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a tinge of socialism. Has not Christianity itself vociferated against private property, marriage and the powers that be? Have not charity and mendicity, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and the supremacy of the Church been held up in the place of these things? Sacred socialism is merely the holy water, with which the priest besprinkles the impotent wrath of the aristocracy.

b.—Shopocrat* Socialism.

The feudal aristocracy are not the only class who are, or will be, destroyed by the bourgeoisie. Not the only class, the conditions of whose existence become exhausted and disappear, under the modern middle-class system. The mediæval bourgeois and yeomen were the precursors of the modern middle-class. In countries possessing a small degree of industrial and commercial development, this intermediate class still vegetates side by side with the flourishing bourgeoisie. In countries where modern civilization has been developed, a new intermediate class has been formed; floating as it were, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; and always renewing itself as a component part of bourgeois society. Yet, the persons belonging to this class are constantly forced by competition downwards into the proletariat, and the development of the modern industrial system will bring about the time when this small capitalist class will entirely disappear, and be replaced by managers and stewards, in commerce, manufacture and agriculture. In countries like France, where far more than one-half of the population are small freeholders, it was natural that writers who took part with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie should measure the bourgeois regime by the small-capitalist standard; and should envisage the proletarian question from the small-capitalist point of view. In this way arose the system of shopocrat socialism. Sismondi is the head of this school, in England as well as in France. This school of socialism has dissected with great acuteness the modern system of production, and exposed the fallacies contained therein. It unvalued the hypocritical evasions of the political economists. It irrefutably demonstrated the destructive effects of machinery, and the division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; over production; commercial crisis; the necessary destruction of small capitalists; the misery of the proletariat; anarchy in production, and scandalous inequality in the distribution of wealth; the destructive industrial wars of one nation with another; and the disappearance of old manners and customs, of patriarchal family arrangements, and of old nationalities. But in its practical application, this shopocrat, or small-capital socialism, wish either to re-establish the old modes of production and traffic, and with these, the old conditions of property, and old society altogether—or forcibly to confine the modern means of production and traffic within the limits of these antique conditions of property, which were actually destroyed, necessarily so, by these very means. In both cases, shopocrat socialism is, at the same time, reactionary and utopian. Corporations and guilds in manufactures, patriarchal idyllic arrangements in agriculture, are its beau idéal. This kind of socialism has run to seed, and exhausted itself in silly lamentations over the past.

* The term in the original is *Kleinbürger*; meaning small burghers, or citizens. A class, comprising small capitalists generally, whether small farmers, small manufacturers or retail shopkeepers. As these last form the predominant element of this class in England, I have chosen the word *Shopocrat* to express the German term.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

c.—German or "True" Socialism.*

The Socialist and Communist literature of France originated under the bourgeois regime, and was the literary expression of the struggle against the middle-class supremacy. It was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie there had begun their battle against feudal despotism. German philosophers—half-philosophers and would-be literati—eagerly seized on this literature, and forgot that with the immigration of these French writings into Germany, the advanced state of French society and of French class-struggles, had not, as a matter of course, immigrated along with them. This French literature, when brought into contact with the German phases of social development, lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. It could appear in no other way than as an idle speculation upon the best possible state of society, upon the realization of the true nature of man. In a similar manner, the German philosophers of the 18th century considered the demands of the first French revolution as the demands of "practical reason" in its general sense, and the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie was for them the law of the pure will, of volition as it ought to be; the law of man's inward nature. The all-engrossing problem for the German literati was to bring the new French ideas into accordance with their old philosophic conscience; or rather, to appropriate the French ideas without leaving the philosophic point of view. This appropriation took place in the same way as one masters a foreign language; namely, by translation. It is known how the monks of the middle-ages treated the manuscripts of the Greek and Roman classics. They wrote silly Catholic legends over the original text. The German literati did the very reverse, with respect to the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense behind the French original. For example, behind the French critique of the modern money-system, they wrote, "Estrangement of Human Nature;" behind the French critique of the bourgeois regime, they wrote, "Destruction of the Supremacy of the Absolute," and so forth. They baptized this interpolation of their philosophic modes of speech with the French ideas by various names: "Philosophy in Action," "True Socialism," "The German Philosophy of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and the like. The socialist and communist literature of France was completely emasculated. And when it had ceased, in German hands, to express the struggle of one class against another, the Germans imagined they had overcome French one-sidedness. They imagined they represented, not true interests and wants, but the interests and wants of abstract truth; not the proletarian interest, but the interest of human nature, as man as belonging to no class, a native of no merely terrestrial countries—of man, belonging of the misty, remote region of philosophical imagination. This German socialism, which composed its clumsy school themes with such exemplary solemnity, and then cried them along the street, gradually lost its pedantic and primitive innocence. The battle of the German, particularly of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudalism and absolute monarchy, in a word, the liberal movement, became more serious. True socialism had now the desired opportunity of placing socialist demands in opposition to the actual political movement; of hurling the traditional second-hand anathemas against liberalism, constitutional governments, bourgeois competition and free trade, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois juries, bourgeois freedom and equality; the opportunity of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by this middle-class movement. German socialism forgot, very opportunely, that the French polemics, whose unmeaning echo it was—presupposed the modern middle-class system of society, with the corresponding physical conditions of social existence, and a suitable political constitution; presupposed, in fact, the very things which had no existence in Germany, and which were the very things to be obtained by the middle-class movement. German socialism was used up by the German despots and their followers—priests, school-masters, bureaucrats and bullfrog country squires—as a scarecrow to frighten the revolutionary middle-class. It was the agreeable flimsy to the grape-shot, and cut o' nine tails, with which these governments replied to the first proletarian insurrections of Germany. While "true socialism" was thus employed in assisting the governments against the German bourgeoisie, it also directly represented a reactionary interest, that of the German small capitalists and shopocracy. In Germany the real social foundation of the existing state of things was this class, remaining since the 16th century, and always renewing itself under slightly different forms. Its preservation was the preservation of the existing order of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie involved the annihilation of this intermediate class; on the one hand, by the centralization of capital; on the other, by the creation of a revolutionary proletariat. German, or "true" socialism, appeared to this shopocracy as a means of killing two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic. The robe of speculative cobwebs, adorned with rhetorical flourishes and sickly sentimentalism—in which the German socialists wrapped the dry bones of their eternal, absolute truths, increased the demand for their commodity among this public. And the German socialists were not wanting in due appreciation of their mission, to be the grandiloquent representatives of the German shopocrats. They proclaimed the German nation to be the archetypal nation; the German cockneys to be archetypal men. They gave every piece of cockney rascality a hidden socialist sense, whereby it was interpreted to mean the reverse of rascality. They reached the limits of their system, when they directly opposed the destructive tendency of communism and proclaimed their own sublime indifference toward all class-anagonsism. With very few exceptions, all the so-called socialist and communist publications which circulate in Germany emanate from this school, and are enervating, filthy trash.

II.—CONSERVATIVE, OR BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM.

A part of the bourgeoisie desires to alleviate social dissidences, with a view of securing the existence of middle-class society. To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working classes, patrons of charitable institutions, cruelty-to-animals-bill supporters, temperance advocates, in a word, hole and corner reformers of the most varied and piebald aspect. This middle-class socialism has even been developed into complete systems. As an example, we may cite Proudhon's Philosophy of Poverty. The socialist bourgeois wish to have the

vital conditions of modern society without the accompanying struggles and dangers. They desire the existing order of things, minus the revolutionary and destructive element contained therein. They wish to have a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie, of course, consider the world wherein they reign to be the best possible world. Bourgeois socialism develops this comfortable hypothesis into a complete system. When these socialists urge the proletariat to realize their system, to march toward the New Jerusalem, they ask in reality that the proletariat should remain within the limits of existing society, and yet lay aside all bitter and unfavorable opinions concerning it. A second, less systematic, and more practical school of middle-class socialists, try to hinder all revolutionary movements among the producers, by teaching them that their condition cannot be improved by this or that political change, but only by a change in the material conditions of life, in the economical arrangements of society. Yet, by a change in the modern life-conditions, these socialists do not mean the abolition of the middle-class modes of production and distribution, attainable only in a revolutionary manner; they mean administrative reforms, to be made within the limits of the old system, which, therefore, will leave the relation of capital and wages-labor untouched; and, at most, will merely simplify the details and diminish the cost of bourgeois government. This kind of socialism finds its most fitting expression in empty rhetorical flourishes. Free trade! for the benefit of the working classes. A tariff! for the benefit of the working classes. Isolated imprisonment and the silent system! for the benefit of the working classes. This last phrase is the only sincere and earnest one, among the whole stock in trade of the middle-class socialists. Their socialism consists in affirming that the bourgeoisie is a bourgeois * * * for the benefit of the working classes!

III.—CRITICAL-UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

We do not speak here of the literature which, in all the great revolutions of modern times, has expressed the demands of the proletariat: as leveled pamphleteers, the writings of Babeuf and others. The first attempts of the proletariat toward directly forwarding its own class-interest, made during the general movement which overthrew feudal society, necessarily failed, by reason of the crude, undeveloped form of the proletariat itself; as well as by the want of those material conditions for its emancipation, which are but the product of the bourgeois epoch. The revolutionary literature which accompanied this first movement of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary content. It taught a universal asceticism and a rude sort of equality.

The socialist and communist systems, properly so called, the systems of St. Simon, Owen, Fourier and others, originated in the early period of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which we described in Chapter I. The inventors of these systems perceived the fact of class-antagonism, and the activity of the dissolvent elements within the prevailing social system. But they did not see any spontaneous historical action, any characteristic political movement, on the part of the proletariat. And because the development of class-antagonism keeps pace with the development of the industrial system, they could not find the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat; they were obliged to seek for a social science, for social laws, in order to create these conditions. Their personal inventive activity took the place of social activity, imaginary conditions of proletarian emancipation were substituted for the historical ones, and a subjective, fantastic organization of society, for the gradual and progressive organization of the proletariat as a class. The approaching phases of universal history resolved itself, for them, into the propagandism and practical realization of their peculiar social plans. They had, indeed, the consciousness of advocating the interest of the producers as the most suffering class of society. The proletariat existed for them, only under this point of view of the most oppressed class. The undeveloped state of the class-struggle, and their own social position, induced these socialists to believe they were far removed above class-antagonism. They desired to improve the position of all the members of society, even of the most favored. Hence, their continual appeals to the whole of society, even to the dominant class. You have only to understand their system in order to see it is the best possible plan for the best possible state of society. Hence, too, they reject all political, and particularly all revolutionary action, they desire to attain their object in a peaceful manner, and try to prepare the way for the new social gospel, by the force of example, by small, isolated experiments, which, of course, cannot but turn out signal failures. This fantastic representation of future society expressed the feeling of a time when the proletariat was quite undeveloped, and had quite an imaginary conception of its own position—it was the expression of an instinctive want for a universal social revolution. There are, however, critical elements contained in all these socialist and communist writings. They attack the foundation of existing society. Hence they contain a treasure of materials for the enlightenment of the producers. Their positive propositions regarding a future state of society; e. g. abolition of the antagonism of town and country, of family institutions, of individual accumulation, of wages-labor, the proclamation of social harmony, the change of political power into a mere superintendence of production; all these propositions expressed the abolition of class-antagonism, when this last was only commencing its evolution; and, therefore, they have, with these authors, a purely Utopian sense. The importance of critical-utopian Socialism and Communism stands in an inverted proportion to the progress of the historical movement. In proportion as the class-battle is evolved and assumes a definite form, so does this imaginary elevation over it, this fantastic resistance to it, lose all practical worth, all theoretical justification. Hence, it happens, that although the originators of these systems were revolutionary in various respects, yet their followers have invariably formed reactionary sects. They hold fast by their masters' old dogmas and doctrines, in opposition to the progressive historical evolution of the proletariat. They seek, therefore, logically enough, to deaden class opposition, to mediate between the extremes. They still dream of the experimental realization of their social Utopias through isolated efforts—the founding of a new phalanx, of a few home colonies, of a small Icaria—a duodecimo edition of the New Jerusalem; and they appeal to the philanthropy of the bourgeois hearts and purses for the building expenses of these air-castles and chimeras. They gradually fall back into the category of the above-mentioned reactionary or conservative socialists, and distinguish themselves from these only by their more systematic pedantry, by their fanatical faith in the miraculous powers of their social panacea. Hence, they violently oppose all political move-

ments in the proletariat, which, indeed, can only be occasioned by a blind and willful disbelief in the new gospel. In France, the Fourierists oppose the Reformists; in England, the Owenites react against the Chartists.*

The Communists invariably support every revolutionary movement against the existing order of things, social and political. But in all these movements they endeavor to point out the proper question, whatever degree of development, in every particular case, it may have obtained, as the leading question. The Communists labor for the union and association of the revolutionary parties of all countries. The Communists disdain to conceal their opinions and ends. They openly declare that these ends can be attained only by the overthrow of all hitherto existing social arrangements. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose in it save their chains. They will gain a world. Let the Proletarians of all countries unite!

*It is not to be forgotten that these lines were written before the Revolution of February, 1848, and that the examples have, accordingly, reference to the state of parties of that time.—NOTE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR: ITS AGGRESSIVE PHASES.

Association is a distinctive principle of modern life. Out of the development of its economic uses there have come also startling phases of a contest which, under some form or another, has always agitated society. Each successive struggle has enlarged the boundaries of the agitation. But there has never been seen before any practical attempt to realize unity by organizing the greater portion of the race—those who labor—for self-protection, mutual development, and even class ascendancy. The promulgation of the idea and the experiment have been left to the present, and have resulted from resistance to a force which, however beneficent when rightfully controlled, has been made more than subservient to the selfish interests of a class and of individuals.

The contest is that between labor and capital, and the movement specially under consideration is directed by the International Workingmen's Association. Naturally enough the chief seat of the struggle and the origin of the organization are found in countries where feudalism has graven most deeply dividing lines, and where those social forces which the era of industry and commerce creates, acting only in the interests of capital, seek to maintain the old order and its class advantages, while striving at the same time to obtain fuller direction of the new. A world-wide federation of labor bears in its statement the idea of fraternity. Its roots are far down in the "earth, earthy," while its summit seeks the heavens. There may be Utopias within its shadow, but there must also be generous and genuine truth to give form and substance to a purpose so grand, a spirit so comprehensive.

In outlining this remarkable movement, which I have selected for an exposition of the aggressive side of the labor question, it is necessary to sketch the present condition of the sturdy trades unions. Hitherto these have been chiefly protective and defensive. They now seem to be growing creative, developing sociological forces which demand the attention alike of those who investigate principles and those who administer affairs.

It is not the writer's design to attack, defend or excuse, but to analyze and state, so that the reader may perceive with him the extent and character of a movement which promises to be fundamental—one of those elemental efforts which impress society for centuries after their guiding impulses have passed away. Although this is a class movement, and is therefore narrow to a certain degree, as have been all that have preceded it, it should be borne in mind that the laboring class comprises seven-tenths of mankind. Their efforts at unity are in many respects the healthiest of all signs. Let us know what the millions aspire to do and be. Society will be the gainer by every quickening movement. Its foundations are made more secure by discussions which are inclusive of all interests. The wider the range of open agitation the less dangerous it becomes to order and progress. Whatever concerns each concerns all, and one may be sure that the present movement among laboring people in all civilized countries toward widely extended organization needs only to be examined impartially to reveal correctives for errors and justice for wrongs that may exist on either side of the issues involved. There is one thing that cannot be done safely, that is, to ignore or simply denounce these organizations. They must be met and considered in a spirit of fairness. It is impossible for millions of men to combine without having some just reasons for such action; nor can there exist a movement almost as wide and pervading as civilization, unless there be forces underlying it which will permanently affect the condition of man.

In the growth of this movement the idea of individual self-help, as well as of protective organization, seems to have come from the British agitators. France has given equality and enthusiasm, but always lacked individual effort and individual liberty, looking to an outside force, that of the government or community, for direction and assistance. Germany, in its discussions, has brought to the movement the aspiration for unity which is so thoroughly a part of its intellectual life, and by the broad generalizations which are characteristic thereof, has given to it the cosmic aspect now being rapidly developed. Yet the British trades unions afforded the ground work. Through their experience alone could the initiative have been formed.

Since 1849 the European democratic movement has passed into other hands. The aspects of to-day are very different from those that then controlled. It is claimed that it is no longer aristocratic privilege, but organized power, in the form of capital growing yearly more potent through economic association, with which democracy must contend, either to overthrow or control. Just now, to overthrow seems most desirable to the many; but to the wiser even if more radical minority control is possible and pre-eminently more desirable. Although such ideas as these were not prominent in dictating the efforts that followed recovery from the overwhelming defeat of republicanism in 1849, they have in great part grown out of those efforts.

