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INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

1. Go to, now, ye rich men; weep and howl, for your miseries that shall come upon you.  
 4. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord.  
 Gen. Ep. James v. 1-4.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

The meeting of the American Federal Council on Sunday was well attended, and a vacancy was filled by the election of Thomas Lalor.

The following communication was received from Section 23 (American) in Philadelphia, Pa.:

At a meeting of Section No. 26, I. W. A., of Philadelphia, held June 16, 1873, was passed the following, by a unanimous vote, as declaratory of the views of the members of the Section touching the question of the fundamental basis of the body, and recommending their consideration to the Internationals everywhere; and in answer to the request of the American Federation, that we consider and act upon certain propositions submitted by the Corresponding Secretary of said body.

Declaration.—1st. That no movement can be permanently successful among progressive minds which stops short of a full and complete recognition of the *entire liberty of the individual*, so long as the action coming from such liberty trespasses upon neither the person or property of another.

2d. That the voluntary union and co-operation of the units of working bodies is the only sure and unobjectionable mode of attaining practical success, in the effort to establish the rightful position of the labor interest in the world, and thereby to secure the supremacy of production over capital.

3d. That the delegation of individual rights to men to perform other than assigned duties as agents is the fatal error from which has arisen all the tyranny of government, class-rule, and the subjugation of man the world over.

4th. That the practical observance of these principles is a sure guarantee against any and all internal dissensions, which more than all else have embarrassed the progressive movement of the age, and especially the organized bodies of workers in their efforts at emancipation.

5th. Earnestly hoping that for the future the industrial armies of the earth may move on the basis of inalienable right, and that we may practice that justice to each other we seek to establish everywhere, to the end that despotism under every name and in every climate may be extinguished, and that Liberty, Order, Justice and Truth may be enthroned in every heart, and gain a practical expression in all human relations, Section No. 26 most fraternally recommends the above as a basis of unity, which, while preserving the liberty of the individual, must tend to an efficient consolidation of the working bodies, and make us an irresistible power against all who seek the continuation of the enslavement.

JESSE B. BEUNE, President.  
 JOHN MILLS, Recording Secretary.  
 ISAAC REHN, Corres. Secretary.

By and with the advice of the members.

Section 26 also reported that the propositions of the English Federal Council, relating to the organization of the Association as printed in the last number of the WEEKLY, had been adopted by that Section, except the last which provided for a change of name.

The Committee appointed to present the memorial of the Council to the Boards of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen of the city of New York, asking for the abolition of the contract system of employing labor and the establishment of a Labor Bureau, which has already been printed in the WEEKLY, reported that they had waited on the Acting Mayor, Alderman Vance, President of the Board, and he had promised to lay their application for a hearing before the Common Council.

A resolution was adopted that the Secretaries be ordered to open a correspondence with all the Sections of the I. W. A., notifying them of the expiration of the appointed term of members of the Council, and asking their opinion in regard to the advisability of calling a new Congress or holding over to another term.

A resolution was also adopted that a subscription be taken up among the American people (independent of the I. W. A.) to aid in the erection of a monument to the memory of D'Anita Garibaldi, wife of General Garibaldi.

SOCIALISTIC.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE RAVENNA CONVENTION.

The Convention was organized by the appointment of J. H. Philleo, President, and Francis Barry, Secretary.

Letters were read from Seward Mitchell, Benj. R. Tucker, A. Briggs Davis, Orson S. Murray, Helen Nash, L. M. R. Pool, Thos. W. Organ, J. T. Lloyd, C. L. James, and many others.

The following Constitution was submitted, and after earnest discussion of Articles 1 and 8, was adopted:

1. This Society shall be called the Western Reserve Woman's Emancipation Society.

2. The object of this Society shall be to secure absolute freedom to woman, through the overthrow of the popular system of marriage.

3. Any resident of the Western Reserve may become a member, and any other person an honorary member, by subscribing to this Constitution, and contributing to the funds of the Society.

4. The officers of this Society shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and Executive Committee.

5. The Society shall hold an annual meeting, commencing on the first Saturday in June, and quarterly meetings, commencing on the first Saturday of September, December and March, at such place as the Executive Committee may appoint.

6. The funds of the Society shall be expended for the furtherance of the objects of the Society, under the direction of the Executive Committee, and the Treasurer shall pay out no moneys without a written order signed by a majority of said committee.

7. The Treasurer shall keep an exact account of all moneys received and expended, which account shall be audited by a committee appointed at the annual meeting.

8. Any member of this Society who shall enter the marriage relation, or claim any right of possession, or exercise any authority over another by virtue of power conferred by marriage law, shall be expelled from the Society, and the Executive Committee shall, upon sufficient testimony, direct the Secretary to erase the name of the offender from the books of the Society.

9. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of a majority of members present at any annual meeting, but the amendment shall be submitted in writing at the previous quarterly meeting.

10. The Secretary shall keep an account of the moneys received by the Society, and shall be one of the auditing committee.

11. When vacancies occur in the offices of the Society they shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Carrie Lewis, President.  
 D. M. Allen, J. H. Philleo, Lucia H. Cowles, Vice-Presidents.

Francis Barry, Secretary.  
 Ann B. Spink, Treasurer.  
 Sarah M. Day, Frances P. Sutliff, Sarah L. S. Philleo, Ann B. Spink, J. J. Bigelow, Lucia H. Cowles, Francis Barry, Executive Committee.

The following resolutions were introduced by D. M. Allen and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the departure of our brother, O. L. Sutliff, to higher life, we realize the loss of an able, honest, efficient co-laborer for the elevation of the race.

Resolved, That we extend to the companion and relatives of our departed brother our heartfelt sympathy and condolence in this the hour of their bereavement, and commend to them the consolations of the glorious faith in the doctrine of spirit communion.

The society adjourned to meet at the call of the Executive Committee.  
 J. H. PHILLEO, Pres.  
 FRANCIS BARRY, Sec.

LETTERS.

EAU CLAIRE, Wis., May 18, 1873.

TO THE FREE LOVE CONVENTION, RAVENNA, Ohio:

The history of the Free Love movement for the last few years has been a history of a united effort for a single practical end, the formal abolition of marriage as a civil institution. Before that it is a history of controversy about the ideal relations of the sexes—an all-important question, but one on which Free Lovers now agree to disagree in order to secure their common end—woman's liberty of choice. The charge so often made against the advocates of freedom that they aim at subverting order, may be retorted with great effect upon the other party. The nearer we can trace society back to a condition of pure anarchy the more cruel and arbitrary do we find whatever authority existed; and the whole process of social evolution has been marked from stage to stage by the increasing freedom of individual action and the increasing mildness of the penalties for acts considered improper. In the present day it is generally held that anything may be done which does not injure others, and that personal restraint is the only way of dealing with what does. Amidst this liberal and equitable civilization, marriage remains the one red-handed survivor of the ancient race of tyrants. Nothing is too bad for the woman that violates its laws, and no outrage—not even murder—can be punished in the man who represents its sanctity. The consequence is that we have made far less progress in sexual than any other branch of social morality. Comparing the worst American city, as New York, with London a hundred years ago, we may almost say that the sin of violence has ceased to exist. But the sin of lust, though far less formidable in modern times than ancient, is still so tremendous in extent and so horrible in many of its forms as to excite the alarm of every philanthropist. The reason is extremely simple. Slavery, of which marriage according to law is simply one form, is, on one side, tyranny, on the other anarchy. It is equally responsible for the cruelty of the master and the folly of the slave. To abolish it is not only justice to the oppressed

party, but is the first necessary step toward the reformation of whatever faults he may have contracted—and the enslaved always contract plenty. For this reason I seldom venture any opinion on the final condition of society, reserving my energies for the great reform of which society stands in immediate need. I trust that this reform, encumbered with as few issues as possible, will be made through your exertions the bond of union among the members of the League, and so trusting, promise active devotion to the cause.

C. L. JAMES.

HANNEE, Ind., May 29, 1873.

CITIZENS OF THE CONVENTION:

In the solemn cadence of the centuries there are two principal voices that linger, like fallen spirits, within the confines of earth, doing penance for the sins of the past before taking a final leave of it. The one is the imperious voice of the oppressor, and the other the long, deep cry of the oppressed.

But to-day the toiling, sorrowing millions are clamoring in a voice that "will not down," and will not wait that the sceptre pass from the hand of the tyrant; that the wail of his victim be heeded once and heard no more; and that the garden of the world be made vocal and melodious with the song of deliverance. And the two great parties of the world are forming into line.

The inborn aspirations for liberty has developed the imagery which hope has woven into bright, prophetic dreams through the long night of oppression.

But the demand for human rights has generally been limited to and has only meant exemption from some local or specific wrong, and has resulted simply in the transfer of authority from the declining to the ascending scale of power, and from one contending faction to another.

Indeed, a claim to the primary and fundamental right of individual self-ownership has never been generally and persistently made until the middle of the present century.

Especially is this true so far as relates to the sexual functions and the office of reproduction. The present vehement demand by a woman, in behalf of woman, of the plenary right of consecration to the highest love, and of original and final jurisdiction in the most sacred office of maternity, is therefore a new thing under the sun. It is a landmark never before reached. A new round in the ladder of progress, and marks an era in the history of the race.

The genius of the age has developed in at least one woman, the transcendent wisdom to know and the irrepressible moral courage to declare in the presence of "all Israel and the Sun," that it is the paramount right of her sex to determine when she will, and when she will not, submit to the "martyrdom of maternity," and with whom it is her sovereign pleasure to take the initiative to that most responsible duty.

And this, oh, horror of crucified humanity, this is Free Love! "The one thing 'beastly and abominable' that now inhabits the earth."—[E. H. G. Clark in *Thunderbolt*.]

And in order that there shall be a reincarnation of Divinity in each new birth of humanity, that the coming generations shall be "created" not even "a little lower than the angels," and that the distant millennium may at least be made possible before the earth shall be wasted to nothing by the eternal friction of its own axis. To this end it is not only her right to be instructed, but it is the duty of the erudite to bring to her the accumulated wisdom of the ages, and to cast a halo of holy light about and around and beyond the pathway of this painful but transcendent duty. And this—Oh! sublime terror of the timorous gods?—this is stirpiculture! And again: The rights of which I speak are not of that treacherous kind which each frail woman must conquer—fighting single-handed against the world or be denied; but they must be guaranteed to her by the concurrent will of the whole people, and if necessary by the aggressive interference of the State. And here we have law and social organization.

In the infancy of the race, man as the "master sex," arrogating to himself the exclusive prerogative of giving form and character to the laws and customs of society, entered upon the responsible duty of building the institutions of the world. Incapable of forecasting the needs of an enlightened age as a child is of computing the solar eclipses for the next million of years, and recognizing no necessities but those incident to his own savage state, he laid their foundation upon the lowest level of the grossest materialism, in obedience to the controlling impulse of untamed animal passion. And though the forms of society have varied in different quarters of the world and changed with advancing time; yet the central idea of the chattelhood of sex and of the subordination of women in the general distribution of rights and privileges has been assiduously taught and enforced in every country and in all ages. Hence woman, as such, is at no single hour of her life the owner of her own body. Previous to marriage the rights of ownership and of the functional exercise of her sexhood vest not in herself, but are held in abeyance by the State for the possible future husband. Now to say that I am the owner, in any proper sense, of any part of my physical mechanism, the natural, healthful use of which I am forbidden, is to give the lie to God's purpose in creating me. For woman to transcend the plainly implied injunction to sexual abstinence and complete self-abnegation before marriage, is to incur instant social death, and from such there is no resurrection. And even this will not sate the thirst of the social vampire, for it hunts the unconscious babe to its mother's womb, and there brands it with an ante-natal curse. Pity, oh God, the innocent offspring of an "indiscreet" love, cursed in its inception, cursed in its birth, damned into life and damned to death by theimps of hell commissioned to deal out damnation at the bidding of their master. And when she, starved into compliance by the sacred longings of a woman's soul, surrenders at the altar, the investiture in the husband of immediate undisputed bodily possession is held to be so complete, that to permit her even to retain her virgin name is thought to be a recognition of her individual identity intolerably obnoxious to the spirit of the transaction. She is therefore as utterly dead to the 500,000,000 of the



human brotherhood, himself excepted, as though he were the only man living in all the world. The most exalted human love will soon take to itself wings and flee from such bondage, for liberty is the first law of its existence; and though both parties consent to bind their love in bonds of exclusiveness, yet shall it perish the sooner, for God has placed a penalty upon such immeasurable meanness. Yet the decree still stands, "Thy husband shall rule over thee." The bond requires the pound of flesh. "Thou shalt multiply and replenish the earth." And the world swarms with a race of hopeless invalids, devils incarnate, and stark-staring fools, living abortions, exhumed from the graves of a dead love. And this, oh ye laughing devils, this is marriage! Born of ignorance and lust, as we have shown, its venerable parents still live to stay its slowly declining years.

The admirable adaptation of the means here employed to the desired end reveals the purpose and planning of an artful deceiver. The relation of the sexes is the one forbidden subject. Standard works on sexual physiology and scientific procreation are required to be kept under lock, and read only by lamp-light, when the children are asleep. The literature of love, if true to nature and to the "Naked Truth," is placed under the ban of a villainous censorship, and branded "obscene!" The prolific source from which flow the purest loves and the sweetest felicities of life, is perverted into a cesspool of inherent depravity. The bright-faced boy, with inquiring eyes, lisps his first "naughty" question, and is hastily rebuked or shamed into silence. The future man, the father of the next generation, has received his first lesson, and he enters life with a lie branded indelibly into his mind. Thus early emasculated of his intellectual and moral manhood; he is regarded a "proper and useful" member of society, and eminently qualified, when of lawful age, to own a wife and raise a family. And again, the well-bred young lady is taught and expected to blush with very shame at the mere mention of her organic womanhood. To neglect this "very essential" rule of social etiquette is to invite serious suspicion of her "chastity." Thus the most palpable ignorance reigns without a rival. And we dwell in a land of darkness. "Even" a "land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness."—Job x., 21, 22.