In Great Britain the working leaders turned their attention to amelioration. For fifteen years, or until our war was closing, there was little or nothing done directly for political results. Co-operation on the one side and trades unionism on the other were the great levers which were used. The latter has proven an especially powerful agency of the new democratic propagandism; co-operation, as developed in England, having lost much of its earlier socialist character. But this is aside from the general scope of the present paper, which has to do with the growth of the international movement, with its far-reaching ideas and aims.

*It was the set of writers characterized in the following chapter, who themselves called their theory, "True Socialism;" if, therefore, after perusing this chapter, the reader should not agree with them as to the name, this is no fault of the authors of the Manifesto.—NOTE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

The trades unions of Great Britain, as of other countries, find their prototypes in the ancient guilds—organizations, however, whose characteristics are much more strongly preserved in what we know of Chinese associations for similar purposes or in the Russian *artels*, than they are in the great amalgamated trades societies like those formed by the engineers, the carpenters, the miners, or our American "Knights of St. Crispin." The invention of labor-saving machinery, and consequently the association of capital, destroyed the guilds—leagues of master and man, working employer and employe. They also created and rendered necessary, according to the defenders of trades unions, the existence of such organizations.

It is, however, within the last two decades that trades unions have become really formidable. It is only within the last, in fact since the triumph of the American Republic over slavery has given such impetus to all radical agitation in Europe, that the movement has passed out of the mere defensive into the constructive, or, as I fear many will affirm, the destructive, phase it is now assuming. The Sheffield unions, or that of the bricklayers at Birmingham, illustrate what was too common in the earlier stages, when combination and conspiracy laws made all attempts of English workmen to unite, in order to increase their wages, criminal offenses punishable with imprisonment and even transportation. The ugly shadow of those days is projected into the present, but very rarely elsewhere than in communities where workmen keep themselves aloof from the larger and better influences which have followed the efforts at unity of action. Masses of men seldom conspire; they may revolt and do bad things in the blind fury of passion, but the plot and cabal, whose mischievous aim can be attained only by stealth, share the open discussion which must inevitably follow in the wake of wide-spread organization. There is no positive means of ascertaining the exact number and membership of British trades unions. There was a Trades Directory published in 1861, giving a list of 408 towns in which unions or their branches were established. In 1867 the leading unionists estimated their membership at about 700,000, and since that date the societies have grown more rapidly than at any previous period. It is believed now they do not number less than 850,000 members. Even with so large a membership, they only contain a small percentage of the various trades, except perhaps where these are actually close corporations, like the 33 small trades of Sheffield. Still, the unions exercise a controlling influence over their trades, as much probably from the genuine spirit of comradeship which is exhibited as from the direct aid the organization affords in any emergency. The building trades, for instance, are estimated to employ about 900,000 persons, more than the entire membership of all trade societies. Only about 100,000 persons are members of the masons', plasterers', carpenters' and other unions connected with the occupations of building. The cities contain the largest number of society-men, averaging from seventy to ninety per cent. of each of the principal trades.

The most powerful union existing, though not the most numerous, is that of the "Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights and Pattern-Makers." It had in 1867 (the last year for which I have been able to find official data) a membership of 34,000, belonging to 308 branches, located in Great Britain, Ireland, France, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the West Indies. There was a cash balance of five hundred and seventy-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five dollars in its treasury, and an annual income of over three hundred and eighty thousand dollars. So perfect has its organization become since 1850, that strikes are almost unknown, and this because capital has found out it pays better to arbitrate than "lock out." It is a fact worthy of note, and proves that these societies are not, as some would believe, unmixed evils; that the larger their growth and the more perfect their organization, the less inclination is there to resort to strikes, and the more ready are both sides to listen to reason. Organization among the men has made strikes too costly to themselves and the employers.

The "Amalgamated Carpenters," quoted by Professor Beasley as the best union in existence, numbers eight thousand members, has one hundred and eighty-seven branches, and a fund on hand of seventy thousand dollars. The operative masons number eighteen thousand; the bricklayers, twelve thousand; the plasterers, eight thousand; the general union of tailors, twelve thousand; ironfounders, twelve thousand; boiler-makers, nine thousand; London tailors, seven thousand; Scotch carpenters, five thousand; powerloom weavers, five thousand; locomotive engineers and firemen, fifteen thousand, with sixty-four branches and an annual income of about thirty-five thousand dollars. These societies are not federal but individual, so to speak, nor must it be supposed that the large funds they gather and disburse are used wholly in aggressive movements. By far the larger portion of their duties are applied to beneficent purposes. Up to 1866, for instance, the "Amalgamated Engineers" disbursed (a period of fifteen years being included) \$2,443,585, of which amount \$1,399,200 had been devoted to assisting men out of work, including those "on strikes." Not more than a third of this went directly to the latter purpose, while \$1,024,385 is reported as expended directly for such objects as sickness, superannuation, accidents, funerals, etc. But, large as are these distinct unions, the necessity of co-operation as well as the normal tendency of this movement for industrial and social reconstruction inspired active efforts for the federation of different societies. Most of these movements have been represented in trades councils, alliances, conferences, labor parliaments and congresses. The "Miners' National Association," an affiliated group of societies, has a membership of fifty thousand. London, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Glasgow, Leeds, in fact, all the great manufacturing centres, have local trades councils or conferences, meeting regularly and representing from three thousand to one hundred thousand men respectively. A number of general conferences have been held at Sheffield, Preston, Manchester and London, in which the attending delegates have represented all the leading trades and from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand members. The annual Trades Congress for 1870 (the third I believe) met on Monday, October 24. The following statement of the subjects for discussion will illustrate the character and scope of these assemblies:

1. Trades' unions and legislation.
2. Mines regulation bill; the truck system and weekly payment of wages.
3. Employment of women and children in agriculture, factories and workshops.
4. Convict labor versus free labor.
5. Application of arbitration and conciliation in trade disputes.
6. Reduction of the hours of labor.

7. Co-operation and industrial partnerships.
8. Taxation, imperial and local.
9. Education, primary and technical.
10. Direct representation of labor in Parliament.
11. International fraternization of labor, war, standing armies, and their injurious effect on industry.
12. Utilization of waste lands and unemployed labor.

Nor have the debates of these congresses been unworthy the themes. On the contrary, those that I have heard or read show close, concise and logical power of statement and reasoning, clear conception of facts and their application, and a capacity for pressing points in debate which would do credit to any legislative body in the world.

It is easy to perceive how, when the suggestion and opportunity came, the men were ready, prepared by such an agitation as this involved, to frame the international movement which has greatly exercised the governments of Europe.

One fact should not be omitted, as it illustrates forcibly the power the associative principle will possess, when once fully understood and applied by the masses for their own advancement. From a careful examination of parliamentary and other returns made in 1867, I estimate that at that date the wages class in Great Britain had accumulated funds to the amount of \$437,216,660 specie. This vast sum belonged to the various co-operative, friendly, benefit, building, loan and other similar societies, to the trades unions, or was deposited in the various savings banks. About one-half was in the latter institutions. The basis of this calculation includes only those deposits and investments belonging to persons who receive wages. If the workmen of England and America could once be made to realize the enormous power involved in such an aggregation of their small means, it would not be long before the character of the whole contest between labor and capital would change; the former would become self-employing and the latter would seek opportunity to invest it at moderate interest.

No very accurate estimates can be obtained of the Continental trades unions membership, for nearly every European government has had these organizations under open or secret surveillance. Italy has a very complete network of semi-political trades societies, of which Garibaldi is the honorary president. It numbers about four hundred and fifty branches, has a membership of about one hundred and twenty thousand and a fund of about three hundred thousand dollars. In Italy strikes have been quite frequent during the last five years, as also in France, Belgium and Austria; in each of which countries the combination laws have been greatly modified. But this aggressive activity has been promoted by the growth of the international movement and the energy of its propaganda. In Spain four thousand workmen's societies are reported. They form the principal sources of the republican agitation there. In Denmark and Sweden the agitation is just beginning to make itself perceptible, and but recently, even in Asiatic Turkey, I read of a formidable strike occurring among persons employed on some public works. The Khedive of Egypt will probably find himself surprised some day by disturbances among the populations he has so skillfully made subservient to the aggrandizement of his own wealth, without the slightest regard to their condition or welfare.

The International Workingmen's Association, which at the present time assumes great political importance and is likely still more to disturb the victorious equanimity of the Prussian king and his great minister, as it previously had the repose of their now captive rival, Napoleon III., is an organization whose animating impulse was at first so to instruct and unite the workmen of Continental Europe, that, when strikes or other struggles occurred in Great Britain between employer and employed, the former should not be able to defeat the latter by sending to France, Belgium, Germany or Switzerland, and under the inducement of better wages, fill the recusants' places in England with this foreign labor. Such was the practical point achieved by the association, but very much more than this is involved and has already resulted from its organization and efforts.

The name of George Odger has become familiar to the readers of the *Atlantic* through Justin McCarthy's attractive paper, "Some English Workingmen," as well as to the general reader, from the frequency with which during the last few years it has appeared in all English political movements. It is a name that should be honored by loyal Americans, for this country has had no truer and few more useful friends in Great Britain than the London shoemaker. Associated with a chosen few of his own order—as Thomas Mottershead, silk-weaver; George Howell, bricklayer, since secretary of the Reform League; William Cramer and Robert Applegarth, carpenters; John G. Eccarius, tailor; and a few others—Mr. Odger by his tireless efforts and devotion kept alive an agitation for the Union cause against all the efforts of Southern agents to induce the London workmen especially to lead in a demand on the British government for a forcible raising of the Southern blockade in order to procure cotton. Few persons on this side of the Atlantic know how near those agents came to being successful, though all can realize what would have been the disastrous results to us of such action by the British government. Mr. Odger was the representative man among the English leaders of the efforts which organized the International Association. The first meeting was held at St. Martin's Hall, London, September 28, 1864. The membership was composed of such English trades societies as adhered to the idea, under the influence of the men I have named and of others, of different nationalities, resident for the most part in London. The organization was formed by chairman, treasurer, general secretary, general executive council, corresponding secretaries for different countries named and their affiliated sections therein.

At the present time the latter officers are sometimes residents of the countries they represent, though in most cases they live in London or Switzerland; both localities being tolerably safe for men of marked radicalism, a statement hardly true of any other portion of Europe. The general council is chosen at each annual congress, and always with reference to the fact that the members reside in London, the headquarters of the movement. So a majority of them are English; Robert Applegarth, Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters' Union, and one of the very best specimens of the workmen so favorably described by Mr. McCarthy, is the chairman. There are twenty-one members, among them being several whose names I have already given. Cowell Stepany, one of the council, is a gentleman in the extreme conventional sense, being a brother-in-law, I believe, of the Tory Earl of Carnarvon, and himself a person of means and high culture. He has long been a student of socialistic efforts, and is known in England as an advanced radical of the philosophic school. The chairman, William Townsend, is an active and influential man among his class. The

treasurer, John Weston, is known as a writer on class issues; while the general secretary, J. George Eccarius (who is also corresponding secretary for the United States), is a man of far more than ordinary power as thinker and writer. He is a Swiss by birth, resident in London since 1849. Speaking German and French as well as English, he is a very useful man apart from his intellectual value. He is the author of a vigorous work entitled "Refutation of the Economical Doctrines of John Stewart Mill," which was reviewed at length by leading English journals. He is a practiced journalist, being now employed as a London correspondent by one of the leading New York cables, and doing considerable special work for the *London Times* and *Daily News*. France is represented by Eugene Dupon. Karl Marx, who is secretary for Germany and Russia, is also one of the ablest writers on socialism in Europe, and author of an important work in German entitled "Das Kapital," which is deemed the gospel of the new movement. There are likewise secretaries for Belgium, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Denmark. These officers conduct the correspondence with the various sections and countries which they represent. Among those affiliated with the movement in Germany and elsewhere in Europe are such men as Dr. Jacobi, the turner Bebel of Leipsic, a leading member of the North German Parliament; Diezzen of Elberfeld, a tanner, and author of an able review of the various metaphysical systems; Liebknecht, and the other leaders of the Lassalle or Socialist-Democratic party of Germany. In Spain, France and Italy the movement has a strong hold. Henri Rochefort may be at present considered the political leader of the labor movement in France, though there are a number of able workmen who are more directly its representatives.* As to membership, about one-third of the English trades unions have connected themselves more or less directly with the International Association. In France, 433,785 unionists are co-operating; in Switzerland, 42,326; in Germany, 150,000; in Spain, about 20,000; in Austria and Hungary, 100,000; Belgium has an affiliated membership of about 20,000; Italy, one of at least 100,000; while in Holland, Denmark and even Russia, there are sections organizing. The American National Labor Union, with its membership of over 200,000, is in full sympathy. A great deal of sympathetic affiliation exists in Poland, Russia and other countries, which has found expression at the different congresses only through independent delegates, who are able to defy the government opposition. A number of newspapers sustain the international movement; some only generally, like the *Paris Marseilles* and the *London Beehive* (trades union organ), but most of them accept its programme and are its declared organs. There are two German weeklies and one French published at Geneva and Zurich; three in French and one in Flemish, published in Liege and other Belgian towns; one in Spanish at Barcelona; while in Germany the *Berlin Daily Zukunft*, Dr. Jacobi's organ, advocates this movement, as also do weeklies published at Vienna and Leipsic. Besides, there are papers published in Bohemia, Hungary and Italy which sustain the general policy of the International Association.

Since the organization of the association, in 1864, four annual congresses have assembled. The first was held in September, 1866, at Geneva; the second met at Lausanne, the third at Brussels and the fourth at Basle. The fifth was called at Mayence, but its assembling was rendered impossible by the Franco-Prussian war, to the policy of which, on either side, its membership is strongly opposed. At the Geneva congress about forty delegates were present. There were a few delegates from Paris, Lyons and Brussels, but the majority were either English or refugees resident in Great Britain or Switzerland. Fifty-five delegates were present at Lausanne. Sixteen were French, twenty-nine Swiss, six English, three German and one Italian. The English delegates were the ablest and most influential. The Brussels congress attracted general attention, owing to the fact that the Belgian ministry had given indications of a determination not to permit its assembling. Very serious disturbances had occurred previously at Verviers, resulting in the calling out of troops and firing on the people, causing the death of a leading member of the Belgian section. The Basle congress was marked by a considerable accession of German influence, several of the great democratic associations having sent delegates. For the first time the United States were represented, the National Labor Union having at its Philadelphia congress elected a prominent member to attend the International Congress. The Socialistic-Democratic party of North Germany is a movement of those who hold that changes in the political situation is the first thing to be desired and worked for. Among those they advocate state aid rather than self-help policy which is the aim of the economic reform, under whose impetus the co-operative and credit bank system of Germany has been built up; this party has given in its adhesion to the international programme. An industrial congress which met at Nuremberg (the fifth held by the same party) in 1868, made the following declarations, which form so concise a statement of the general aim of their movement that I give a translation entire:

"1. The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves. The struggle for their emancipation is not a struggle for class privileges or monopolies, but for equality of rights and duties, and for the abolition of the privileges of every class.

"2. The economical dependence of the workman on the man who has monopolized the instruments of labor is the principle of slavery, whatever form it may assume, of social misery, of intellectual inferiority and of political subjection.

"3. The political movement is the indispensable means of effecting the economical enfranchisement of the working class. The social question is therefore inseparable from the political question; the solution of the first depends on the solution of the second, and is only possible under a democratic government.

"Considering, also, that the efforts hitherto made for economical emancipation have heretofore failed from want of union between the different branches of labor in each country, and the non-existence of fraternal ties between the working classes of different countries; that the emancipation of labor is not a local problem nor a national problem, but a social problem coextensive with modern society, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most advanced nations; the fifth congress of German workmen resolve that they will unite their efforts with those of the International Workmen's Association."

*This was written before the development of the communal movement in Paris, under the light of which this statement would not now be made.

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

WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

The National Suffrage Committee will hold a convention at Lincoln Hall, in Washington, on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January. All those interested in woman's enfranchisement are invited there to consider the "new departure"—women already citizens, and their rights as such secured by the 14th and 15th amendments of the Federal Constitution.

This view, presented in "The Woodhull Memorial" at the last session of Congress, was respectfully received, and a minority report of the Judiciary Committee made in its favor, which has been sanctioned by the opinions of some of the ablest constitutional lawyers and judges in the country.

Although this report has been before the nation nearly a year, no authoritative adverse opinions have as yet been rendered. It only remains, then, that the coming Congress pass a Declaratory act, and women citizens in every State of the Union will be able to vote for the next President without hindrance; their eligibility to this high office is already settled by the original Constitution—Art. 2, Sec. 4.

Let, then, the 15,000,000 women of this Republic rise up in their dignity and use these new-found liberties for their own personal freedom, and the salvation of their country. A united effort, now, and the day is ours; we shall not only vote for the next President, but, if true to ourselves, have a potent voice in determining who shall be nominated for that office.