J. T. LLOYD.

POMEROY, Ohio, May 26, 1873.

FRANCIS BARRY:

Dear Friend and Brother—Being determined to let my light shine among men—and women—and being fully prepared to indorse every word of your letter in WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY of the 24th, to J. P. Lloyd, deeming said letter suitable for a platform for any free-love league which can be organized; also thinking that you will need strength of members to swell the names of the Convention you have called for June 1, I therefore unhesitatingly send mine, not as one able to give any weight to your proceedings, but as an humble, sincere and earnest believer in the doctrine of Free Love, as put forth and maintained in yours above mentioned.

Since you ask for suggestions concerning a name for the league to be inaugurated, I could hope the Convention will come to a unanimous conclusion to stick to "Free Love League." Free Love—and there is none other—is the name in which you will meet; 'tis the name of the furnace through which martyrs have passed, are passing, and must yet pass to the good, the greatest good to humanity. Free Love has been the scorn and the bye-word of the ignorant and licentious since it was first conceived of the Holy Ghost and born to humanity. Let earnest Free Lovers, then, never forsake the original name of the cause, for the maintenance of which they pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor!

Deeply regretting that I cannot be with you in Convention to add one more to the disciples of the new dispensation,

I remain yours, hopefully and prayerfully,

HELEN NASH.

To LUCIA H. COWLES, D. ALLEN, O. L. SUTLIFF AND OTHERS:

Your "call" for a "Convention at Ravenna," including invitation for letters, has been received through WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. Circumstances will not permit my attendance, nor allow me to write satisfactorily to myself during the brief, scanty fractions of time at my disposal for that purpose, remaining after the late hour when the call first came under my notice.

You would emancipate woman. You would then abolish a system of slavery whose history forms a part of the first page, the last page, and all intermediate pages of human history—a system of slavery which has victimized half of the race, and deprived the whole race, throughout the generations hitherto. You "wrestle against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world." Your war is with the makers of codes and creeds. Your foes are the forgers of chains, whose links, swivels and hooks are bibles, constitutions and statutes. Your enemies are church-and-state conspirators against human freedom. Your cause is the cause of morality and virtue against religion and lust. The watchwords of the cohorts you have to contend with are: "Irreligion has no rights which Christianity is bound to respect." "Let as many as cannot take Christian oaths go into Christian jails." Be it understood, then, on both sides, that it is a black-flag war between morality and religion, between freedom and despotism, between the advocates of love and the defenders of hate.

In Christendom the so-styled "Holy Bible," its makers, its upholders, its defenders, the enforcers of its wrongs and outrages, the perpetrators and perpetuators of its blasphemies against nature, and its crimes against humanity—these are the enslavers of woman, the depravers of man and of woman, the preventers of purity, peace and love.

The beginning of the "Bible" iniquity against woman, is in that monstrous mythologico-theological allegation, which, so far as human action is concerned, makes woman to have been the originator of sin in our world, and as such

justly to be punished—perpetually punished, throughout all generations, during all time, by being made man's slave. Until this authority on which this monstrosity stands is annulled; until this time-honored atrocity is forever made void, woman, wherever this "bible" prevails, will be man's slave. In proportion as this "bible" authority regulates the relations between woman and man, woman will be in bondage and degradation, and man will be her irresponsible master. "He shall rule over thee." Until this pronouncement ceases to be received as anything better than an emanation from ignorance and barbarism, women themselves will remain slaves to superstition, incapable of acting any proper or necessary part toward achieving equality with man before the law, and incapable of making good use of this attainment if achieved.

A slight illustration of the thought now brought to your consideration is furnished in the proceedings of a "Woman Suffrage Convention," held at Xenia, Ohio, Nov. 10, 1871, reported in the Cincinnati Commercial, thus:

Mrs. Cutler took the chair, and a clergyman present offered a brief invocation, in which the objects of the Convention were conspicuously neglected.

A VETERAN INTRODUCED.

Mrs. Cutler, from the chair, said: "We have present an old worker in the cause of reform. He has desired to present some resolutions. I will say in regard to the resolutions that Mr. Murray desires to bring forward, that I shall indorse part and take issue with part. His gray hair and gray beard are evidence that he must ere long close his account, but he has given such serious thought to these questions that I have pleasure in introducing him. He will read part of his resolutions at least. He will perhaps, refrain from reading all of them, as it might bring us into deep water."

I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Murray. I heard he had some resolutions, and took the liberty of looking over them. A part will not be agreed to by the majority here. They call in question the authenticity of a part of the records of the Bible. Will you allow him to read them on his own responsibility?

A motion was made by Mr. Dodds, of Xenia, to allow the resolutions to be read.

On the *viva voce* vote there was a strong negative of feminine voices, but a rising vote being called for, it was decided in the affirmative, only Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Allison, and possibly one or two more voting in the negative.

*Resolved.* 1. That ignorance has been the evil, and knowledge is the remedy.

2. That the light of the present is safer to walk in than any darkness of the past.

3. That unless the wisdom of the present is superior to the wisdom of the remote past, observations and experience hitherto have been but waste of time and opportunity, and progressive improvement is no reality.

4. That abiding conviction of truth and righteousness is a better rule of action and safer guide for conduct than fear excited under doubtful authority.

5. That the dictates of mature reason should displace any dictation to the contrary authoritatively imposed during the susceptible years of childhood education."

Here Mr. Murray remarked that thus far Mrs. Cutler had agreed with him. Beyond here she did not.

Mrs. Cutler (from the Chair)—Indeed, I strongly objected to their introduction at all, and only permitted it by the direction of this meeting.

Mr. Murray proceeded:

7. That among these inspirations of the past thus obtruding themselves upon the present, and thus to be treated, are all such as teach that 'the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man,' that a perfect man was made and employed to 'give names to all cattle and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field,' when, lo! it was found there was no woman for him to name; that by a most mysterious process of manipulation a woman was then produced for and from the man; and her designation was made to answer to her origin—the signification being that 'she was taken out of man'—that the woman was suffered to fall into temptation prepared for her, and for the fall was singularly and signally punished, the finishing part of the perpetual punishment being that man should 'rule over' her.

8. That manifestly, the perpetuated despotism of man in ruling over woman in Christendom at this late day of larger and better light, demanding better regard for the proprieties of life, better rules of life for regard—is due to the superstitious reverence for these inspirations of undevelopment.

9. That to every consideration which has led to practical disregard of these authorities, so far as to secure the putting away of smaller slaveries, there are considerations to be added infinitely more weighty for summary arrest and swift dispatch of man's despotic 'rule over' woman.

10. That to the monstrous license given to man by these inspirations cited, and by such others as authorize the subjecting of woman to concubinage, to be continued or discontinued at the will and pleasure of the incontinent despot with 'hardness of heart' furnished; and especially by such as give particular, peculiar and unlimited license to divine favorites, permitted to have their wives and concubines by hundreds, and the wives of others 'given into their bosom,' and such and such things' beside to these inspirations, examples, sanctions, authorities, we owe the beastly element in Mormonism, and the more hypocritical and multifarious manifestations of it in the persecutors of the Mormons.

11. That to the legal enormity, under the misnomer of marriage-law, provided for in the same inspirations; binding woman in obedience to she knows not what in the 'all things' constituting unspeakable forms of brutal outrage armed with Church and State violence of enforcement; an illegitimacy whose more fitting designation would be, 'A law to necessitate concubinage and provoke prostitution,' we owe the doings of all such assassins as Sickles and McFarland, to intimate nothing of the untold, unrevealed living

death it creates and perpetuates throughout Christendom; when in the increase of light, the enlargement of knowledge, the growth of intelligence, now attained to, we should be practicing better proprieties of life, should be cultivating, purifying, elevating the social and sexual virtues and relations."

After brief discussion, the resolutions were laid on the table. Too blind were these slaves to superstition, to see that in what they were now doing they were verifying the declarations of the resolutions. Their acts for the suppression of speech declaratory of the cause of their acts, were the acts of slaves whom the resolutions would emancipate—the acts of slaves defending their enslavers, and thus perpetuating their own enslavement. It is this enslaving power of superstition which is to be overcome in the case. It is for this helplessness of its victims that a remedy is to be found.

Until conviction of truth can be made to outweigh faith in fables, and fidelity to human interests become paramount to fealty to the interests of a lustful oligarchy; until reason shall outdo irrationality, and cause law to supersede illegitimacy; until humanity can be elevated above Christianity—be held superior to Christianity—be treated as more sacred than Christianity—more to be regarded than any religion—than all religions—"exalted above all that is called God;" until school-houses obtain superiority over churches and dictionaries can be made to displace bibles in common schools; until morality shall have eliminated religion from public teaching; until woman's rights and liberties are recognized as human rights and liberties, based on higher law than all bibles and constitutions, and man and woman cease to be Superstition's slaves, woman will not cease to be man's slave.

Prominent in the proceedings of this Convention were: a protest, entered with religious zeal by a Mrs. Cole, from Sidney, against any recognition of, or identity with, Victoria C. Woodhull, as a worker in this cause [a woman who is doing more for woman's disenfranchisement than all such "Bible" religionists in Christendom], and a labored argument by Mrs. Cutler, to force a construction upon Constitutional Amendments, which was not intended by Congress, their constituents or their ratifiers. As if Constitutional amendments were or could be made to be more than lifeless letters, except as being the truthful, real, earnest utterances of the law-making powers, so that the first work to be done is to put the people, the appointers of the law-makers, under conviction of truth that womanhood—that woman, by virtue of her natural rights and relations—is above the authority of "Constitutions" and "Bibles;" that "Bibles" and "Constitutions" are to be made subject to the natural rights of woman, not woman to be sacrificed or subjected to "Bibles" or "Constitutions."

Forty years ago next December a few of us assembled in Philadelphia and formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. Among the names then and there put on parchment will be found that of the excellent James Mott. You shall look in vain for the name of Lucretia Mott, the acknowledged superior of James. While James and his compeers were writing their names to constitute and herald forth that terrifying testimony against American despotism, Lucretia and her sisters were sitting spectators on back seats, bound in chains by "Bible" religion—by Christian religion. This religion—all religion—is the slavery to be abolished, conditional to the concession and maintenance of woman's natural rights and liberties, and man's and woman's moral regeneration and elevation.

The first law of religion is an absurdity which never was enforced, and never can be. It has always been a license for persecution and bloodshedding. It is a crime against nature and reason. It is an illegitimacy to be obliterated; it is a monstrosity to be eradicated. Commands to love gods are pure tyrannies—are the perfections of outrages.

To assert that these commands are not meant to signify what they say—what they have always in practice been made to mean—is but to increase the absurdity and immorality. To say that when they say love they mean fear—that when they say peace they mean war—is but to make religion the thing of hypocrisy and iniquity it is, has always been, and will always be, until it is superseded by morality—by truth and sincerity.

It is equally absurd, equally despotical, to undertake to regulate love by force, with arbitrary laws and penalties, among human kind. The effect is the production of hate and hatefulness, instead of love and loveliness. What nature, reason, intelligence, knowledge, experience unite in putting asunder let not men or gods, or men and gods, presume to join together.

In any of the relations of life, in any relations or conditions of affectional beings, anything less, anything else than freedom for love, is absurdity. Any language, commanding, demanding, constraining love, is absurdity in terms. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," is a paradox born of ignorance. In this age of riper human development it is an egregious anachronism. To be loved, it is necessary to be lovely. Loving and being loved are matters which must be regulated, must regulate themselves, in the relations of things.

Free Love has been made odious in the interest of legalized, licensed libertinism. The term has been interpreted by the gross, the incontinent, the beastly, in representation of their own practices. Their motives have been meretricious.

The "social evil" of the nineteenth century is a system of social despotism, practiced under the misnomer of "marriage law," based on the "Bible" blasphemy against nature, human rights, human well-being; that it is for one-half of the human family to "rule over" the other half, the latter to be under obedience to, and in the service of, the former, as slave property.

For ignoring piety, modifying beastliness and brutality, and magnifying humanity.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

FOSTER'S CROSSINGS, Warren County, O., May 28, 1873.

P. S.—You invite suggestions as to a name or designation for your organization. A universal system of slavery is to



be abolished. If this be the work you would engage in, a proper designation would be, "Universal Anti-Slavery Society." O. S. M.

48 BROAD STREET, May 25, 1873.

TO THE CONVENTION, RAVENNA, O., June 1, 1873:

To you, brothers and sisters, who have met in convention, belongs the honor of holding the second Convention for the avowed purpose of emancipating woman from sexual slavery by the abrogation of the present system of marriage. I need not say to you that I am with you heart and soul, mind and might, and would be with you in person were I free to leave New York, which I am not at this time. Here they are endeavoring to crush this movement by attempting to suppress the only organ the cause has in the country, vainly imagining that a stroke so hard as that would really be, could even for a single day stop the incoming of the great tidal wave of freedom. That wave has risen, and it shall spread irresistibly until it break upon every shore, bound by the rocks and shoals of the latest and greatest of all the slaveries. I say the Young Men's Christian Association, through that most contemptible excuse for a man, Comstock, alias Beardsley, alias so-and-so, alias so-and-so, is waging a war here to establish a precedent by which the discussion of this very question of freedom shall be prohibited. The United States Government, acting under his inspiration, declares that the WEEKLY is obscene and unfit to be sent through the mails. Hence you see that I am fighting a very necessary part of the great battle in contending for the right to advocate the theories of sexual freedom, with which denied by the Federal Government, the cause must necessarily languish until the right should by some means be regained. I may be convicted and sent to prison; but if I am I trust it will serve better than anything else could serve to rouse the people to the fact that all the battles of the past for freedom were fought in vain, and that this will have to be renewed. If this is to be necessary, I say the sooner it comes the better, and if it come over me for publishing the WEEKLY, let it come.