The times are auspicious, party ties are broken, politicians are losing their hold on the masses, who have clearer ideas of human rights than ever before; and of all the vital issues now looming up for the party of the no distant future, there is not one so momentous and far reaching in its consequences as Woman Suffrage. Therefore we urge all friends of Equal Rights to be present and take part in the deliberations of the Convention.

Lucretia Mott, Ruth Care Denison,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage,
Susan B. Anthony, Martha C. Wright,
Victoria C. Woodhull, Charlotte B. Wilbour,
Isabella Beecher Hooker, Laura Curtis Bullard,
Josephine S. Griffing, Olympia Brown,
Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Detroit, Mich.
Nannette B. Gardner, "
Sarah Pugh, Philadelphia.
Maria Mott Davis, Philadelphia.
Mrs. Washington Bladen, "
"Heun Foster, "
"Dr. Mellen, "
Miss Stickney, "
"Carrie S. Burnham, "
"Carrie Avery Riddle, Washington, D. C.
"Florence Riddle Bartlett, "
"Sara J. Spencer, "
"Francis Henshaw Baden, "
E. D. E. N. Southworth, Georgetown.
Maria G. Underwood, Alexandria, Va.
Anna W. Bodeker, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. M. H. Arnold, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
"Amelia B. Rost, "
Esther Morris, ex-Justice of the Peace, Wyoming.
A. Frances Pillsbury, Charleston, S. C.
Mrs. P. Holmes Drake, Huntsville, Ala.
Hon. Mrs. Aaron A. Sargent, Nevada, California.
Laura De Force Gordon, "
Hon. Mrs. A. P. Ela, New Hampshire.
Mrs. Gov. Ashley.
Lavinia C. Dundore, Baltimore, Md.

CHRISTIANITY vs. RELIGION.

Some singular facts are developed when a comparison is instituted between the Christianity of the nineteenth century and that of the first century. Indeed there is scarcely a resemblance in any single particular between them excepting in name. But the professed Christians of to-day claim for themselves that they are the elect of God, for whom Christ did not die in vain. Yet it seems to us that, and according to their own showing, they would have been the elect for salvation all the same had Christ never died—aye, even had he never lived, since it is by faith in Christ, rather than by good works, that they expect to escape eternal torment, while the truth is altogether different, as we shall see.

The practices that Christ practiced and enjoined his Disciples to practice form no part whatever of the works of the church of to-day. In fact the very things Christ did are so far below the present standard of respectability, that few are lowly enough of heart to be found doing them. Christ's Lazarus has become the Rich Man of to-day, dressing in "purple and fine linen," and "faring sumptuously every day;" while the dogs of to-day come along and "lick the sores" of the rejected and they are not healed or purified to acceptance. What a spectacle would the "Son of Man" present to-day, in our midst, clad in lowly raiment and with his Disciples equally lowly, going about healing the sick, on a Sabbath, and gathering corn belonging to other people to satisfy their hunger. Does anybody suppose that he would meet with any better reception than the Jews extended him; and would he not be denounced as eating with "Publicans and Sinners" if he were to associate with them as he did? Indeed, would he not be arrested as a common thief?

Now, what was it that made Christ what it is believed he was? Was it the simple fact that he was the promised Messiah, whom the Jews expected? No, nothing of this sort, since he was not received by them as the fulfillment of the prophecy. Neither was he what he was to those who did receive him because of such fulfillment, but because of the life he lived and the doctrines he taught.

This fact becomes clear if we undertake to say that he would have produced the same effect upon the world that he did had he not lived the life he did and taught the doctrines he taught. Hence, whatever of prophecy there may have been fulfilled by his birth, that has had nothing whatever to do with the establishment and promulgation of Christianity upon the truths and precepts which he gave to the world. Any other person than he, born as he was, living the life he lived and teaching the doctrines he taught, would have been Jesus, the Christ and the Saviour of the World.

It is nevertheless true that the most comprehensive rule that Christ laid down for human guidance he quoted from Confucius, who lived hundreds of years before him. But that has not made the rule any less efficacious, either in regard to its inherent worth or in regard to its authority.

But in the comparison between these two words we find the key-note to the difference between religion, *per se*, and the so-called Christianity of to-day—the latter consisting almost altogether of authority, while the former is by no means confined to those who profess its tenets. Religion is the same whether it exists among Christians or Pagans. If a Pagan "do unto others as he would that others do unto" him, then he lives the Golden Rule just as efficaciously to salvation as if he were a Christian. But Christians have made this illogical and unwarrantable error all along the ages; and in an outrageous manner do they make it to-day to their own confusion.

Nothing can be permanent in which principle is involved, unless it is also universal. Now Christianity, as it exists to-day, can never become universal. But religion is universal. Everybody, wherever under the sun, is religious just in proportion as he lives in his outward life, and within himself, the religious elements of which his nature is made up.

Since Christ's kingdom did not come because of his authority, divorced from his life, so neither can Christianity be religion, unless the religious elements find expression through its forms. Now the religious elements are the same in all persons everywhere, and there is no doubt that there are people who, not Christians, are really more religious than any Christians can be, because, to be limited by the boundaries of Christianity, as established by its various sects, is to deny the very basic principle of all religion—the brotherhood of the human race.

Now whatever true religious theory there may be in existence must have as its fundamental idea this all-comprehensive fact. To not have it is to deny the existence of God himself; since to fail to admit that we are all brothers and sisters of a common parent is to make such denial. Therefore Christianity is not necessarily the true religion.

But there will be developed from the heterogeneous masses of religious divisions existing to-day A True Religion of the Future, which, while discarding all of the old and outgrown clothes in which they have been reared and had their existence, will assume new habiliments suited to the adornment of the truth, which they all contain, to a greater or less extent. Some time ago we showed that Eternal Damnation equally with Universal Salvation was a truth. Now these terms are used to designate the two extremes of Theoretical Religion. But does anybody in this age of the world believe, or will any profess to believe, that a good act in a

Universalist is any less meritorious and productive of good than the same act would be in a rigid Presbyterian? At the same time, to admit that such claim is not made is to admit away all that is claimed by the various sects.

Sectarianism, then, is the bane of true religion. A true religious theory must be so broad as to be capable of including everybody—not only such "as believe as I do." Nothing less than the Religion of Humanity can do that. And it may be possible—we trust it shall be a prophecy—that the prediction of Father Damien may have been an inspiration, while he thought it to be a curse. Whoever shall establish or proclaim a religious theory so scientific and so religious as to meet the wants of humanity, will certainly have projected the Religion of the Future upon the world.

FALSE PRETENSES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

Senator Buckingham, of Connecticut, on the 14th inst., introduced the remonstrating petition against suffrage gotten up by Sherman, Dahlgren and their coadjutors, consisting of 3,600 names, which the lying press enlarged to 10,000, and said, as reported in the *Herald*:

The most refined and respectable women in the country have now signified to Congress their unwillingness to have the responsibilities of suffrage thrust upon them. The protest is said to contain many of the most respected, talented and influential women of ten different States. Over sixteen hundred of them live in Connecticut, and in looking over the list I find that I know many of them. They are not manly women, but women of good sense, and their judgment is entitled to consideration. They do not say anything about the abstract right of suffrage, but they say that, having already their full share of the burdens and responsibilities of life, they fear that others more bold than they may succeed in having imposed upon them other burdens and responsibilities unsuited to them; and, therefore, they ask Congress to protect them from these dangers. They say that the extension of the suffrage to them will be adverse to the interests of the workingwomen; that it will introduce a fruitful element of discord into the existing marriage relation, and that it will be fraught with danger to the general good order of the country. I sympathize with them. I see no possible benefit which can arise by the extension of suffrage to women—benefit to them or to the country.

And this is the mouse which has taken the place of the proposed mountain-avalanche that these women, who can't go to the polls because their *Biddies* must also be there, were to hurl upon Congress, to sweep all hope of woman suffrage from our souls. Thirty-six hundred all told! Why, in the little town of Lansing, Mich., eight hundred women have petitioned for suffrage. One small city asks for suffrage with one-fourth the voice that the rest of the Union objects.

We hope that a few such comforting facts will teach these women who are sailing under false pretenses to remain at home and mind their own business, instead of roaming the country, meddling with what is none of their business. When the hundreds of thousands of names already obtained shall be presented to Congress, asking for justice, nothing more, it will come with a death-knell to these abject slaves who have sold themselves for the positions occupied by their husbands, and which they now know they will lose when justice is granted.

And a Senator of the United States has the impudence to stand up before this free country, in the Senate, and insult fifteen millions of women with the contemptible insinuation that 3,600 refined and respectable women who have signed that petition should speak for them. What business has Mr. Buckingham to set up such false pretenses? What business has he to insinuate that there are not just as respectable and refined women who want suffrage as there are who do not? We hope that the women of Connecticut will use this cat-o'-nine-tails he has offered them to flog him out of the United States Senate. Over 1,600 of them live in that State, so the most honorable Senator informs us. Can he inform us how many live in his State who have petitioned upon the opposite side? Perhaps it would give him some comfort to know that they number 16,000, and that for refinement and respectability they stand head and ears above those who are so little refined as to presume to meddle with something which cannot concern them.

Yes, we mean it—meddle with our business. We, nor no one who has ever petitioned Congress for the ballot, has ever asked that these very respectable women should be compelled to vote or to be voted for; and they know it; and it is an infamous proceeding of theirs to attempt to make it appear differently. Nobody wants to compel them to bear any additional "burdens and responsibilities" for which we presume them unsuited. Ask Congress to protect them from these dangers, forsooth! What consummate pretense! What contemptible sneaking! Whoever will make use of such villainous falsity to gain their points will steal the livery of Heaven in which to serve the devil.

After this learned dissertation of this learned Senator, who knows so much about popular government, we shall expect to see the workingmen of the country surrendering the ballot; since he wisely informs us that the extension of suffrage to workingwomen will be adverse to their interests. Mr. Buckingham has made a slight mistake, for which he is very excusable. He simply views the matter through his own interests, since he may be certain that when the workingwomen of Connecticut do vote, his days of political position will be numbered.

He can see no possible benefit which can arise from the extension of suffrage! Neither could our fathers' English masters. Nor could the Southern slaveholders, and they are all one and the same class, who do not want the power

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usurped by them taken away. And all the crawling and squirming Buckingham and his set will go through with in the future will not be competent to wash them clean of this scrape, into which they have permitted themselves to be blindly betrayed. If suffrage is not good, why don't Buckingham go home and tell his constituency so, and not stay in Congress, serving in a government in whose first principle he does not believe.

It is time to inform these assuming, self-conceited lords that we no longer say by your leave. We come to you to demand justice; to demand a right already ours; and which the Buckinghams of this country are withholding from us. Is that plain language; plain enough for such dullards to comprehend? Or will they require the thunders of revolution to rouse them to a sense of the situation? If so, then let it be revolution. But of one thing they may rest content. We plead no more for justice; nor rely any longer on the "irresistible influence," of which so much has been said by them and with which they are so loth to part. And they need not complain if they in turn are obliged to sue for mercy at the feet of the power they are invoking.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING.

CHEYENNE, Wyo., December 14.—The bill to repeal the law in Wyoming giving women the right of the suffrage has passed the House, the Governor's veto notwithstanding, by the following vote: Yeas—Blair, Castle, Clarke, Payton, Kugendall, Pease, Sheaks, Talbot and Wilson. Nays—Brown and Haley. The Repeal bill was lost in the Council for want of the requisite two-thirds vote. The following is the vote: Yeas—Bennett, Harrison, Muckalls, Potter and Steele. Nays—Corbett, Downey, Fisher and Gales.

REMARKS.

The effort of the Legislature to destroy Woman Suffrage in Wyoming is already known to our readers. But that it should be pressed as indicated above, evidences a determination in some quarters to compel despotism. We desire to say a few calm and sober words to Woman Suffragists who hang their hopes upon State legislation, since it will prove a fatal anchor that will drag them continually from rock to rock until their hopes of liberty will be dashed in pieces. Out of twenty men, six only remained true to principles of freedom and justice; and if we take the men of the country the same proportions will be true of them. Like the Slave Masters of the South, they do not want to give up control over their Women Slaves. Hence, to rely upon the justice of men, that is to say, to countenance the idea that States constituted alone of men citizens have the right to deny the suffrage to any citizen upon any account they may be disposed to, is to debar women from suffrage forever, or at best to keep them forever upon the rack between realized hopes and impending fears. What then is the legitimate result of the pandering to men on the part of a portion of the Woman Suffragists, who don't want the ballot "by a trick." We say that, when we deal with thieves who have stolen our birthright, it is not only our right, but our duty also, to take advantage of all their oversights for protection to their unworthy gotten powers; and it is a spite unworthy of people engaged in a great cause to vent their vindictiveness and spleen because their vanity and ambition have been hedged in by a movement founded in principle instead of upon schemes for personal elevation.

To admit that there may be arbitrary distinctions in the matter of government among citizens, by which some classes may, without consultation or permission, exclude other classes from equal rights, is to admit away all our claims to liberty and to invite despotism. Founded upon the idea of equality, and with the idea that justice shall reign, we must assert first, last and all the time that there is no power anywhere in the government that can deprive a single citizen of any right or of any privilege exercised by any other citizen, unless that citizen first forfeit it. And who will dare to claim that women have ever forfeited the right to vote in Wyoming? What would the male citizens of Wyoming have said had the women obtained office and endeavored to disfranchise them? A howl of indignation would have resounded Union-wide and every paper would have caught it up. But what paper has protested against this indignity heaped upon women?

We trust, however, that this Wyoming business will prove a salutary lesson, since it will teach women to permit the election of no one to office who will oppose equality. We have it from indubitable authority that the majority in the legislature of Wyoming are refusing to grant the usual appropriations, for the express purpose of embarrassing General Campbell, whose honesty and bravery every woman in the broad land should bear in special remembrance, and to whom the women of Wyoming should render justice in the coming time.

A NEW DEPARTURE.

We propose in the future to depart from the custom heretofore observed of excluding from our columns the various opinions of the press. The WEEKLY is in no sense a journal after the ordinary definition of that term, but is revolutionary to nearly all the established customs and usages of society. It is an advocate of principles and truths, let them be what they may and lead where they may. We have refrained from this departure for a long time, because almost all the criticism, adverse and favorable, has been made personal rather than upon the truths and reforms advocated.

When we have pronounced freedom, the press have graciously denounced us as practitioners of it in the lowest and most debased conditions, and charged that we wanted freedom merely to be loose and base, they themselves incapable, as we suppose, of a conception that purity of heart and purpose was possible in freedom. For this reason our readers have been deprived of very much they should have had conveyed to them, and which really indicates the progress of the movement for general emancipation from despotism, political, religious and social, more forcibly than anything else can indicate it. Hereafter we shall not only advocate, but we shall glean, mostly without comment, the most potent evidence, *pro and con*, of its effects upon public opinion, as seen through the medium of the press. And to show how nearly the same language affects differently constituted people, we quote the following from the *American Spiritualist*, which closes with "the idea" of which the Steinway Hall speech was an elaboration:

MRS. WOODHULL'S POSITION SOCIALLY.

The following extract is from the prefatory portion of Mrs. Woodhull's memorable address before the American Association of Spiritualists, at Troy—memorable alike for its logical strength, symmetrical beauty and prophetic insight—qualities harmoniously united as they are wondrously rare.

It will be seen that this extract is of a personal character, incidentally called forth by the misrepresentation of the *Troy press*, which there as elsewhere seems maliciously disposed to vilify and traduce this lady especially, and all whomsoever they are unable to answer by reason or argument. But a "Day of Doom"—not distant let us hope—manifesting itself in the overwhelming indignation of an awakened and outraged people, awaits the venality of both press and pulpit.

We believe Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull—whom we commend for her honor and honesty, her outspoken and consistent truth, and the marvelous ability she evinces in defending her position on every subject of Reform—to be, what is stranger than all fiction, the worst abused and best misrepresented woman of the age, whose name and deeds history will embalm with immortal radiance, simply by virtue of the fact that in her daily life she incarnates the immutable principles of Justice:

"I am asked if I believe in promiscuous intercourse for the sexes. I reply, I don't believe anything about it. I know that it exists to an alarming extent; and more, I know that a great many of those editors who write me down are among its best representatives. But if you ask me if I believe such a condition a high one, I will say, I think it to be that which the *Times* calls nastiness. I hope it does not view my doctrines through colored glasses. I believe promiscuity to be anarchy, and the very antithesis of that for which I aspire. I know that there are all degrees of lust and love from the lowest to the highest. But I believe the highest sexual relations are those that are monogamic, and that those are high and spiritual in proportion as they are continuous. But I protest, and I believe every woman who has purity in her soul protests, against all laws that would compel them to maintain relations with men for whom they have no regard. I honor that purity of life which comes from the heart, while I pity the woman who is pure simply because the law makes her so."