I trust your action will be worthy the great cause, and that your words will have no uncertain sound. I hope you will describe the present marriage system as it justly deserves, and form your Constitution so that you shall know that those who become members are willing to take on the name and to stand before the world as defying the law that compels legal prostitution, and fills the world with vice, crime and misery. Though this shall bring you present contumely, it shall work a crown of future glory that shall make you blessed.

Your<sup>s</sup> truly,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

#### BREAD AND BUTTER.

Hold up your hands for fetter and chain,  
Dare never again God's truth to utter;  
At the beck of the priest put fetter on brain,  
Lest you rob him of bread and butter.

Whatever you do, don't let the light in,  
Let ignorance keep up the shutter;  
For the priest, should he cease his warfare with sin,  
Might lose both his bread and his butter.

How dare you set up for a teacher?  
Though sin reigns from pulpit to gutter;  
How dare you fire shots at a preacher  
Who is working for bread and for butter.

While he blazes away at the devil and sin,  
You see ne'er a wounded one flutter;  
For why should he care a battle to win  
That costs him his bread and his butter.

To the lesson he teaches take heed, don't fail,  
Dare never a protest to mutter;  
For he may hold the keys to prison and jail,  
Though preaching for bread and for butter.

March 1, 1873.

#### CORRECTIVE.

It must be evident to many minds that our civilization is on a pivot, upon which it must turn toward improvement or go down into chaos. This pivot is the Labor Question. If labor sinks in threatened contest, civilization will go down with it, as it so lately did in France; but there is no good reason why labor should sink, or remain degraded, or be involved in contests. Beautiful, efficient, sublime solutions that would charm all classes have been waiting between forty and fifty years for a public hearing; but no sooner has an attempt been made to get attention than "What will you do with marriage?" has come up to frighten away all listeners and to balk every attempt to make any progress. It was not enough to reply, "We do nothing with it—we will not meddle with it." This was taken to imply that we had something to conceal, and vulgar imaginations supplied, from their own materials, the void left by our well-considered silence. These materials were made up into a monster as hideous as that constructed by Frankenstein; and as that followed and confronted him everywhere till it worried and frightened him to death, so has this one, like a great, hideous ogre, followed and confronted every movement toward freedom, great and small, from the noble Robert Owen's to the meeting of a half-a-dozen in a parlor for an evening's conversation, till it has almost frightened people out of the idea of any social intercourse. It mattered nothing that the great Robert Owen gave us the key to self-emancipation and to universal peace and all the social virtues—this great, horrible spectre stood right across our path, threatening destruction to all who should attempt to pass him, even peaceably.

It signified nothing that that most accomplished and noble woman, Frances Wright, foreseeing that slavery would eventually involve us in civil war, expended forty or fifty thousand dollars of her private fortune to introduce a peaceful mode of self-emancipation for the slaves. The ogre was the first to listen to and question her: "What about the marriage question?" As if the question had some significance where marriage had long before been abrogated! And because she gave a candid and (to her) a philosophical answer

in favor of freedom, her enterprise was not to be considered, but she was to die in early life, a martyr to her truthfulness and benevolence, crucified by the vulgarity of the mercenary press of this country.

In 1847 we started a small experimental village in Ohio, to test the workings of certain new ideas of the labor question; but being ourselves in doubt as to what experience and careful thought might suggest on this most embarrassing subject, we refrained from any theorizing on it, and even withheld the name of the place and all public notices about it, for fear of the ogre.

That experiment, having worked to our satisfaction, we laid out another village on Long Island, N. Y., in 1851. It was named "Modern Times." Here the ogre was almost our first visitor. His very breath was so offensive, so blasting, that all growth, after the first year, was as suddenly stopped as if it had been struck with mildew.

Multitudes are living and dying in total ignorance of the condition beyond the grave who would give all their portions of the world to learn something about it. But the ogre has breathed into the floods of light bursting upon us, and the timid dare not look at it.

This horrible hobgoblin must be met and overcome, or all important progress is impossible, even to the emancipation of labor!

All honor, all reverence, all sympathy for the noble, unselfish pioneers, the devoted folorn hope, who are marching against the ogre. But perhaps there need be no battle with him—perhaps there is another path that he knows nothing about. We must and will abolish all the tyranny of men and institutions; for we will show that it is for the interest of even tyrants to abandon tyranny. But having gained our freedom, what use shall we make of it? In the reign of equitable freedom we cannot dictate authoritatively to each other, but we can, perhaps, without offense, offer the results of our experience where we think it will be acceptable.

It would be in proper place here to give the particulars in detail upon which I came to the conclusions I am about to offer, but space will not permit, even if I thought it best.

One of the conclusions (after thirty-five years in the midst of controversies and experiments) is, that the main feature of the prevailing marriage institutions, the feature of individuality (one man to one woman), is right essentially. Individuality is here, as it is everywhere else, the great principle of order, peace and repose; but while preserving this individuality we must get rid of the tyranny of the institutions by making fully known the disastrous consequences that inevitably attend promiscuous, unregulated sexual intercourse, and thus induce a voluntary preference for the better mode. One inestimable source of information on this point will be found at Dr. Jourdan's "Parisian Gallery of Anatomy," at the corner of Essex and Washington streets, Boston. One hour spent there will do more against the spread of contagious diseases than all the abuse of the friends of freedom and all the legislation in the world have ever done or ever will do. Perhaps I should mention, to prevent disappointment, that females are not permitted to the exhibition.

Some of the opposition to unregulated, primitive (promiscuous) intercourse of the sexes is well founded; but it is vague and unexplained, people being by law and public opinion prohibited from learning anything outside of man-made institutions, know nothing on this important subject except what they learn by stealth; but enough is now known to a few to justify the assertion that the primitive mode works more disastrously than even the tyrannical institutions do, and many who have tried the one have returned to the other.

For thirty-three years, in the midst of controversies and experiments, I had been in doubt as to the form which that relationship would assume in the reign of Equitable Freedom; but about twelve years ago, assisted by an English publication, I had come to conclusions on the subject and written them down, venturing to suggest a mode which, while it promised exemption from the disastrous workings of existing institutions on the one hand and those of inexperience on the other, offered no violence to entire freedom. A nobleman on a visit to me said he should like to hear the manuscript read. When I had finished reading it, he exclaimed: "I thank God that I have heard that, for I would sooner commit suicide than I would live as I have lived the last nine years." He had lived in the primitive mode.

I don't know how much importance may be attached to my conclusions without the particulars that gave rise to them. But they cannot be given here, if at all.

The manuscript spoken of may be printed, and find its way into the hands of some intelligent and well-behaved people who see the immense, the paramount importance of finding a satisfactory solution to this most embarrassing of all subjects, and the want of which is the principal obstacle to the progress, if not the very existence of civilization.

It should be understood that I decline all controversies and abstract disquisitions on the subject. J. WARREN.

The foregoing article, though presented as a corrective to the attack on me by Mrs. Shepard, has not been written for that purpose; but was published in WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, of the 9th of September, 1871.

What she can possibly allude to in saying that I am "a dangerous person for young people to meet" I have not the least idea—the thought is entirely new to me. I don't know what to make of it. It is nothing new to hear different sects accuse each other of being "dangerous," and Socrates was condemned to death on the charge of being "dangerous" to the youth of his time. Perhaps the most dangerous people are those who accuse other people of being "dangerous" without stating clearly what they mean by the charge.

JOSIAH WARREN.

[A correspondent writes: I inclose for publication in the WEEKLY a poem seeming to be a translation from the Roman of Horace, which I saw in a Boston paper. I suggest your inquiry whether it is a translation from the old volume of poems mentioned in the following statement, which I have clipped from a newspaper. I am certain it is not in the mod-

ern editions of the works of the old Roman poet: "Old-book lovers in Paris have been greatly excited lately by a fresh acquisition of the well-known brothers Tross—a 'Horace,' printed on vellum, without place or date; but in Italy, probably Venice, about 1469, in small quarto, 157 leaves, 26 lines to a page, without signatures or initials. It is not the unique copy on vellum that Van Praet described, which formerly belonged to M. Fenaroli, at Brescia, and it has not heretofore been known." Although this is somewhat out of season, it having been crowded out by other matter for the last six weeks, we think it too good to go over till another spring, and therefore publish it now:]

#### CARMEN AD FLUMINEM.

##### I.

Sweet Spring hath come and smiles upon the valleys—  
The south wind breathes along each slope—  
The husbandman astir, his strength now rallies,  
And plows and sows his fields in hope.  
The bird his mate hath found and now rejoices,  
And life is loud in swale and fen.  
Loved river, dear, dost hear the myriad voices  
That swell in song through grot and glen?

##### II.

Fond memories throng me round, old thoughts awaken,  
And with me hold high festival;  
Their spell is on me now—I'm captive taken,  
And sing I must my madrigal.  
I seem to roam thy vales of vernal blooming,  
And worship at thine altars there—  
Birds, blossoms, blades burst forth from their entombing  
And shed sweet incense on thine air.

##### III.

I see beyond thy banks, on yonder level,  
Just there beside the zigzag fence,  
Sweet flower tree where the fairy bees, to revel,  
Are wont at noon to wing them thence.  
Hear'st thou their happy hum, my dear old river?  
Dost breathe the fragrance floating there?  
See'st thou its bloom and branches wave and quiver,  
In perfume-laden atmosphere?

##### IV.

Would I might dwell with thee and bide forever  
Upon thy green and goodly banks—  
Live o'er my boyhood's days in which I never,  
Elsewhere essayed my sports and pranks.  
Aye, live them o'er in noontide's sunny shimmer,  
Beneath the branching sycamore;  
Or plash thy limped stream, a dexterous swimmer,  
Midst central waves far out from shore!

I love to think of thee—indulge my fancies—  
Though far from outward eye and ear;  
Thy old companionship my soul entrances,  
And in my dreams thou seemest here.  
Dost know my love for thee, my dearest river,  
How oft I seem to swim thy waves?  
Ine'er can thee forget, I'll love thee ever—  
God keep thee and my fathers' graves!

##### VI.

I'm sick of love for thee, dear, dear old river;  
Twelve moons and more it is—how long!  
Since, raised from couch of pain by the Great Giver,  
I stole away from city throng.  
Remember'st thou how soon thy scented bowers  
My pilgrim footsteps sought to tread;  
And how I laid me on the leaves and flowers,  
With canopy of trees o'erhead?

##### VII.

Blest river, say, why comes o'er me this longing,  
This mind to sing thy scenes and tales;  
These thoughts of other days and memories thronging,  
Of landscapes fair as Tempe's vales?  
A stroll along thy stream dispelled all sadness,  
The notes of joy were on the breeze,  
Above, below, around, the song of gladness  
Flowed forth from fields and flowers and trees!

##### VIII.

Dost know, dear river, why my heart rejoices,  
The while I muse and think of thee—  
Whose sights and scenes, whose sounds and voices,  
In bygone years come back to me?  
Long time ago, when but an infant fellow,  
With hook and line and angle rod,  
I loved thy lullaby, so soft and mellow,  
And shores, so oft I since have trod.

##### IX.

Bright stream, thou never hadst sincerer lover,  
Thou wast in all my boyhood's dreams;  
I left thy lovely banks and bowers, however—  
That day—how long ago it seems!  
Pray let me see thy face again, dear river,  
All smiling as it used to be,  
When, in thy solitudes, I mused, and never  
Saw but the beautiful in thee.

##### X.

I've roamed where flow Italia's other rivers,  
Where spread its sunny, genial skies;  
Where leafy Vallombrosa softly quivers,  
With zephyr-airs, with fairy sighs:  
Translucent Arno's stream invited thither,  
I laved within its waves of light;  
I sought the beautiful—would not come hither  
While aught remained to charm my sight.

##### XI.

Old blissful river, hear, I'll come; not tarry,  
Will listen to thy rippling tide:  
All through this life my love for thee will carry,  
And sleep at last near by thy side!  
Thy flow will be forever forth to ocean,  
Thy kindred waters there to meet;  
There wave doth follow wave in ceaseless motion,  
And billow doth its fellow greet!



## XII.

When I am weak and near to die, dear river,  
This thought shall ever bring me peace,  
That friends will take me back to thee, nor ever  
Leave my sick couch till I de cease;  
Till I the goal of life shall pass, old river,  
Oft, oft may I my steps retrace;  
I joy, am glad, rejoice, give thanks whenever  
I see paternal dwelling-place!

## XIII.

I've read about an ancient classic river,  
Pactolus named, whose yellow stream  
Transmutes its sands to gold, unheard of ever,  
Except in Alchemy's wild dream!  
That stream—poor price in pay for thee, pure river!  
My love for thee shall never fail—  
And now, farewell—flow on, oh, live for ever,  
And bid old ocean hail, all hail!

HOR. OD. CANT. IV. TRANS.

[From the N. Y. Tribune.]

## A COMMONPLACE MURDER.

The murder in Broome street on Sunday night was one of a kind too common to excite general attention and sympathy. Francis Gillen, aged twenty-three, steam-fitter and rowdy by trade, murdered his wife, a milliner, aged eighteen, on the sidewalk as she was going home to her father's house. The man was in a blind fury of passion, for he stabbed the poor young woman six times, inflicting no less than four mortal wounds. He had no cause of quarrel with her, except that he had treated her so badly she could not live with him, and so she was earning her own livelihood, under her father's protection. The case affords no material for public excitement or comment. It will not be discussed at tea-tables, nor in the columns of newspapers. It is all commonplace and unheroic. The parties are all mechanics; the poor victim will be missed from her shop until her place is filled; the murderer will be missed from no place we can decently mention, and the heartbroken father will drive his cart as usual, to gain his daily bread, as he belongs to a class that cannot afford the luxury of a sentimental sorrow. It is an item of police news of no general interest.