The *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, quoting from our editorial—"The demands of the hour"—remarks upon it as follows:

"These are noble sentiments, and we say amen to them. We believe that the time has come in which there will be a shaking of dry bones, and unless we are willing to be forced into some practical work, others will be called and chosen to do it. Long enough have we frittered away our powers in little petty jealousies and suspicions. It is now time that we take hold of the work in earnest. The question of woman suffrage and political action among Spiritualists can no longer be kept back. There is no reason why such a mighty power as this should be kept in the hands of our opponents and unused by ourselves. We were among the first to give woman her place on the rostrum; let us not hesitate in putting her upon the platform. Let us turn rally the men and women of Spiritualism to this great work. Half of the ten million Spiritualists in this country are women. Their influence and rights are just as sacred as any men's. Let us agitate the question of political action."

THE Prince of Wales' sickness has done one good. It has stirred up inquiry into the cause of malarial fevers. These come fairly within the classification of preventable diseases, and science, by means of hygienic precautions, can check and control them. What a tower of strength is the king's name. A thousand poor men's lives might have been in peril, and none would have cared. But let the blue blood of princes be in danger of corruption, and society shudders to its very core.

FREE institutions have their inconveniences. A public body in England were desirous of checking the sale of adulterated teas, a deleterious article vended exclusively among the poor. They applied to the revenue officers, but it was not their affair; to the Board of Trade, but it was none of their funeral; to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who didn't like the freedom of trade obstructed. And so poor people can be slowly poisoned with Prussian blue or arsenic. An autocrat would remedy such a rogues by the scratch of a pen.

THE INTERNATIONALS have won the sympathy of the public, and after overwhelming the police authorities with confusion, they now engage the attention of Congress. The workman only wants a fair show, a fair share of this world's goods; and while rejoicing at his neighbor's good fortune, does not care to set it off by his own misery. The International joins in this local and personal sentiment, and would extend its operation to the whole world. Liberty, equality, fraternity, everywhere and for every one!

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.]

MONEY—CURRENCY.

It is greatly to be wished that all those who desire to substitute for our existing financial anarchy a true monetary system, could agree upon the principles involved, so as to act efficiently together.

Fortunately the tendency seems to be, at present, to agree upon the plan of issuing government paper money convertible at will into bonds bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, and *vice versa*, as a compromise, leaving the true system to be adopted later. It is to be regretted, however, that some earnest reformers, like your correspondent David Wilder, insist upon the arbitrary and unphilosophical statement that gold or silver coin alone can properly be called money. This is historically incorrect, for many other materials have been used and recognized as money at different times by various nations.

The definition is as unphilosophical as it would be to define man as consisting of a certain combination of bones, muscles and nerves, with no reference to the soul, spirit or life which animates the otherwise dead body and makes it a living man, without which, in fact, the component elements would never have assumed the human form.

It is sometimes said by those holding the views of Mr. Wilder, that the coining of money is simply to tell us that there is such a weight of gold of a definite fineness in the piece; but that this is a fallacy is easily seen by the consideration that a piece of gold of equal weight and fineness with the coin of the country, but not coined by the government, is not money. And why? Because only that is money which is made a legal tender for the payment of all debts. And anything which is a legal tender for debts is money, while checks, drafts or notes, although they may be used as currency, and often are so, are not money, because not legal tender, and are never so spoken of by writers on this subject. It is the function discharged that determines whether anything is money, and not the material of which it is made.

In fact it is not as money, but as merchandise, that our specie is useful, in the payment of balances to foreign countries, which is now almost the only use made of it, except the bad one of speculation or gambling. Our coin is not a legal tender beyond our own jurisdiction, and is only received abroad at its value as bullion.

When gold is demoralized, as it should be, and treated like all other merchandise, it will be a legitimate article of export, like any other production of the country of which we have a surplus, to exchange for something that we want more than we do gold. If true that gold (or silver) coin alone is money, then it is not money that we need, but a legal tender currency. But, as what everybody means by money is exactly a legal tender currency, and by a legal tender currency, money, there does not seem to be any advantage in trying to keep up a distinction which only misleads people and darkens counsel. I hope, then, that our friend Wilder, and all those of his way of thinking will consent to use the word money as others do, and according to its scientific meaning, so as to be understood. If they can once get the external, apparent, outward, merely natural idea of money out of their minds, and substitute for it the inward, spiritual, scientific idea of money, as that which performs a certain function of the greatest importance, we can all see alike and all pull together.

F. S. C.

A CASE IN POINT.

Many persons assume that women won't vote because they have no interest in affairs that are to be affected by voting. We are willing to admit that there are women so ignorant as to take that position, but it is only from ignorance; since there are hundreds of questions before the people of quite as much interest to women as the one related below by a friend in a private letter from Carthage, Mo. Women show their veridancy and unconsciously accept their positions as serfs and slaves when they say they have no interest in general politics:

A few Spiritualists, after reading extracts of Mrs. W.'s speech on "Social Freedom" in the *New York Sun and Tribune*, say she has damaged the cause of Spiritualism and Woman Suffrage. I tell them "No; read the whole speech before you pass judgment." I am glad she has spoken the brave, true words she has. Agitation is what is needed to set the people to thinking. In a few years we will all be more proud of her for advocating the "Principles of Social Freedom" now than we are of Garrison, Phillips and others for advocating that once very unpopular reform, the freedom of the colored slaves of the South.

Speaking of Woman Suffrage makes me want to tell you how the women of this place voted once, not having seen any notice of it in any Woman Suffrage paper:

One year ago last September an election was ordered in this county, for the people to decide whether they should issue bonds to aid in building a railroad or not, and it was decided that all persons who owned taxable property were

entitled to vote. Competition was very lively between those who favored and those who opposed the proposition, and though there were but few here who were in favor of Woman Suffrage, it was found for *ones* that nearly every woman owned some taxable property, and on election day carriages ran from morn till night, bringing in not only the cultured and refined but the poor laboring class of women, and many were treated to a carriage ride that day who would not have got it had they not been voters. Over 700 women voted in this place that day, and it completely refuted the assertion so often made that "Women will not vote if they have a chance."

A few days ago I was circulating a petition asking Congress to pass a "Declaratory Act." Presenting it to one gentleman he refused to sign, saying, "I am in favor of Woman Suffrage, but my wife is so bitterly opposed I would not hear the last of it very soon should I sign that." "She voted at the railroad election, did she not?" "Yes, but then she wanted a railroad." "Just so," says I. "Give her a chance to vote, and when a question arises to be voted upon that she is interested in she will be in favor of *woman voting* if she is 'bitterly opposed to Woman Suffrage.'"

Yours for all Reform,

ST. JOHN.

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-one has been a marked year. Events of a deeply interesting character have transpired in the moral, religious, political and social worlds. American slavery has gone down; women's rights are up; the Internationalists are doing their work, and the Spiritualists and others are doing theirs. The last-named class is numerous in the United States. Were they solidly united, and had they a fixed settled purpose, they could say who should be our next President. The National Convention of Spiritualists has begun in the right direction in the election of its president, and the trustees of that body have shown their good sense in the adoption of her noble and far-reaching address.

The women will doubtless do what they can with the National Legislature. Failing to get their prayer answered, the next step to be taken will be to call the ablest women and men together, say at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and then and there a basis might be agreed on for a new and better government than could be found in any preceding age. And, besides, much valuable assistance may be expected in this important work from able and associated persons dwelling in the higher spheres, who are in communication with intelligent governmentalists and distinguished moralists and socialists in the mundane world. I should be pleased to see seated in that convention such women as Victoria C. Woodhull, Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Hannah F. M. Brown, Carrie S. Lewis, Susan B. Anthony; and such men as Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, S. P. Andrews, Robert Dale Owen, George A. Bacon, Dr. Henry T. Child and other distinguished persons whose names do not now come to me.

If I were to select a motto for our next movement it would be this: LIBERTY, JUSTICE, FRATERNITY.

J. MURRAY SPEAR.

San Francisco, Cal., November, 1871.

THE SPIRIT THAT WILL NOT DOWN.

If the human mind could be satisfied at any point of progress we might be left to undisturbed repose. But the ambition to improve, to approximate perfection, to finish up this wild, rough world, will never allow us rest. We are an active, busy, working human race. Some of us are discoverers, inventors, conquerors; and these will not leave the rest in quiet. Under their sorcery the very earth on which we stand, that to our senses is flat and stationary, begins to revolve; and the stars above us move in regulated orbits. The mariner's compass, printing, gunpowder, the steam engine and telegraph follow each other in quick succession. Machines for mowing, threshing, sawing, sewing and spinning multiply on every hand, until hardly a vestige of the old forms of industry remains.

But improvement will not be limited—innovation will not be confined to material things. The same spirit of inquiry invades our religion, our politics and our social life, and invents new modes of government. This spirit is not respectful of old dynasties. It robs royalty of its "purple" and divests imperialism of its "divine right." It endows the individual with sovereignty, founds government by the people, liberates the slave, plants the schoolhouse in the wilderness of both forest and city, and makes the Rocky Mountains a highway for enterprise and interchange.

Not satisfied with this, the same spirit attacks our time-honored family institution. It too cannot escape, and is undergoing a most searching investigation. Our savagism in begetting children, our barbarism in their bringing up, are receiving a most scathing criticism. Inventors and discoverers in this realm, also, are proposing equal rights and equal privileges in the relations of the sexes; and so conjugating them in justice, attraction and reciprocity, that children may be born with physical and moral health, and trained in the virtues of liberty, equality and fraternity. They propose to banish all the hells of poverty and suffering, all the prisons, all the houses of anguish and despair, to divest their usurpations all those claiming divine right to tyrannize, and to introduce the order of nature, which is "heaven's first law."

All the ignorance and malignity that opposed progress from the beginning are concentrating on the "Marriage Question." The unregenerate wretches who destroyed the first work of Copernicus, who racked Galileo, who broke to pieces the first spinning and weaving machinery, who poisoned Socrates, crucified Christ, mobbed Garrison and hung John Brown, are joining their always defeated forces, and concentrating to protect this last relic of the dark ages. This religio-civil institution which binds woman soul and body, and delivers her over to tyranny and lust, to go when her master says go, to come when he says come, to bear children in sorrow and disgust, to be parlor ornament or kitchen drudge as her lord may fancy, and dooms her in the name of heaven to the pangs of hell, must give way to new inventions in morals, to new methods of relating the sexes which shall banish pain and slavery and secure harmony and happiness. As in the past, the prestige of age and divine appointment are claimed for this fearful nightmare of humanity, and, as happened in the past, so now this same spirit of opposition to reform projects the evils of the previous ages into the present and future; arraigns the new as the cause of the evils flowing from the old, condemns untried the methods proposed, and

would annihilate the Gallileos, the Fultons, the Morses of the present day. But as every past effort to hinder progress has proved abortive, there can be no hope for the effete systems handed down from the dark ages to this hour. They must vanish like mist before the sun. By their leave or without it, the reign of Justice will be inaugurated. When woman is free, love will everywhere abound, happiness will be universal, and the children of generation after generation will grow up and perpetuate themselves in ever-increasing health, strength, intelligence and beauty.

MARY A. LELAND.

THE BASIS OF REFORM—No. III.

EQUILIBRATION.

I have spoken of sexual intercourse, and of the reflowing of the forces of the human system. The subject of equilibration, which has been extensively treated by that brilliant and erratic genius, P. B. Randolph, is but little understood. It is not only the source of the highest health, and the means by which the most perfect enjoyment may be realized, but an essential point in the true development of all parts of the system. By the term equilibration I mean the just and proper distribution of all the forces of the physical, mental and spiritual systems of man.

Physical equilibration is the result of a healthy organism, kept so by personal purity. If individual purity be attained there need be no fears for the community, as this is made up of the former and is an exact reflection of it. Mankind cannot escape the results of inherited imperfections, but personal purity will do much toward removing these disabilities. This requires cleanliness of the physical body, externally and internally, pure air, frequent ablutions, and especially the abstinence from all impure and improper articles of food or drink.

The gateway to heaven is purity, and he or she who would enter this condition must realize this and practice accordingly.

The penalties for disobedience to the higher physical laws are absolute. We cannot violate any law. We may place ourselves in such conditions as to come under the influence of lower laws than those which belong to and are conducive to the highest health. Coming in contact with the chemical law of fire, which is a rapid motion of the elements composing any body, will destroy our physical bodies, and we are kindly warned by pain not to come under the dominion of this law. There can be no equivocation, no atonement, no possible escape from the penalty of any law, whether we place ourselves within its reach ignorantly or otherwise. The equilibration of the forces of the human system is very much influenced by those whom we associate with. There are individuals whose presence always disturbs the equilibrium of sensitive persons when they approach them; their presence or even the thought of them will produce greater or less disturbance in the system of the sensitive and refined. These persons should be avoided and as little thought of as possible. The law is absolute, and can no more be reasoned away than the law of gravitation or any other natural law.

On the other hand, there are those whose presence is always a benediction, the very thought of whom brings peace and quiet to the soul. These are the true physicians, the healers of physical, mental and spiritual maladies, who go about doing good, often silently and unknown, save in the blessed influences which flow out continually from them. Such should be, and will be, the mission of all humanity when the spiritual nature is more fully, and we become as brother Francis, in a recent editorial in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, describes his guide and guardian spirit:

"Oh, what a grand lesson! The heart of our guide seemed to be a temple of charity, and as we gazed upon its emotions, we saw him extend his arms lovingly around all humanity. Noble spirit, each thought a gem of purity going out to elevate the world! And while he goes forth to assist all, to scatter flowers around them, he utters no words of condemnation, hates no one, but with his eyes on the celestial glories of the Summer Land, he points each one to the grandeur thereof, and leads them forth as erring children, not blaming them, not chiding them, for he knows the cause that made them what they are. And thus he labors: throwing over the erring the veil of charity, he leads them forth in the exalted paths of virtue, and he only frowns when he sees others condemn them. His life is one of continual devotion to humanity. An unostentatious name, simple in manners, and a world-loving spirit ever distinguishes him, and he comes to our side, and teaches us the grandest lessons of life."

ARISTOTLE.

"FIN VOLA."

BY C. B.

I was sitting in a cheerful room at a quiet country town hotel, and had just finished one of the burning romances of the celebrated romancist and essayist, A. F.

A. F., the apostle of free thought, free love and ultra democracy, who, amid a storm of opprobrium, a fierce war of opposition and thunders of social excommunication, had unflinchingly and fearlessly won her way to the proud position of one of the most widely-read if not one of the most popular writers of the day. To me her romances, full of sensuous delights, were an exquisite pleasure, unalloyed even when the conventional objection of passionate realism was brought against them. A. F. translated "passion" into "pure Nature," and "Nature" again into "God," when the sting vanished at once.

The tale in question ended with a rhapsody on that splendid appeal of William Blake, artist and poet:

"Hear the voice of the bard,
Who present, past and future sees,
Whose ears have heard
The Ancient Word
That walked among the silent trees,
Falling the lapsed soul,
And walking in the evening dew,
That might control
The starry pole,
And fallen, fallen, light renew."

The commentary on this may be briefly summed up thus. The lapsed souls were those who, despising Nature, could not see God, and needlessly distrust impulses and desires God-given. We wanted no angels, no impossible etherizations, no men without passions, no women without souls—only the restoration of the just and beautiful balance which alone makes perfection. And "every soul contains perfection's germ," and true Art was only the foreshadowing of it which

Genius sees in "her passionate dreams" in fondly following "Truth along her star-paved way."

Strange how these highly-strung poetic natures all, in various keys, sing the same tune. Full freedom and universal love is their eternal burden. Somehow, practically applied, this sort of thing doesn't answer—at least it had not in my case.

Perhaps I was one of the "lapsed souls"—a disagreeable notion. At least, however, I had not distrusted impulse. Would to God I had, once. For the first time I threw away A. F.'s outpouring, dissatisfied and peevish, and sent for a horse to ride out. I had been absent from England for nearly a year, and albeit I was Lord Delamere's only son, with a fair allowance, I was taking a leisurely autumn tour in the west of England, pending the consideration and settlement of some disagreeable private affairs. En route I was informing myself of the political bias of the country, with a view of offering myself as a liberal candidate for the county at the approaching election, at the earnest desire of one of my relatives. For this purpose I had a few introductions to some leading families, and now sallied forth to pay a visit to a naval officer, a certain Captain Fane, who had served in the Peninsular war with my father.

With my head in a muddle, from a confused mixture of Shelley, Blake, A. F., and a sympathetic minor chord from that greedy child of the muses, who must have suffered, like me, from an overdose of an adulterated article—"Oh, bitterness of things too sweet!"—I found myself at Captain Fane's residence, and dismounting to open a wide swing gate, I led my horse through a luxuriant and beautifully kept shrubbery to the door of an old-fashioned red-brick house, surrounded by a blooming garden. A young lady tying up a creeper looked up inquiringly, but without embarrassment, at my approach. I asked if I could see Captain Fane.