Yet this case contains within itself the whole question of domestic authority. A pretty and willful young girl, only 16, with blue eyes and blond hair, two years ago attracted the attention of a profligate young fellow, who found her a pleasant relief from the worse women he generally associated with, and won her fancy. This is an easy thing for a dissolute youth to do. These flashy, idle, rowdyish boys, whose vices give them leisure, are creatures of romance to a certain class of working girls. If they know how worthless the boy is, it makes no difference. An innocent woman never admits, even to herself, the existence of the worst forms of wickedness. "A little wild" is the vague formula that covers the most groveling infamies, and the prospect of reforming the fascinating truant from the paths of virtue presents an irresistible allurements. Parental opposition adds only fuel to the flame. No girl in love, or in what she calls by that name, is capable of thinking that her father can tell her anything worth knowing about the object of her fancy. The father of this unfortunate woman found out this as soon as he warned her against her dissolute admirer. After infinite trouble and wrangling he had her consigned to the House of the Good Shepherd, whence she was released, and immediately made a clandestine marriage with Gillen. Her honeymoon turned quickly to gall. She found she was but one among his many indulgences. And her position was worse than that of his most depraved companions, for she belonged to him by law, and was the helpless victim of this frightful punishment, she left him and went home to her father again, and by his help obtained a respectable means of earning her living.

But this brutal ruffian, though he recognized no obligations resting upon himself from the marriage tie, considered himself grossly wronged that his wife should renounce her allegiance to him. He looked upon her as a runaway slave, and meeting her the other night upon the street he ordered her to go home with him, and when she refused he stabbed her to death in the open thoroughfare. He had probably no more sense of responsibility in this than an angry teamster who beats his horse. He considered himself thoroughly in his right, and when he was arrested, and the policeman asked him why he had committed the crime, he said, "You would have done the same if your wife refused to live with you." He evidently saw no other course open to a man of spirit. He might abuse, outrage and trample upon her; he might make no secret of the vices with which he daily dishonored the marriage covenant; he might spend all his earnings and hers in his own debaucheries, and yet the idea never seemed to occur to him that she had any right to escape from this torture. May not a man do what he will with his own? was the only shape in which any question of duty presented itself to him. This idea of marital right is not confined to the men like Gillen alone. The policeman who saw him just before the murder is said to have acknowledged that he feared some trouble, but did not like to interfere between man and wife. This man, Gillen, it is reported, has long been known to the police as a vicious and dangerous character. Yet the law, which muzzles harmless dogs, under the superstition that they may go mad, does nothing to prevent this wild beast from stealing a young girl from her father, marrying, maltreating and killing her—not all at once, but diffusing the crime over two years. We need not draw a moral which would be as commonplace as the murder, and would touch upon two commonplace and evident faults of the time—the claim of children that their parents have no right to interfere with their bestowal of their affections, and the claim of husbands that their wives are their property.

BOSTON, April 19, 1873.

In the issue of the WEEKLY for April 19 is a poem headed "You Kissed Me," by "L," and dated Vineland, April 8. This poem is stolen, and mutilated in the stealing.

I inclose a correct copy, which was written by Josie S. Hunt, several years ago. I hope you will republish this entire, for it is a truly beautiful poem, and worth saving.

L. B. STEVENS.

[From the Kansas Crusader of Freedom.]

## YOU KISSED ME.

BY JOSIE S. HUNT.

You kissed me! My head had drooped low on your breast  
With a feeling of shelter and infinite rest;  
While the holy emotion my tongue dared not speak  
Flashed up like a flame from my heart to my cheek.  
Your arms held me fast; oh, your arms were so bold!  
Heart beat against heart in their passionate hold.  
Your glances seemed drawing my soul through my eyes,  
As the sun draws the mist from the sea to the skies;  
And your lips clung to mine till I prayed in my bliss  
They might never unclasp from that rapturous kiss.

You kissed me! My heart and my breath and my will  
In delirious joy for the moment stood still;  
Life had for me then no temptations, no charms,  
No vista of pleasure outside of your arms.  
And were I this instant an angel, possessed  
Of the glory and peace that are given the blest,  
I would fling my white robes unrepealingly down,  
And tear from my forehead my beautiful crown  
To nestle once more in that haven of rest,  
With your lips upon mine and my head on your breast.

You kissed me! My soul in a bliss so divine  
Reeled and swooned like a foolish man drunken with wine;  
And I thought 'twere delicious to die then, if death  
Would come while my mouth was yet moist with your breath;  
'Twere delicious to die if my heart might grow cold,  
While your arms wrapt me round in that passionate fold.  
And these are the questions I ask day and night:  
Must my life taste but *once* such exquisite delight?  
Would you care if your breast were my shelter as then?  
And if you were here would you kiss me again?  
Claremont, N. H.

## WHO ARE THE FREE LOVERS?

We have in hand some saucy letters of a man residing in this city, who formerly held one of the highest equalities in the State. This old scoundrel having had children by a woman not his wife, has refused to take care of them, allowing one of them to be sent to a Cat o' Protectors. Read the following extracts from letters addressed by this man to the woman he has wronged. "Can you enter into my feelings fully? Can you merge the lover in the mother, and, placing your hand in mine, confidently say, 'for these we will live, for these labor and suffer, and hope, until they ripen into the fullness of life.' These are the words which a husband should breathe into the gratified ear of a loving wife, and are you not my wife in the sight of God, you, and you only, are my wife?"

"Between us the true condition of that relation exists, and I speak to you as my dearly beloved wife, because my heart is my guide and I must obey its heaven-born impulses. I have no other, the law has its claims, but God is above all law and he will direct.

"I am bound to a woman I despise, there is not a link of sympathy of any kind between us; I love another dear woman so ardently that she absorbs my whole being, and for whom I could cheerfully die, and yet for fear of carping tongues and popular disgrace, I cannot take one step to change this state of things."

The reader would hardly suppose that the author of the above, who has buried two wives, and lately married a woman he kept in partnership with another man, besides wronging the woman to whom these letters are addressed, is one of the most frantic opponents of freedom in marriage, and absolutely told Mr. Train that he would have nothing to do with his case, unless he gave the cold shoulder to the Free Love crowd. We purpose by the publication of these letters, to show some people who are constantly wagging Free Love at the end of their tongues (in its odious sense) that they are known to be guilty of rottenness and lust that it makes one's soul sick to think of.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

(Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1873, by Ellen Burling, in the office of Librarian of Congress at Washington.)

WHAT EVERY MAN, FEMALE AND MALE, AND PARTICULARLY EVERY LABORER, OUGHT TO KNOW.

## CHAPTER II.

WHAT EDUCATION IS, AND HEREIN OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

(Continued.)

And male man has no taste or capacity for making government what it should be; he cannot interest himself in it nor adapt himself to it, and witness how he always shirks it except it be to make it what it should not be, the means of his self-gratification—the advancement of himself to position, power, profit.

And seeking position, power, profit, he often professes himself the reformer; but the position, power, profit attained, he relapses, for his individual selfishness is satisfied, and that is the reform he proposed to himself. Let the reader verify this by reflecting how, in his memory, the reformer becomes the office-holder or the public beneficiary of some sort, and so as a reformer is quieted. And for these quieted reformers, look in the tax levy; that is the directory for quieted reformers.