"Oh, yes, certainly," she replied at once; "if you can trust your horse to my care, for our gardener has just gone down the village, and won't be back for a few minutes."

I replied, "I could not think of troubling you, but I will wait the few minutes with pleasure, if you will allow me."

Raising her long, curled lashes and a pair of splendid dark blue eyes, she pursued earnestly: "I am not afraid of horses; we have two ponies of our own, and I often ride. Our gardener is our groom also—perhaps you are rich and never heard of a man acting in that double capacity before, but it is very common about here."

I said, "I am not rich, and I think I have heard of such a thing, but I cannot leave you alone with this horse because he is not mine, and I don't know how he would behave."

"Very well," she answered, "then we will wait for the gardener. Meantime I will give you something to guess—our gardener's name—you will never guess it though, not if we waited here a hundred years." (This, with a sudden glad laugh, most inspiring after the simple gravity of her late manner.)

I began, "Henry, Thomas, James, John, William, Richard, Robert, —"

"No, no, no," she cried, "you are not near it at all. I must help you; think of the signs of the Zodiac, signs of the Zodiac."

I repeated, "Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius."

"Stop," she cried, "now you have it."

"Sagittarius?"

"Yes; but our people are not learned, so they call it Sagittary: Sagittary Biles is our gardener and groom."

"Why, I never heard of such a name, Miss Fane," I remarked.

I was taken up promptly.

"How do you know I am Miss Fane?"

"Pardon, but you said 'our gardener,' and this is Capt. Fane's house."

"Dear me! how clever. I think you must be a lawyer, but at least you cannot guess my Christian name—it's another queer one. This time I shall not help you."

I replied, "O, but I pray you in the name of the blessed Virgin?"

"Ah, but it is not Mary," she answered, with merriment brimming all over her bonny red lips.

"Then by the saint with whose hood you will never be-coiffe?"

"No, no, it is not Catherine."

"By the poetic memories of Troy?"

"No, nor Helen; but here is Sagittary, so I will go and look for papa. Perhaps you will follow me. We are sure to find my mother in the drawing-room."

I followed her through the garden to the front of the house, where we entered through a glass door into a very pretty drawing-room. On the sofa there a lady sat alone, with some writing materials before her. She was small, slight and very fragile looking, with a delicate, almost transparent skin, and large gray eyes full of dreams. My companion said to her, "Mother, dear, here is a gentleman who wishes to see papa. I don't know his name."

The most silvery laugh in the world greeted this singular introduction; then the lady replied, "Well, the stranger does not look dangerous; go and find papa, I'm perturbed."

I felt immediately relieved from standing on ceremony, and, laying my card on the writing desk, entered into a full explanation of my visit. I could not have told why I found the lady's voice and manner so intensely sympathetic; why, looking into those deep, full eyes, I suddenly found myself in a new measureless space for breathing, feeling and thinking; but the facts were so, and I spoke under a spell. It was some twenty minutes before Capt. Fane entered, saying something about his having been in his workshop and in a great mess. He was a fine-looking man, about fifty, but lame from a wound in the knee, with a fair face, curly, soft gray hair, clear blue eyes, and a pleasant, direct manner, like his daughter. He came and sat down beside his wife, putting his arm on the cushion at the back with an affectionate, protecting gesture, very becoming, and welcomed my acquaintance with all a sailor's frankness. Hearing that I was likely to be some weeks in the place, he invited me to repeat my visit, and offered to show me some salmon fishing. With one exception our conversation was entirely confined to personal or local topics, but that exception was noteworthy. My eyes fell on a new book near the desk, that had been much praised among the reviewers, and I made some trivial remark about it. Mrs. Fane exclaimed, with a sudden kindling of the eyes and a ring in the voice, peculiar, I think, to her, "Ah, you have not read it. It has so disappointed me. It is too artificial for children; too superficial for grown-up people. Neither nature nor art—the inevitable consequence of an attempt at a hopeless compromise. The author has great talents, and her instincts urge her to high, untrodden paths, but her courage fails, and she stamps impatient feet upon the edge

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of the high road, making no way." The criticism struck me as unusual, and I should like to have pursued the subject; but the autumnal evening was closing in, and I had already paid a most unceremoniously long visit, so I unwillingly rose to go.

At the porch I looked involuntarily for the young girl who had not appeared in the drawing-room, but only Sagittary Biles stood there in his single presence and triple capacity of groom, gardener and consiliator.

That night I had a strange dream. Mrs. Fane's deep eyes and weird spiritual beauty haunted me, and I found myself following her through measureless space; there were no bounds, no landmarks before or behind, to the right or to the left, yet she went on, on, without pause or hesitation, and I followed without misgiving. At last we suddenly stood on the brink of a deep chasm. She turned to me with a bright seraphic smile, leapt over and was on the other side. I sprang to follow; but lo! I was held back; a heavy clog was chained to one foot, and I was powerless to do aught but gaze hopelessly after her. Then she vanished, and in her stead, in a fair garden, I saw the graceful figure of the young girl with the curled lashes, tying up creepers. But my clog remained, and the terrible chasm, and I woke up oppressed, to find my valet at my bedside presenting letters. "This is the clog," I exclaimed, seizing one the handwriting of which I knew too well, and acting on an irresistible impulse, I tore it into a thousand pieces.

I was still sitting moodily over a late breakfast when I was surprised by the entrance of my intimate college friend, Jack Willet. He informed me that he was staying with his uncle, Lord Carlington (of whom he was the heir), and had come to carry me off to Mount Sandford, the family residence, having heard of my being at the hotel from one of the town people.

"But you are such a queer fellow," added Jack, "that I dare say if I had not routed you out, you would have gone mooning about here for a week and then gone off without coming near any of us."

"No," I answered, "I intended calling before I left for election reasons, but my acquaintance with your uncle and his family is next to none, as you know, and I had no idea you were here. I have already made some visits; yesterday I went to Capt. Fane's." Jack started. "What do you know of Capt. Fane?"

"Only that he served with my father in the same ship for a short time during the Peninsular war. What a fine old fellow he is; and his wife, how singularly charming."

"That, of course," replied my friend, "one expects A. F. to be charming and something more."

It was my turn to start. "Mrs. Fane, A. F.!"

"Yes, why not, Ada Fane."

"But, my dear Jack, Mrs. Fane is a respectable matron—a conventional wife, mother and all the rest of it, while A. F. is the apostle of free love."

"Naturally," replied Jack, calmly, "and so she pursues her way fearlessly, for no one can accuse her of advocating bold theories for the sake of justifying naughty practices. Still there is no doubt of her sincerity, so I suppose her convictions came after her marriage. Did you see Miss Fane?"

"Yes."

There was a pause and I had time to realize the extraordinary chance that had given me the acquaintance of the brilliant writer, and I was beginning to try and recall all the great geniuses who had exercised any personal fascination. There was the inspired Shelley, to whom men were so hard, but whose divinity was so clear to the finer instincts and more fearless impulses of women and children by whom he was so invariably adored; but here I was interrupted—

"Isn't she beautiful!" said Jack.

"Oh, certainly—and in a characteristic manner—a weird, poetical, dreamy beauty."

"Well, I don't know," pursued Captain Willet, "Finvola is not at all dreamy, and my idea is that she is just a real Hebe."

I repeated, "Finvola! good heavens! I was talking of Mrs. Fane."

"Then it's all right, of course," returned Jack: "I forgot you were not a marrying man and don't care about girls. By the way, I presume you are alone here?"

I nodded, then said:

"And I presume that all this means that you are a marrying man, and an admirer of Miss Fane's?"

Jack colored, hesitated, fingered all the cigars in his cigarette case, then answered, slowly:

"Every man who knows Miss Fane admires her. She is just the essence of everything that is delicious until you make love to her. Then you become despicable in her eyes. She has her mother's anti-matrimonial theories, and vows she will never be subject to any man."

I replied, carelessly:

"I wonder how many wives are subjects?"

"Exactly. That's all nonsense, of course, like her other pet theory that there is no virtue out of the working classes. The real truth is she has no heart, and does not care a hang for any man living. Then she has been too much sought after. You see she will have a lot of money from her mother's family some day, and from her aunt, Lady Holland, also; so, although she is only nineteen, there have been a lot of men after her. Enough to disgust her with the sex."

"Let her alone, then," I answered; "or, at least, give her time. Lord Carlington's heir need not fear a little rivalry."

The next day found me comfortably established at Mount Sandford. It is a peculiarity of blue blood, I think, in England, that nothing equals its cold reticence toward a stranger except the thorough cordiality with which it meets a man who has the double advantages of a well-known lineage and a proper introduction.

As for virtue, who, except eccentric young girls, like Miss Fane, cares for that in men. Lord Carlington's daughters, Lady Maria and Lady Susan, would certainly not have received one of their own sex, in my then position, into their immaculate company. I wondered why they received me. True, they might not have precisely understood a pretty well-known connection, but at least their father did and their cousin, and these did not care. Virtue, virtue—what is it? We teach it to women and poor people as chastity or abstinence. Who believes in it? Who even realizes the meaning of the word in its fullest sense, had it any? I vowed to ask A. F.

Lord Carlington is a very kind-hearted man, but a real goose. There are hundreds of men quite as foolish, but happily for themselves very few as conspicuously so as this right honorable Earl. It is the misfortune of a title that it drags the meekest and most retiring men from a peaceful obscurity, and forces them constantly into positions where they are fairly subjected to a close and merciless criticism. How often Lord Carlington was thus weighed in the bal-

ances and found wanting I feel too personally concerned to record. "A bas les Titres!" said A. F. in her last novel. From quite a different motive I, Lord Delamere's heir, must echo the cry. Brown, Jones or Robinson need only make public speeches and record political and social judgments, when bright and strong inspiration prompts him, but the hereditary legislator must parade his incapacity on every occasion. It is his duty to his country, his county and his rank.—A bas les Titres!

Lady Susan and Lady Maria, aged respectively 23 and 25, were quiet, gentle, undeveloped sort of women, of whom it would be commonly remarked that they were cut out for old maids, but on this head already a speculative and uneasy interest had become excited in my mind.

It is a beautiful and romantic idea that men should do all the work of the world, and that women, anxiously kept in peace and safety, should merely look on until such time as each man having attained independence and a worthy home should install a queen and lay his honors at her feet. But how many radical errors lie at the root of this bright vision. To begin with, they who do not work do not live—to be up and doing is a necessity of all vigorous existence, and except hard physical labor there is no work for which women are not found as capable as men. Again, to be a shrine or a queen must be an exceptional position for a woman; the intention clearly was that she should be a helpmeet for man—a companion, a fellow-worker, a friend. Again, the mind that is not exercised, not merely on books but on life and its experiences, does not fairly expand, and the heart that has no food consumes itself—poor, eager, longing heart.

Thinking over these things I look again at these women and hundreds like them and perforce ask myself by what right society deprives them thus of life and love. Because they have daily bread is it fair to deny them the absorbing interest, the healthy stimulant, of a profession or a public career? Because no man of suitable rank and fortune offers them his hand and home for aye, is all love, all chance of motherhood, to be shut out from their poor lives? Is free love, from which men learn so much, really an impracticable field for them? I doubt it much. The experiences of love are as necessary to the full development of humanity as sunlight and fresh air. Man does not live by bread alone, nor woman either, God help her.

Says the inspired Blake: "All forms of life but these are free to be fair and happy, only from East to West the prison houses are full of the wailing of women." "All nonsense," exclaims my friend Capt. Jack. "Women are quite happy, awfully happy with their crochet, their sewing and their new bonnets; does anyone hear them complain?"

But I am unconvinced and recall an anecdote *apropos*. A tiny friend of mine was dining with big people for a treat. She had been tolerably calm and self-possessed over the varieties of fish and meats, but when the pastry came she could restrain herself no longer. "Mince pies! jam puffs! oh, I'm so glad," she cried. "Hush, hush," whispered her gentle neighbor. "Well-bred people rejoice inwardly." Perhaps they wait inwardly also.

Lady Carlington had been dead many years, and the young ladies' governess, Miss Bowering, had consequently remained long after they had needed school-room tuition, as companion and guardian to her pupils.

She was with them during the visit of which I write—an uninteresting, elderly spinster of the conventional type, proper in every sense of the word, according to the strictest sect of the Pharisees, and neither better nor worse than might have been expected from the narrow circle in which she had lived and the suppressed artificial life she had led. For no sweet surprise of mince pies, or even rare pleasure of jam puffs, had she ever broken the code—all this she had kept from her youth up. From her I learned the following particulars about the Fane family:

They had been living at — about seven years, having come there principally to be near Lady Holland, Captain Fane's sister, a widow, with some property in the neighborhood.

They had a very modest establishment and lived quietly, giving no parties; but it became gradually understood that this was chiefly on account of Mrs. Fane's extremely delicate health, which rendered her unequal to the excitement of large assemblies.

They went every year to Paris or London for the benefit of their daughter's education, and were found to spend large sums in various philanthropic and progressive movements of the day.

Before they had been in the place two years, Capt. Fane had bought and presented to the parish a commodious building for a club for all classes, all creeds and both sexes.

The gentry were aghast; such an absurd thing could not succeed; the clergy demurred, for it was to be open on Sundays; the farmers frowned at the library and newspapers, such things would do no good to poor people; the ladies were certain it was bad to entice women from their homes and their families; poor women wanted no amusement, society or education. It was altogether a mad scheme, a mistake, but Capt. Fane was pleasantly confident, Mrs. Fane full of earnest faith. Clever men came down from London to draw up rules and initiate proceedings, and gradually the working people roused themselves, formed a committee and awoke to the advantages proposed to them. Then the clergy of various denominations, like the sensible men they are, as a body, gave way, became members and contributed to the library, and all the influential people round followed their example as a matter of course.

At the time of which I write it was not only a self-supporting but a flourishing institution; none of the bad consequences prophesied had resulted, and a very decided advance in intelligence had been observed in the village. The public houses had indeed suffered, but as before the opening of the club this village of eight hundred souls had well supported four, this could hardly be regretted. It was a case of books versus beer now.

"Yes, it has certainly done good," added Miss Bowering; "still, I fear it sadly encourages socialism. Mrs. Fane is so strangely injudicious in what she tells the poor people, and they talk over her sayings there and hatch mischief and discontent. She says that capital has never acted fairly to labor, that the producer is always the least benefited by the produce, which ought not to be, and such like things, which are of course very unsuitable for these people to hear."

I replied, "I think not. There are certain practical questions which are always best understood by those most nearly concerned, which is the reason why every class should be represented in the Legislature. Capital alone has been represented long enough. It has spoken for itself and legislated for itself, and the consequence is that the distance widens between the classes. The rich grow richer and the poor poorer. The more hands a manufacturer or farmer gets the lower he makes the wages and the more he cheapens the pro-

duce, so that those who can afford to buy most benefit most; the poorest the least. This cannot be right; the producer should benefit first and most. It is the old, old story; the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them that have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Capitalists are not afraid without reason of the first awakening movements of a class so deeply wronged as our working men and women."

"Dear me!" exclaimed Miss Bowering; "I had no idea you too were a socialist. Why Mrs. Fane has perhaps perverted you, as she has Lord Carlington—he has taken up her opinions in the strangest manner, and is really quite beyond reason in his admiration of her; indeed, it is hardly—proper—at his time of life."

"Lyndhurst, you must come to the Club ball to-night; the Fanes have made the *canaille* fashionable in their pleasures, and expect the attendance of a few of the upper ten to testify their approbation of the movement. There will be a grand tea, then some speeches (Mrs. Fane's by itself is worth going there for), then a country dance is formed and led off by the Fanes and some of us, after which the plebes set to dancing like mad, and we all come away."

"Not at all, not at all," put in Lord Carlington; "the people dance quietly, and are very well-behaved; the admission is by one shilling tickets, and the affair pays itself and is invariably a success. It is a pleasure to patronize such healthy and innocent methods of amusement for our working classes."

"In my young days," observed Miss Bowering, "it was not considered necessary to promote amusement for poor people; we gave them flannel petticoats and tracts, and that was something like charity."

I remarked, "But this—pardon me, Miss Bowering—is nothing so demoralizing as charity."

"Demoralizing as charity," replied Miss Bowering; "dear, dear, what next shall we hear; alas! how sadly Mrs. Fane's writings have corrupted the world. I often think of dear Lady Holland's remark. 'Don't talk to me,' she said, 'of my sister-in-law's opinions; she has not any, but has just the gift of writing about anything, and if she tickles up a thousand devils with her pen, all the world rushes to read about them. It's a mercy if every one does not get possessed by them, like the swine, and rush violently down social steeples into the sea.'"

I could not help adding—"That's really an original view; I would like to know Lady Holland."

But she was absent.

We all went to the club ball. The room was full, but well-ventilated, and every one sat down to tea directly we arrived. Captain Fane was there, animated and cheery; his wife looking delicate and dreamily lovely, with her graceful head a little drooping as if heavy with thought. I got as near to her as I could and found myself opposite her daughter. Miss Fane was certainly a striking girl—as happy a specimen of high-bred Northern beauty as might well be found.

Rather tall, with a voluptuous grace of contour, a delicate, transparent skin, like her mother's, and abundant dark-brown hair. These advantages yet struck one less than the general appearance of full, happy young life and bright intelligence about her.

The table was narrow, and we had a little conversation. I found in her the sincerity of a school-boy and the simplicity of an angel. Finvola Fane was not capable of stopping a minute to think how to answer one in the prettiest and properest manner. She spoke out her thoughts with a child-like freshness, delightful, because her mind was a delightful study. A perilous one, though, I meditated, if she have really no heart, as Jack says.

After tea Captain Fane made a short speech. I really forget what about, but I know he was heartily cheered. Then Mrs. Fane rose; and there was an instant silence. She said:

"Friends, this being a woman's as well as a man's club, you have always permitted and encouraged me to address a few words to you. Captain Fane has spoken of the affairs of this institution and of our parish excitements. Let us now try to realize that we have great interests at stake, also, in society in general—a work in the world besides that for our daily bread. Strange that we petition so unweariedly, 'Thy kingdom come,' and think so little how or when it will come. The blessed kingdom of the Eternal Three—Liberty, Fraternity and Equality—the human names for the Godhead. Liberty, the giver of all good, of life and breath, and every perfect gift—whose service is perfect freedom. Fraternity, the second person, brother and lover of all. Equality, the sanctifying spirit, blowing like the wind where it listeth, round all and for all. This glorious kingdom which genius has seen 'in her passionate dreams,' before whose trumpets class distinctions will disappear like the walls of Jericho, and before whose majesty rival jealousies of sects and sexes shall vanish away and there shall be neither bond nor free, Jew nor Gentile, male nor female, in antagonism, nor war any more, nor any curse. We all know all this; we pray—we cry 'Thy kingdom come,' but it does not come, for we pray without faith and with folded, idle hands. Ah, friends, why not believe what was written so long ago, so long ago. 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might remove mountains.' But we have no faith, so here are the mountains still—the mountains of prejudice, of oppression and of folly, barring all progress, unheeded apparently by all but a few stray children of the kingdom calling, for the most part, to deaf ears and appealing to the sight of half blind eyes. And what are these among so many, you ask, like the faithless disciples of old, forgetting that the Anointed has not left us who can make enough, and to spare, out of even two or three, who will only join together with faithful prayers and a strong will. Therefore, let us lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees, and make straight paths for our feet—the straight paths of the unqualified respect for individual freedom, of the social equality of the sexes, of large and looming religious toleration—paths where the beautiful nature of mankind, God given, shall develop its perfection, gradually recovering the deformities of ill-growth, of ignorance and a hollow civilization. This glorious kingdom is already in many of our hearts; that it will prevail in every deed and truth throughout the world is my firm faith. May God hasten the day and we all press on to it."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DEAR VIC: Do please let Blackwell enough alone. You have polished him sufficiently. The very stones of Athens, if not of Rome, will cry out against you. I pray you, MERCY.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7.]

The adoption of this platform created a schism, the delegates of 61 associations adhering, while those of 32 withdrew. It is charged now that that astute politician, Count Bismarck, has since made adroit use of this division still further to hinder the movements of the more radical majority. Bebel and Leibknecht are among the prominent leaders of the latter, whose views are also sustained by Dr. Jacobi. This party grows in numbers and influence, and has already been a source of trouble to the Prussian government by its undisguised opposition to the continuance of the war against the French Republic, and more especially to the policy of territorial acquisition favored by so many Germans.

Having stated the general purposes, aims and strength claimed by this new and imposing politico-socialist movement, it is proper to give closer details and explanations, in order that we may comprehend its intentions more clearly. At the organization the following declaration was made:

"The central council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the workmen in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; and that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the central council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies."

The governing idea of this movement is that society is entering upon one of its great constructive epochs. The danger which the leading workingmen foresee and are combating is, that it threatens to become feudal or oligarchic, only shifting the governing force from an aristocracy of class and caste to a plutocracy of money and commerce. According to this view, it is capital which is revolutionizing society through the economic advantages and necessities of association. The rise of the manufacturing system, as well as the rapid growth of that of exchange or banking, with the facilities afforded by the enormous progress of the great cities and the convergence and radiation to and from them of the scientific highways and messengers—railways, steamboats and telegraphs—have given to capital, as such, an enormous and controlling influence. The factory system, with its costly machinery continually improved by scientific discovery, is converting workmen into a mere proletarian class, dependent upon associated or aggregated wealth for the means of obtaining a livelihood. According to the statement of an American writer who is connected with the international movement, "it is the evident tendency of the times to change all production into capitalist production, and to divide society into two classes—capitalists, who own everything, and hands, who own nothing, but depend for their livelihood entirely on the capitalist class. At least, it is inevitable that production on a large scale, being cheaper, more scientific, and thorough, and economizing time, force and capital, should finally do entirely away with production on a small scale. When at last the soil is bought up by a few, when all the branches of labor are carried on exclusively, or almost exclusively, by machines, when all the capital of a country is in the hands of a moneyed aristocracy, who, consequently, will also frame all the laws, where shall the enormous majority of poor men go to find some more profitable employment, to make themselves independent, or enter by co-operation into competition with the large capitalist producer?"

The same writer has stated, in a strong and succinct manner, the general objects aimed at by the International Association and discussed in the four congresses already referred to.

"It is useless for the working people of one nation to attempt to remodel society; there must be a combination of all the nations, and, meantime, attempts at a forcible revolution ought to be discouraged. The new society ought to be founded on universal education. Every individual ought to be developed, by all educational means at the disposal of science and art, into a truly humane being. * * * A society thus prepared for its great task will best know how to legislate for a new order of things. One thing, however, is clear, to wit, that such a future legislation will have to accommodate itself to the economical laws of the age. It will have to render production scientific, and to establish it on the largest possible scale. All new inventions and discoveries, instead of redounding, as now, to the benefit of the few and to the enslaving of the many, must be converted into means of reducing the toils of all, of beautifying life, and ennobling humanity. All the great indispensable means of existence, as lands, mines, machines and means of communication, must be the common property of all, and must be made so gradually. Nothing can reasonably be private property but the product of labor, one's own labor."

At Geneva and Lausanne especially considerable discussion was given to the question of education. All united in demanding that it should be general and thorough, but as to how and by whom it should be provided there was some difference of opinion. Great reluctance is expressed by the French and some German delegates at intrusting the state with the control of education. At Brussels especially, where French influences prevailed, state education was regarded with hostility by a majority. The term was considered equivalent to enforcing a political system of training such as it was affirmed Prussia had established. To make good subjects and soldiers, rather than good citizens and men, was the present purpose of European state education. Such a view was opposed to that set forth in the discussions referred to. The common schools of this country were cited as an example of a general system, sustained by taxation, which did not train the children for the support of any special political form. Taking the average of the educational debates the necessity for making compulsory attendance a leading feature of any common-school system was generally acknowledged.

Opposition to standing armies has been a leading topic for debate. In the Lausanne and Brussels congresses, proposals for a general strike among the workmen as a means of resisting the inauguration of any wars but those for defense or resistance to tyranny, were debated at length. The following resolutions were adopted at Brussels:

"The International Association calls upon workingmen to pronounce against war, to oppose it by all the means in their power, to refuse to countenance assassination, and to organize a propaganda for the education of the poor."

"The International Workmen's Congress recommends workingmen to abstain from all work in event of war breaking out in their respective countries. The Congress reckons

upon the solidarity of workmen of all countries for this strike of the people against war."

Co-operation has of course been a fruitful source of discussion. There are diverse views on the advantages accruing to the working classes, as such, of enterprises like the Rochdale Equitable Pioneer Stores or the Schultze-Delitzsch's Credit Banks. The French delegates, as well as some of the Germans at Brussels, declared that their effect was not to ameliorate the condition of the laboring class, but only to lift up a comparatively limited number of individuals into the ranks of the middle class, and that thereby their chief tendency would be to make a fourth and more degraded class out of the great body of those laborers whose limited means, intelligence and opportunities were such as rendered it impossible for them to unite successfully in movements like those named. The opposition to isolated co-operative efforts grows out of devotion to a larger ideal, and aims, whether wisely or not, to obtain first the right political conditions, and then by combined effort, with favorable legislation, seek the elevation of all through the operation of some understood laws which would result in an equitable, not equal, distribution of the earnings of labor. But the general tendency favors co-operative enterprises. At the Lausanne congress the following declarations were made on motion of Alfred A. Walton, an English delegate, who has written with considerable power against the British land system:

"1. The congress urges upon the members of the International Workingmen's Association in the various countries the necessity of using their influence to induce trade societies to apply a portion of their reserve funds to the establishment of co-operative productive concerns as the best means of utilizing the credit which they now give to the middle classes and governments for the purposes of their own emancipation."

"2. Those societies who do not deem it expedient to embark in co-operative production of their own, ought, by means of their funds, to facilitate the establishment and carrying on of such concerns, and use efforts to establish a system of credits based upon the securities and means of those who invoke its aid, and to found a system of co-operative banking which would enable them to issue promissory notes irrespective of metallic reserves."

Opposition to the present system of banking is a leading feature of all these assemblies. It is a noticeable fact that among the working class in all countries, where these agitations have found their way, there is a widespread conviction that banking, as now conducted, is a fruitful source of the inequality of conditions. Trading and speculative capital is believed to find in it a potent instrument for making "the rich richer and the poor poorer." This antagonism should be borne in mind. All the congresses have declared that banks of credit, and issue should be controlled only by the State, which should advance money to the producer and merchant on proper security. The principle underlying the German credit banks received indorsement, and larger applications of the idea of associated guaranties were recommended by suggesting that trades unions and similar societies could safely bank on their united credits, loaning money and receiving deposits. A declaration of principles, submitted at the last congress, is now pending for the consideration of the next body, and as it expresses the views embraced in this agitation, it is here given:

"1. That interest upon capital, under whatever form, is a tax levied upon the labor of to-day for the benefit of those who have already been enriched by the labor of yesterday; and that if these persons have a right to accumulate, they have not a right to do it at the expense of others."

"2. That in consequence, interest upon capital is a permanent source of injustice and inequality, and that all co-operative associations who persevere in the system transfer the principles of egotism from the individual to the collectivity."

"3. That political and economical creations, such as loan associations and the privileges accorded, whether to financial societies, railway companies, assurance companies, etc., increase to a frightful extent the spoliation power of interest upon capital, and solidarize the interests of governments and those of capitalists."

"4. That the interest taken by discount companies carries the action of interest upon capital to its utmost excess of immorality."

"5. That the application of the principle of solidarity by workmen on a large scale is the sole practical means at their disposal to struggle against the feudality of capital. The committee propose the foundation of an international organization, a workmen's bank, to make credit democratic and equal; and to simplify the intercourse between producers and consumers; that is to say, to relieve labor from the predominance of capital, and transform capital into the servant of labor."

The debates on the duties of trades unions were quite remarkable. In the Brussels congress especially their relations to the general effort at industrial reconstruction were the subject of spirited discussion.

Capital, the speakers urged, is concentrated social force, while labor was only working force. Trades unions were concentrating this into power, and a readjustment of economic relations would give the classes they organize social as well as mere industrial vigor. From this stand-point the duty of trades unions, it was argued, was to concentrate on the wages system, denounce slavery and destined to be overthrown. The unions must, therefore, become centres of social and political activity, as well as instruments of direct warfare on, or resistance to, capital. Strikes were declared to be but clumsy if necessary machinery, and it was urged that information be obtained and discussion had as to the most advisable means of making the producing classes their own employers and factors. A wide distinction was apparent between these theorists and the general management of the co-operative stores. The congress urged its various sections to consider co-operative production as the one thing essential, and especially to eschew the mere joint-stock company plan, which was denounced bitterly as tending only to make the workmen capitalists in a small way.

There is another duty the international movement imposes upon its sections, which, if properly carried out, would be of very great service. It is to institute inquiries into the general condition of labor. The following schedule was adopted at Brussels, to be modified, of course, by local necessities:

1. Name of industry.
2. Age and sex of those employed.
3. Number employed.
4. Wages or salaries: (a) apprentices; (b) wages by day or piece work; (c) scale paid by middle men; weekly and yearly average.
5. (a) Hours of work in factories; (b) with small employers or at home; (c) night work or day work, time employed.

6. Meal times and treatment.

7. Workshops and their conditions; overcrowding, ventilation, gaslight, cleanliness, etc.

8. Nature of occupation and effect upon physical condition.

9. Moral condition. Education, facilities for.

10. State of trade; whether uniform, by the year or season, or fluctuating, exposed to foreign competition, excess of labor, etc.

Also, as to emigration, the distribution of labor, and the means of, or necessity for, a more thorough organization.

The circumstances governing different nations cause diversity as to methods among the delegates and sections of the international movement, but as to the principles that should govern their efforts there is a general harmony. All agree that it is essential to the rightful position of labor, that the form of society for which they strive shall be so far communistic in character as to require that the lands, mines, watercourses, forests, all means of intercommunication, whether of travel or intelligence, banks, and the costly machinery needed for manufacturing and other purposes of scientific production, shall be the property of the community, used only for the common benefit. In the most moderate statement that can be made of their views, these instrumentalities of civilization and production are considered as public trusts charged with private remuneration. The debates at Brussels and Basle on the communal ownership of land and machinery were quite spirited. I condense the best statement of the opinions expressed, as well as define the positions occupied by delegates of the several nationalities.

The English members were self-announced as communists. Their interpretation of the term is much more limited than that usually given it. Webster defines communism as specially meaning "the doctrine of a community of property." This doctrine has found no direct supporters in either of the four congresses whose discussions are under review; especially is it rejected by the English delegates, who are strenuous supporters of the individual's right to the control of all he earns by his own labor and skill. Herein lies an important difference between the socialism under discussion and the communism which has formed the basis alike of Fourier's, Owen's, Cabot's, Baleuf's, St. Simon's and other similar speculations. The common interest or control is to extend only to natural elements for the sustaining of life or the leading artificial agencies which so greatly enhance its comforts, the possession of which by classes or individuals as property must, according to the view under consideration, in the end make them the masters of all social and political forms.

The German delegates agreed in the main with the English. A majority of the French and Belgian delegates also concurred, though their mode of stating these views was more impassioned.

The British agitators propose to make land the chief or only source of state revenue. Such a change in its tenure would as a practical question go a long way toward relieving that people of the burden imposed by the national debt. So eminent an economist as John Stuart Mill indorses a principle of similar character. The Land Tenure Reform League, of which he is president, announces as one of its cardinal principles the right of the State to tax the unearned or artificial increase of value of land. I quote from memory and may not give their statement of this principle *verbatim*, though I am confident of its essential correctness. The "unearned increase" refers to that constant rise in artificial value, especially in and around cities and towns, which is so fruitful a cause of speculation. The English and German delegates alike demand scientific cultivation of the land, are opposed to the minute subdivisions which are characteristic of France and Belgium, and see clearly that farm-life must be made attractive through associative economies and co-operative labor, or become so repugnant a business as to be abandoned to the landed capitalist and his proletarian help.

Most of the French and Belgian delegates announced themselves as "mutualists." They declare that as a counterpoise to the communal control over the soil, by the railroads and telegraphs as well as banking, in order to maintain individual liberty, it is necessary to give the soil or its use to the person actually cultivating the same. They supported a freehold tenure, by which a State tax should be substituted for the land-owner's rental. The laborer should own his tools. The tiller of the soil should therefore control it. Such views as these, less communistic in character, so far as land is concerned, than the positions assumed by either the English or Germans, were set forth by the most ultra of the Parisian delegates. Their enunciation shows the changes made in the minds of the socialistic *outriers* of that metropolis, by the progress of economic science. They used the same argument in demanding that machinery—the tools of labor—should be controlled by the laborer. One Frenchman, Tollen of Paris, offered a resolution declaring it to be the duty of the International Association to advise resistance to the introduction of new machinery, calculated to displace labor, until guaranties were first obtained that such introduction should not be a source of injury to the workmen. The resolution was not acted upon and is not likely to be adopted. From the same point of view they demand the organization of banking or credit as a "public function" and for the common benefit. The term "mutualists," or its equivalent noun, was thus defined by a Belgian: "Mutualism desires that all commodities or services be exchanged for their equivalents. It desires that the workman become the owner of the whole of what he produces. But the soil is not a product of man's labor, and consequently is not a fit subject of exchange. What is produced from it, and the increase of value use and cultivation gives, not the soil itself, is all the agriculturist is entitled to enjoy. The soil is the prime origin of all capital, therefore it must be deemed inalienable in the collective humanity. Mutualism desires the reciprocity of guaranties, therefore society has need of such from those to whom it intrusts the cultivation of the land. Collective ownership is that guaranty. Protection in the results of labor and the enjoyment thereof, is the community's guaranty to the individual."

A programme so antagonistic to the old order, so revolutionary in its aim, as well as so extensive in its operation, has naturally aroused the active hostility of European governments. There was in the very constitution of this movement something different from all that preceded it, in that it necessarily eschewed secrecy, and aimed to obtain its objects by peaceful revolution. Its violence, if it could be so called, would be of a negative character, as action upon the suggestion that in order to resist the inauguration of unjust war there should be a general strike among the workmen of any one country, they to be sustained by the pecuniary and moral aid of their fellows elsewhere. It is

not to be wondered at that the International Association and its various sections should be made victims of government persecution. In France for the last two years before the war with Prussia the secret police of Napoleon had been occupying itself chiefly in planning bogus conspiracies for the assassination of their master, and then charging them upon the leaders of the Paris section of this movement. Twenty-eight members were condemned to various terms of imprisonment under this persecution. At Vienna nine members have been sentenced to and are now serving terms of imprisonment for six years and lesser terms. There have been armed attacks, provoked, as members of the association declare, by the fears of the governments and not the actions of the assailed sections: in Belgium, at Charleroi, Verviers, L'Epine and Seraing; in France, at Aubin, Ricarmie and Creuzot; in Spain, at Barcelona; and in Austria, at Olmutz, Rechenberg and Turnau. In Russia one member has been sentenced to death and numbers have been sent to Siberia. Trials have occurred at all the chief towns of France, and at several points in North Germany. All these facts testify to the fears aroused by this agitation, the methods of which are in striking contrast with previous revolutionary programmes in Europe. The general secretary, Eccarius, stated the essential distinction when, in a letter written before the present war, rebutting the charge of regicide conspiracy made against Tollien and other Paris internationalists, he said: "The people never conspire, and this is the movement of the peoples."

In bringing this article to a close, it is proper and essential to state the condition and character of the related movement in the United States. Political action is here always the earliest thing aimed at. The freedom of the ballot naturally leads men to organize for success through that potent instrumentality. Hence the first formidable manifestation made of a labor reform issue comes before us in the form of a political party. It is of course true that the social and economic issues involved have modified to some extent the political aspects. But it has now fairly assumed the distinctive American character. In Europe all such movements are perforce revolutionary; in the United States they are reformatory. In the one instance it is necessary to overthrow; in the other the means are available to reform and modify existing laws and to change customs and tendencies by means of free and open agitation.

The "National Labor Union," a loose sort of federative association, grew out of the trades union, but has nearly lost its direct relations therewith being now in the main representative of a number of political clubs and leagues, known as "labor unions," which are the chief representatives of the political labor movement in America. It owes its existence, remotely of course, to the fear of the adverse influences of capital, which it has been shown pervades so many active minds among the producing classes, but more directly to the collisions that are constantly occurring and to the discontent produced by the heavy but necessary taxation resulting from the war. The "National Labor Union" was organized at Baltimore in 1866, by the second of a series of annual Labor Congresses, the first of which met at Louisville, in 1865, and the last in August, 1870, at Cincinnati. Until 1869 the National Union did not announce the formation of a distinct political party, though there had been a number of local and sporadic efforts, chiefly in Massachusetts. At the last elections this movement placed tickets in nomination in three several States, besides making nominations for Congress in about one-third of the districts.

The annual sessions of the Labor Congress have been held in Louisville, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati. There have been notable features in these gatherings, prominent among which have been the acceptance of equal terms as members of female and colored delegates. In the official constitution of the National Union a lady has been elected, and is now serving as second vice-president; while a colored man represents one of the great Central States in the executive board or council.

It is claimed that there have been represented at the annual congresses from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand affiliated members. The loss of the distinctive trades or class character, through the direct assumption of a political object, owing to the fact that many unions have a prohibition of political action as organizations, will, it should seem, greatly reduce the direct membership, though labor on the stump may swell their vote to more than the proportions claimed. The platform is simple enough, and not nearly as radical as that put forward by their European confreres. However, the germ is the same, and the end will be also. The National Labor Union denounces private banking and the national banks, and demands the issue by the government of "Paper Tokens," to be stamped and accepted as money, interconvertible into a three per cent. interest-bearing bond; the public debt as now existing being funded into this new form, and the same made to represent all national values. The first difficulty, of course, with this panacea is that it aims to pay a debt in a medium never dreamed of when the debt was contracted. It makes that medium, having no intrinsic value, nor extrinsic either, except so far as the nation choose to give it such by accepting it as currency, take the place of specie or other medium of exchange, and then it makes a perpetual debt, with a fixed rate of interest, the measure of its value.

This is the chief feature of their programme. On the land policy, which is fundamental with the European agitators, the American movement contents itself with demanding that all public lands shall hereafter be reserved to homestead uses, thus opposing the granting of any more of its area in aid of railroads or other internal improvements. It supports eight hours as the legal measure of a working day. On the introduction of Chinese labor, it takes ground in support of voluntary emigration, but bitterly denounces the contract system, demands the abrogation of the Burlingame treaty, and declares that all contract labor must be prohibited under heavy penalties. Our Mongolian "man and brother" receives but little countenance or sympathy from the labor reformers. It is, however, only just to say that with the majority of such delegates as were at Philadelphia and Cincinnati, both of which assemblages the writer attended as a journalist, the motive was not one of race hostility or of feeling against the Chinaman as such, but a lively dread that his condition makes him a convenient instrument in the hands of oligarchic capital wherewith to destroy aspiring and ambitious labor. According to them the cry for cheapening production by lessening the price of labor, through the introduction of the Chinese, is only a cloak to cover the increase of gain by the speculative and employing capitalists. The major portion of the Chinese labor which will be imported for some time to come will be used in enterprises and employments from the reduced cost of construction or of production in which the general public will derive

no benefit whatever. Certainly the annual tens of thousands saved on the employment of Chinese by a railroad company will not increase the value of the road to the public or decrease the cost of their use of it one mill on all the thousands saved by the contractors in wages paid.

The American Union urges co-operation as a means of amelioration. It demands that the pecuniary cost of wars shall be directly borne by the wealth of the land, as the physical cost is borne by the people. These are the main features of their platform.

American trades unions are just beginning to assume a formidable national aspect. Locally they have long been vigorous, and certain trades have been and are as well organized as their English brethren. In one trade the American has gone beyond his elder and forerunner. I refer to the "Knights of St. Crispin," the largest trades union in the world. Its membership is variously estimated at from sixty to eighty thousand; in the State of Massachusetts at nearly thirty thousand. Its future progress will be regarded with more than ordinary interest, because there is now being organized within it one of the most extensive schemes of co-operation ever projected. The details of this, as far as the writer has been able to obtain them, must be deferred to a second paper, in which co-operative enterprises as illustrating the ameliorative tendencies of the labor movement will be treated.

At the present time there are in the United States thirteen national and international trades unions, having nine hundred and ninety-two branches, and a membership of about three hundred thousand persons. The "Knights of St. Crispin" report three hundred branches. The "Iron Moulders' Union" has two hundred and four branches, and seventeen thousand members. The "Typographical Union" has one hundred and twelve branches, and six thousand members. The bricklayers have a membership of fifteen thousand. In the cities of New York and Brooklyn there are about one hundred unions, with a membership of seventy thousand, and funds to the amount of sixty thousand dollars. In the State of New York the membership of different unions is set down at about twenty-five thousand. The anthracite miners in Pennsylvania are reported at thirty thousand enrolled in two organizations. One of these, like the Crispins, is stated to be engaged in perfecting a combined scheme of co-operative labor. It is an encouraging sign of the American labor movement and societies that they show a strong desire to enter as organized bodies into production and self-employment, using their funds in that direction rather than in wasteful and imbiting strikes. It is but a tendency as yet, though the ability of some recognized leaders and the plans now being perfected, as well as the existence of several successful co-operative foundries and shoe shops in various places, indicate both intention and aptitude.

I have endeavored in this paper to give certain aspects of the movement under consideration in a clear, friendly and unprejudiced spirit, seeking to impress upon the reader the full force of the aims of the agitation, because it seems necessary that efforts so important should be fully comprehended. In another paper it is my purpose to present in the same form of summary and generalization the character and result of the principal efforts at co-operation both in Europe and this country.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

SCRIPTURALISMS.

DRIFTING—[CONCLUDED.]

"We know all things work together for good."

True, it is difficult, sometimes impossible, for the sufferer from either physical distress or the poisoned tongue of calumny to feel and accept the aphorism as a positive physiological fact. Yet, bless the angel-world and you have some idea, Thomas, of what I have passed through—it shines back over the dark and difficult course I have come like the brilliant day star, as it is, from on high, brighter and brighter, effulgent into such a perfect flood of truth-reflecting light, that the full soul, almost blinded with the suddenness and volume, grows dark.

As through the cathedral walls are heard the whispers
Of many voices murmuring the mass,
And through the chapel doors at twilight vespers
In vapory clouds the sacred perfumes pass—
So echo the voices of departed legions
In the sweet stillness of the midnight hours,
And from the fair fields of heaven's summer regions
Comes the pure incense of undying flowers.

Feeling no censure for my parents, I yet realize that much, if not quite all, of the elementary bent or tendency of my unequal organism, which has given me so much pain and trouble, was entailed upon me. Deeply sensible of this natural fact, everywhere so apparent in the moral weakness and decrepitude equally with the great mass of physical deformity, an outflow of continual charity is cultured and felt, greatly to our improvement and pleasure, toward the entire race. A correct knowledge of the evils and their cause, under which we groan, prompted by desire and stimulated by the benevolence and love of our higher natures, will eventually regenerate humanity into a better life. So that parents, ceasing to transmit their sins, shall impart to their welcome offspring all the redemptive powers of an intelligent, wise, benevolent and vigorous humanity.

Drifting down over the vast sea of the race's long and dreary course in search of reform and religious improvement, it is sad at times to witness the many egregious mistakes committed in the effort to gain the best method. Man's early ignorance and necessary inexperience clothes his mind in the shroud of fear in view of the occurrence of those immemorable natural phenomena so requisite to the life-conserving equilibrium of the world. Trembling in the presence of a power he should have admired, he imagined those beautiful forces, whose wondrous effects only he could see, armed against his peace; hence, at the mercy only of his ignorant superstitious fears, man drifted easily into all sorts of enslaving error. Learned to appease the "gods" by affliction and debasing himself, and so from the offering in sacri-

fice the work of his hands, animals, products of the soil, etc., until his idea of atonement involved the sacrificial death of a human being. Thus, instead of reaching the truth, he has drifted farther away from the simple essentials of his best interests. But drifting into the reformatory discoveries of the nineteenth century the soul has seized upon the sweetest, most precious, natural, brightest and best philosophy yet vouchsafed to mortality. Drifting through Pantheism, an uncultivated, brutalizing Theism, Atheism, Deism and all the mysticisms by which the designing few have succeeded too long in lording and godding it over the many, into the blest boon of Spirituality, the soul-beautifying knowledge of human immortality, enabling it to stand out, fearless and free, no longer the slave of priestcraft and error. So at length over the gory and turbulent sea of humanity's varied and rugged experience have we drifted into the smiling presence of the angels, which has indeed been the personal and physical as well as spiritual fact with me. Cast high up on the beach, quite unconscious, on that island by the sea, when at length my eyes were opened, it was to be greeted with such a vision of beauty as can only be felt, not described. Months have elapsed since then, but yesterday, at eventide, while sitting here at the window, looking off over the landscape, my spirit seemed to indulge suddenly in rapid future flight. I was in the capital of the nation, Washington. The occasion was inauguration day, March 4, 18—.

Never had there been so vast a concourse of people assembled about the capital, and so earnest, since we have been a nation. Again was I adrift, nay, floating about and over the crowded city, until, becoming fully absorbed also with the patriotic enthusiasm of the swaying populace, I drifted nearer and nearer toward the point of greatest attraction. Hurried along by the surging crowd, I edged in nearer and nearer still toward the centre, now focalizing all the attention of the brilliant assemblage, and at last I gained a sudden and full view of the sublime scene. The newly-elected Chief Magistrate of the nation had taken the usual obligation of his office and ended his address, amid salvos of artillery, music and applause like the roar of mighty waters. Comparative silence again reigned, and the immense multitude of eager spectators and listeners swayed on tiptoe toward the centre, leaning forward with hushed breath. As the mid-afternoon sun burst forth from behind a thin cloud, the silken symbol of the nation's liberties floated off beautifully in the flood of glinting sunlight, shading with a halo of promise the smiling brow of the Vice-President, as, extending her hand as if in blessing, she stepped forth to address the people, the first of her sex called to preside thus over the destinies of the American nation. To me, Thomas, the triumph, the benign joy with which the serene smile from that face thrilled my being, was a gladdening glory indeed, and my overjoyed soul cheerfully ascribed to her the prerogatives of the nation's savior. It was her whom my eyes first met on the sea, and my earlier fortune found adrift.

REICHNER.

WOMAN'S SPHERE.

BY AN OUTSIDER.

Theme for the reckless taunt and idle jest,
Man's patient vassal or his toy, at best;
Afraid of men, of women more afraid,
From her own shadow cowering in the shade,
Alarmed the sound of her own voice to hear,
Kept in the dark; commended to "her sphere;"
Scoffed from the platform with pretentious scorn
To nurse the children never to be born,
To skim the pot and fan the household fires,
And rock the sons of hypothetical sires;
Taught to believe marriage is woman's heaven,
Though only one can get there out of seven;
Counseled by Paul to cover up her hair
And, in the conference, not to lead in prayer.
Assured by Fulton that she has no right
To speak in public, since she "cannot fight."
What then is left for women but to be
All that the *Tribune* urged in fifty-three?
What better counsel stands, for her deliverance,
Than Horace Greeley's words to Mrs. Severance?
Ceding her right to choose her own vocation,
Select her rulers and control the nation;
Vote if she will, or marry if she can,
And make herself the free compeer of man.

For women are not on one pattern made;
Some like the sun, and some affect the shade;
Some women like to make an audience cheer;
Some are content to "chronicle small beer;"
Some like to show their wisdom and their wit,
While "other some" prefer to turn the spit.
Are they all parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body woman is, and man the soul?
Must all succumb to one insensate rule—
Must every woman keep an infant school?

Too long benighted man has had his way;
Indignant woman turns and stands at bay.
Old proverbs tell us when the world was new,
And men and women had not much to do,
Adam was wont to delve and Eve to spin;
His work was out of doors and hers within,
But Adam seized the distaff and the spindle,
And Eve beheld her occupation dwindle.
Must she then sit with folded hands and tarry
Till some fair sibyl tell her "whom to marry?"
Better devote her time to ward committees,
To stamping States and canvassing the cities;
Better no more on flimsy funerals dote,
But take the field and claim the right to vote.

S. H. W.

ART AND DRAMA.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE.—Mr. Fisk's great military band had a fine programme for last Sunday evening, including the "Cujus Animam" from Rossini's "Stabat Mater." This noble and sympathetic melody is familiar to the public ear, and was received with great applause. Composers and scientists despise the public taste, but it is well for them to note that the universal heart of the many does not inevitably prefer weak, trashy music; on the contrary, it almost invariably accepts those inspirations in which the simplicity and grandeur of truth and feeling are not hidden and overlaid by showy embellishment, and it requires that the music shall be expressive and meaningful. It does not much matter whether the import shall be joy or grief, triumph or depression, or even pensive reverie, all that it asks is meaning—and it will be found that wherever the public taste takes hold of an air it is because of this quality of expression. The "Cujus Animam" was, of course, superbly rendered—if anybody is so unreasonable as to expect from Mr. Fisk's band the modulations of the human voice or the delicacy of stringed instruments he will be disappointed—as well expect gentle tinklings from the torrent, or the soft sighing of summer breezes from a strong north-wester. But if the mighty swell, the dying cadence, the strong contrasts of light and shade, and the power of a mighty flood of sound will content him, he will find them here. The vocal performance of Madame Salvotti was more satisfactory in solid, clear rendering of an "Ave Maria," by Gounod, than in the grand scene from "Nabucco," which would try the best voices, and only suit the cultivated ear of the musical connoisseur at last. A violoncello concerto, by Mlle. de Try, was admirably played, especially the chromatic movement; but it is little more in its structure than a show-piece to prove artistic proficiency. Not so the duet by De Try and Castellani, which was more satisfying and not less brilliant. I was glad to hear the generous applause that greeted the grand old "Marsellaise," the spirit-stirring call to liberty. "The Wacht am Rhein" has not quite wiped out the great hymn of a people. The house was filled, as it well deserves to be.

NIBLO'S.—"The Black Crook," with its seductions and suggestions, again tempts the sons of Adam and daughters of Eve to their undoing. The voice of gin and milk Smyth will again be heard in the land and questions of artless morals and immoral arts will again be revived, until people who never thought about the affair shall be compelled to go to Niblo's, if only to see what's the matter. The incomprehensible mystery of the "Black Crook" is as mysterious as ever. *Stalacta* and her two hundred nymphs and Amazons are as gorgeously beautiful and as fascinatingly graceful as they used to be, their movements and evolutions are as bewildering, the costumes as dazzling. The army on the stage is large enough to effect a revolution, moral or political. Try it in Cuba. How the treasurer can stand the expense is a perpetual wonder. To those who seriously or capriciously inquire what is the use, the end and the eternal fitness of "Black Crook," I can only say there is good in everything. We know that ballet is rhythmical motion, a thing of beauty, and so forth, and that the absurdities of "Black Crook," with their setting of color, motion and harmony, help to prepare some minds that cannot yet receive better things for a course of higher art. Besides, every one but Gradgrind has a little leaven of Paganism; he longs secretly after the fairy land and the legendary nature worship which have been swept away by the neologist and the positivist. We may not believe in *Romulus* or *Curtius*, nor even in *William Tell*—*Oberon* and *Titania* and the fairy rings are not—even old *Bogie* is gone—not a child but knows that her doll is without feeling and has a sawdust diaphragm, and yet most of us yearn after the dead past and the happy hunting-grounds, and there is relief only in "Black Crook." As for the immoral suggestions and consequences—bosh! Some will gluttonize over hash. Those who are evil disposed will make their chances out of a camp meeting or at a Young Men's Christian Association anthropological lecture.

WALLACK'S—JOHN GARTH.—Whether we consider the play itself or the way in which it is played, "John Garth" is one of the best pieces put before the public for a long time. It has the advantage of introducing Lester Wallack in a character more marked than his usual line, more marked even than *Elliott Gray*, and altogether different from the light comedy parts in which popular partiality places Mr. Wallack's forte. The elder Wallack was remarkable in his day for the success with which he undertook romantic or melodramatic characters. Mr. Lester Wallack has the old stuff in him when he chooses to turn it to account. The present piece is sufficiently romantic to give it zest, while its plot is within the bounds of reasonable probability, even in those days of railroad and telegraph, ring, shoddy and lobby. The passions that have moved the world are still extant, and the heart of man is much the same as it has been any time these six thousand or perhaps these sixty thousand years. Like causes produce like effects, even if the manner of the work be a little varied. *John Garth* is a man of strong will and proud temper, who returns home from abroad. During his absence his name has been vilified and his only daughter's love estranged by the misrepresentations of *Gregory Deerham*, who ought to have been his friend. His daughter *Minnie* loves *Antonio Barretti*, who happens to be the son of a reprobate between whom and *Garth* there had been a blood feud abroad. The elder *Barretti* recognizes *Garth* and endeavors to murder him, but *Deerham* becomes the victim of this attempt, and receives such injuries as cause his death. Before dying he confesses his criminality to *Garth*, who forgives him, and who destroys a will by which *Deerham* had disinherited his own sister *Hester* in favor of *Minnie Garth*. This was the only reparation he could make. *Garth* is accused of murdering *Deerham*, and his own daughter

believes in his guilt. Circumstances clear his character and display it in its true light, but unhappily too late to save him from brain fever, during which his daughter and *Hester Deerham* nurse him, and eventually the mystery is all cleared up and a complete reconciliation takes place. Old *Barretti* dies penitent; *Minnie* is united to her lover, from whom she had been estranged by a misunderstanding, and *John Garth* marries *Hester*, who had begun by hating and denouncing him, but ends by falling in love with him after she had learned his noble, manly nature.

Mr. Wallack has to portray a great-hearted man, impatient of the world's tyrannous prejudice, hungering for affection, but too proud to right himself or to wait for the clearing up of mistakes and false impressions. He is a man of the world who has had rough experience of life and for whom the title of mad *Garth*, or wolf *Garth*, is not altogether a caprice. The high contempt of the world at large, the heart-craving for his daughter's love, the agony of his disappointment and the lofty dignity of soul with which he forgives his persecutor and takes part with the honest affection of his daughter's lover, even though he knows him to be the son of a relentless enemy, are an excellent development of character, if not a profound study. The portraiture evinces great power in the actor who can put before us a man with so strong a tinge of morbid romanticism, and yet with so much of earnest, every-day practical realism, as at once commands our faith and propitiates our sympathy. In the last act *John Garth* has to do some comedy business necessary for the pleasant ending of the piece; the young people are brought together and the discovery of mutual affection between himself and *Minnie Deerham* takes place. In this, Mr. Wallack has a change of motive, but he undergoes no change of character. He still remains the grave, haughty man, with only a little more external kindness and geniality. He is not the man to wear his heart on his sleeve at any time. This self-repression is indeed the key-note to his whole character—the reverse of ordinary melodramatic construction, unless where secret villainy is to be worked out. This man is an original portrait, painted in with the deep shadows of a Rembrandt, suggesting memories of the "Stranger" or the "Corsair" with modern surroundings. Of course Mr. Wallack's business is perfect, while his by-play is nature itself.

The little bits of humor scattered into the last act to give it piquancy and a life-like savor, have suggested to some critics the idea of weakness in the playwright. He did so much in the four acts that a change of base became a necessity, and he is Brougham-ish in the last. To me it seems that this is just the right thing. We have had our dinner of strong meats and highly seasoned dishes. Now come the pastry and dessert, coffee and *chasse*. The domestic affections, *John Garth's* tenderness, the pleasant love-making, composed in equal parts of business and flirtation, of "I dare not waiting on I would," of covert but kindly satire, dry but merry humor, with such a bit of business to close—*John Garth* almost kisses *Hester* when *Minnie* and her sweetheart suddenly step forward, and with a joyous laugh present a white rose to one and a red rose to the other—and so falls the curtain and no word spoken. This is a tableau as new as it is charming. If all this be Brougham-ism, I can only say I wish other playwrights would draw from his well.

Charles Fisher does a fine piece of melodrama in *Barretti pere*; first a vagabond, then a middle-aged swell, got up to kill, with the most astounding airs, and at last an escaped convict—a sort of *Robert Macaire*, with a fund of real fatherly affection for his son. *Clara Jennings*, as *Minnie*, was a complete success. She is as pleasing as she is painstaking. Her youthful make-up and nice style always tell to advantage in young parts. But *Minnie* is something more than an *ingenue*. She is a *Garth*, with the *Garth* pride and pluck. She will assert her own free will and womanly independence even against her father. She is both gentle and strong-minded. The conflict between the moral duty of obeying, even of loving, her father, and the objection to so detestable a person as she supposes that father to be, is very well rendered. The result is an expression of timidity and hesitation which is not entirely laid aside until the last act, in which she comes out with a buoyant archness that is particularly graceful and natural.

STEINWAY HALL.—A full dress concert by the members of the Church Music Association was given on Tuesday evening. The programme included the grand choral, "Ein Fester Burg ist unser Gott," with overture by Raff, one of the rising German composers, played for the first time in this country; Haydn's Mass in C, No. 2, and Weber's melodramatic opera of "Preciosa." Mrs. Gulager, Mrs. Jenny Kempton and Messrs. Leggat and Remmert were the soloists. The whole performance went splendidly, the modulated expression and ensemble of the powerful chorus giving the best testimony to the judgment and zeal of Dr. James Pech, to whom the musical management of the society is committed. Raff is said to be a proficient in the style of Beethoven and Mendelssohn. But it struck me that there was less of the majesty and sweetness of either one or other than there was of the eccentricity and straining after discordant effects that we meet in the compositions of Liszt and Wagner. The words of the hymn itself, which are a fine confession of faith, are poorly paraphrased, not translated, in the English version. Haydn's mass is well known, and needs no comment. The chorus was grand, and Mr. Remmert gave the exquisite "Qui tollis" solo with full expression. This mass is more jubilant than the majority of such compositions, and gives scope to the vivacity of a large chorus, whose numbers are apt to drag in slow movements. "Preciosa" is sprightly music, in which sweetness and delicacy are more evident than grandeur and force. It tells of the wood and dell, brake and bower, nature in her gentlest aspect. The great chorus, "Im Waid," was done with great spirit. And in *Preciosa's* "aria" Mrs. Jenny Kempton received the encore of the evening from the

audience, who warmed up enough to feel a glow of enthusiasm. The Italian motto at the head of the programme: "The grandest homage to music is silence"—does not mean frigid indifference, but abstinence from ill-bred small talk in face of the performers.

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Messrs. C. H. Ditson & Co., 711 Broadway, have published the following:
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"Remembrance of Paris Waltzes." By Albert Parlow. Rather commonplace, but not without interest.

"Three Sonatas." For four hands. By Pleyel. Well worthy the attention of pianists.

The *Musical Bulletin* for December contains, in its editorial columns, much that will prove of interest to the musical public. Opera bouffe is handled quite roughly—so much so that we are impressed with the idea that the writer must be a very naughty fellow to search so carefully for immoralities—and unfortunate Prince Galitzin, who attempted to give us some idea of Russian music, interpreted by our resident artists, to whom it was all Greek, receives a very complimentary notice. There are also twelve pages of vocal music.

OUR WOMEN ARTISTS.

LADIES WHO DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO ART—WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING.

Among the many artists who busily ply the pencil in New York there is a fair proportion of ladies, whose productions often exhibit fine taste and a good degree of skill. Some of them have paintings in the best collections, but more of them do fine pencil or crayon work, and produce tasteful designs for household ornamentation. Many of the illustrations of popular periodicals are furnished by ladies.

Miss M. J. Walters is a successful painter of landscapes, and her pictures rarely wait long for purchasers. She has a spacious studio in the building of the Young Men's Christian Association. Her "Chapel Pond, Adirondacks," was lately on exhibition at the Academy of Design. Among her other pictures are several wood and water scenes, sketched in Warren County, N. J., and views of "Brascastle Brook" and "Delaware Water Gap."

Miss M. L. Brascione and Mrs. L. B. Culver have rooms in the same building. Among the works of Miss Brascione is a collection of landscape drawing in pencil. She has also in her studio crayon drawings of the "Venus de Milo" and "Silenus and the Infant Bacchus," the latter being the work for which she gained the first prize—a silver medal—at the late spring examination of the Art School of the National Academy of Design, the competitors numbering seventy-five ladies and gentlemen. Mrs. Culver is industriously completing some Hudson River studies. One of her most attractive recent works is a view of Lake Dunmore.

Miss H. E. Blauvelt and Miss Woodward occupy the studio of Colonel James Fairman during his absence in Europe, in *Dodworth's Buildings*, 212 Fifth avenue, and are executing some very creditable work. Miss Blauvelt's summer studies were made in Rockland County, and she has just completed a pretty painting of "Greenwood Lake." "New England Meadow" is just receiving the artist's finishing touches. Miss Woodward has a variety of works just completed. The largest of these is "Wyoming Valley Near Sunset." A smaller landscape is a "Mid-Autumn Scene," not yet completed. She has also a study of flowers—"Buttercups and Daisies"—which is very pretty.

Mrs. Julia Beers, who works in the same building, exhibits a varied collection of autumnal sketches delineated with much skill and sentiment. Miss M. L. Wagner is in Norwich, N. Y., occupied with orders for flowers, landscapes and miniatures. Mrs. Tolles has some fine specimens of fruit at the studio of the Ladies' Art Association. Miss De Gollas' ferns and grasses, in water colors, find a ready market.

Miss Emily Sartain sailed for Europe two weeks since. This lady is the daughter of John Sartain, the veteran artist in the art of engraving on steel, and her own productions in this difficult art rank high in the estimation of connoisseurs. The department of engraving practiced by her is mezzotint, a style more used in England than any other for larger works than those required in books. The process is more simple and requires much less mechanical skill than the line or stipple method, but on the other hand it calls for a more exact knowledge of drawing, greater self-reliance and a free, confident manner which belong to the painter. A knowledge of drawing and painting in oil colors is essential to facility and rapidity in its execution. These Miss Sartain seems to possess. She has been a faithful student in the Art School of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia, under the guidance of the instructor in that institution, Mr. Christian Schussle. She has labored untiringly in drawing from the large collection of antique statuary and in painting in oil colors from the living models which the Academy provides its students, and also availed herself of the lectures on artistic anatomy, which form part of the art course of instruction. She has also twice visited Europe and spent more than a year's time in observation and study in the galleries of Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Great Britain. One of the recent productions of this artist is a portrait of ex-Governor Olden, of New Jersey, engraved on steel, which has attracted the attention of critical judges as a work of art.

Miss Jessie Curtis, of whom Mr. Thomas Nast once said, "No one in this country can draw so beautiful a

face on wood," is always busy with illustrations for children's books. Her specialty is figure drawing, and in this department she stands very high. Some of Miss Curtis' drawings are commissions from the American Tract Society, and a future number of the *Aldine Press* will contain a contribution from her pencil.

Miss Margarita Willetts, one of the regular contributors to the *Rural New Yorker*, has been sending some of her comic sketches to Philadelphia. She has recently completed several pen-and-ink sketches, which have been photo-lithographed, and has also drawn a series of illustrations for the American Tract Society. Miss Hallowell is industriously occupied in illustrating papers and magazines. Her sketches regularly embellish the pages of *Heath and Home* and *Young Folks*. Miss E. C. Darby, who has recently located her studio in Pavonia avenue, Jersey City, is one of the few ladies who draw well on wood. She makes landscape engraving a specialty, and some of her specimens have a high degree of merit. Mrs. S. S. Daniels is still abroad, busily at work, but unfortunately in poor health. Mrs. H. P. Gray will soon sail for Europe. Miss Eliza Greatorex, although in Europe, still manifests an interest in her sister artists here. She has recently sent a series of letters descriptive of the Ladies' Art Association in Munich to the Ladies' Art Association of this city. Miss Virginia Granbury, whose flowers and fruit in oil colors are well known to lovers of art, has assumed the supervision of the art class of Packer Institute, Brooklyn. Miss E. C. Field finds plenty of purchasers for her wild flowers in water colors. Miss Alice Donlevy is engaged in illuminating for the United States Life Insurance Company.

Miss E. H. Remington has passed the summer at Grand Rapids, Mich., Niagara and Connecticut, and, judging from the number of landscapes at her studio, No. 769 Broadway, has been indefatigable in her devotion to art. She has commenced the season very auspiciously. "Lake Ontario from Lewiston Heights," an autumnal landscape presenting a view of Niagara river, a point on the Canadian shore, and the village of Lewiston, on the American border, is an attractive work which this artist is completing. Miss Mary Kollock occupies a studio in the same building, and is busily occupied in enlarging paintings from studies made during the past summer and autumn at Keene Flats, Adirondack. Miss E. B. Lawton exhibits at Schans' gallery a fine flower piece, and is completing other subjects of the same class at her studio, No. 20 Clinton Hall. Miss Granger is also occupied with flower subjects. Mrs. Manly is modeling in very high relief "The Blessed Damsel," a conception taken from one of Rosetti's poems.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN MEMPHIS—A LADY RECEIVES A REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE IN THE FIFTH WARD.—Yesterday morning while Mr. A. R. Droeshner, Register of the Fifth Ward, was busily engaged in issuing certificates to "free American citizens" he was startled by a voice that evidently belonged to the fair sex, asking if this was "the register's office of the Fifth Ward?" Looking up from his work, Mr. Droeshner smiled reassuringly, and informed the lady that it was. "Well, sir, I wish to register." "You! eh! what, you want to vote?" "I want to register, as I have a right to do, under the tenth section of that chapter of the charter which governs registers." Mr. Droeshner, in rather an astounded state of mind, looked up the chapter referred to, which reads as follows:

"And be it further enacted, That the charter of the city of Memphis be so modified and amended as to provide that hereafter all owners of real estate situated within the corporate limits of said city of Memphis upon which taxes are assessed and collected, shall be entitled to vote in all the municipal elections in said city, for city officers, whether said owners of real estate are resident within the city or not." This settled it, and, asking the name, Mr. Droeshner wrote down opposite No. 355 in his book, the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Avery Meriwether. After seeing her name properly entered and receiving her certificate, which states that she is entitled to vote in the Fifth Ward at any municipal election in 1872, Mrs. Meriwether bowed and took her leave. The ice is now broken, and it is expected that all ladies qualified will take out their registration papers at once. With this new element in the field who can say who will be our next Mayor? In this connection we are permitted to publish the following letter from the lady addressed to a friend in this city: "Memphis, Tenn., Dec. 9, 1871.—Dear Madam: I clip two little notices from our papers of this morning. You will see that the dream of my life is almost accomplished. The judges may refuse to receive my vote, but I have faith that they will not. I would like to hear how the great cause is progressing in your city. I think our people are ripe for reform. The apathy lies more in our own sex than in men. Women are so dreadfully afraid of being unfashionable. When we make it the fashion to be independent and reasoning, rather than weak and silly, then we shall have converts by the thousand. Yours truly, Lizzie Avery Meriwether."

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