No, man cannot interest himself in government except it be to satisfy his selfishness; and see how selfishness is apparent in everything pertaining to government. See the people, the helpless, the women and children, forced by the exactions of governors to starvation in attics, cellars and streets, and see the governors reveling and rioting on the means forced of these same starving people; for the exactions of government fall heaviest on the poorest. See the public institutions paid for by the people for their relief, and see the keepers using these institutions and the means at their command as their private property, and the inmates, the people, as their servants; the keepers feasting and the people starving. The poor-house has always been a favorite resort for governors to feast in. See how in public institutions the rules and regulations are made, not for the benefit

of the inmates, the people, the principles, but for the benefit of the keepers, the servants!

And man, discarding principle, is the mere creature of force, and like all male animals, gratifies himself as he can, and in this gratification delights in force, outrage and slaughter, or is indifferent to force, outrage and slaughter; and witness history, THAT GOVERNMENT HITHERTO HAS BEEN BUT FORCE, OUTRAGE AND SLAUGHTER, WRONG AND OPPRESSION. AND MAN, THE SUBJECT, HAS BEEN UTTERLY INCAPABLE OF HELPING HIMSELF. He has used his only resource—FORCE. He has fought and bled and died for, as he seemed to believe, liberty. BUT HE HAS BUT FOUGHT AND BLED AND DIED FOR HIS MASTER—HIS GOVERNOR. HIS UTMOST RESULT HAS BEEN BUT A CHANGE OF MASTERS; and man, the governor, ever has been the same tyrant. So man as to government hitherto has occupied but one of the two positions—governor and tyrant, or subject and slave.

In times of peril the Cincinnati and the Washingtons come to the surface; but the peril over, they have to retire, for the requirements of government, as it hitherto has been of the governors, are not compatible with understanding principle.

Now, as understanding directing labor produces all the property, the wealth, which is the subject of government, and as it fights the battles of government, is it not time that it was the government, that it governed?

These governors speak of government as something above ordinary understanding, and to the end of mystification they deliver discourses and essays, and their learned retainers deliver discourses and essays, and so the perversion which they call government is maintained. Dr. Johnson said that politics, that is, government, was the last refuge of a scoundrel. Let the reader look around and verify Johnson's apothegm. Want of the requisite qualifications of success in the ordinary avocations of life—TRUTH, HONESTY, CAPACITY—would seem to fit a man for government. Now as government is the supreme charge of the business of man, would not understanding dictate that the qualities the conduct of the business required, charge of the business government required. These governors are a miserable set of incompetents, and government in their hands grows in despotism as a weed. Witness the United States from 1776 to 1873, not one hundred years, and see our Senate and Representatives, Credit Mobilier, etc. The governors corrupt the people, or, rather, habituate the people, to endure corruption. Governors are ever the same; but they are held in check by the respect, that is, the fear of the people, and so the decadence of the government is gradual, for a man becomes not a debauchee in a day, nor a people will tolerate thorough debauchery at once. The government of the American people is thoroughly debauched, and the toleration of it by the people shows that the people are habituated to a debauched government; but the people are moral as the people ever are, for the people is the family, the mother, and let the people, the family, the mother, take government in hand and government will be moral.

So man as to government is a complete failure; HE ALONE HAS BEEN THE GOVERNOR, HE HAS HAD IT ALL HIS OWN WAY AND IT ALWAYS IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES, HAS BEEN BUT THE ONE SELF-SAME THING—A MERE MACHINERY TO FORCE THE PEOPLE TO THE USE OF HIS SELFISHNESS, HIS SENSUALITY AND HIS SCHEMING. Man has called this machinery in whole or in part by different names, but it ever has been the one same thing and such it must ever be, as long as he continues the exclusive governor, FOR HE IS THE CREATURE OF HIS NATURE and his nature is force and selfishness, and he says that woman is incompetent for government, meaning his government of course, for there has been no other, and so she is just as he is incompetent for government as it should be.

And when man discards principle see how the rooster is developed. The Creator left man naked, but with understanding to make himself man or beast; and when he discards understanding he has but the beast to cultivate and develop; he cannot crow but he can dub himself high, cockalorum—titles *ad infinitum*; he has not the red comb and gaudy plumage of the bird, but he can appropriate the plumage of the bird and decorate himself with feathers and bits of colored leather and cloth and glass and metal, stars, garters, crosses, rings, etc.; the savage paints his hide and punches holes in his nose and ears and hangs his decorations therein, but civilized man strings his gewgaws on to his clothes; and so decorated, man, savage and civilized, parades and struts—the savage to the beating of his tom-toms, and civilized man to the music of his brass band; and these governors, when they put poor man to their work of slaughter, they so decorate and parade him, for there seems to be a natural necessity and affinity between finery and strut and outrage and slaughter. And mark how manhood—woman—eschews all this.

And here will the reader reflect on the position of man, female and male, as to government.

Government is force, AND SHOULD BE FORCE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PERSON, the care, preservation and protection of the family; woman, competent for government, because of her nature, her instinct to care for, preserve and protect the family; man, incompetent because of his selfishness, his nature to care for himself alone; but especially because of his nature as a creature of force to use all the force at his command for the gratification of his selfishness. And let the reader further reflect, that government is a necessity only, because of the necessity of the restraint of this same creature of force, and yet this same creature of force, true to his nature, has, from time immemorial, by force seized and held government, by force excluded woman from participation in government, and by force held woman his slave, his beast.

Can greater perversion be imagined? For he is the governor and he makes the law; he is the judge and his word is the law—though he call the wrong the right, the lie the truth—and so woman is helpless, and so craven man permits her outrage. So by mere brute force—that is, force governed by bestiality—has woman, understanding, been excluded from



government, and so has government ever been a matter of mere brute force, bestiality, and woman demanding equality with man, is manhood demanding enforcement; and man denying woman her equality, is man denying his manhood—man, the beast, by force maintaining the supremacy of bestiality.

Is woman man or beast? If man, is she not entitled to the rights of man? If the beast, is she not entitled to the immunity of the beast from responsibility to law, to government? Yet woman is denied the rights of man, equality in the government, and consequently is by the government held to labor as a beast; and yet, as a beast is not, she is, held amenable to the laws! What outrageous absurdity! and how long is brute force, bestiality, to continue the government, and manhood, understanding, the word, to be held in subjection by the beast?

And mark the disrespect, the contempt, the ridicule, with which woman, demanding her right—the enforcement of manhood—is met. And why? Because she has no force for enforcement of her right; for man respects force, and force alone; and woman, demanding her right, manhood, demanding enforcement, and having no force for enforcement, why, man, the creature of force, has no respect for what cannot enforce itself, even though that forceless thing be manhood, understanding, the word.

Government should be morality; for government should be the enforcement of understanding, that is, education, morality; but government is immorality, for government is training, and training puts aside understanding, and so makes of man the mere beast, and so government is bestiality, immorality. And training is dependence, and of dependence comes immorality; for dependent man is the creature of his master, and dependence is use and use is abuse. Man is the power in the government, but he is the power as the governor, as the subject he is helpless because of his incapacity for government. And woman is helpless because of her slavery, her want of power in the government. So woman is enslaved by man, and man by the beast; not the beast, the serpent, as our governors give us the fable, but the beast in man.

Our governors from time immemorial have claimed to be the special agents of the almighty, and of these governors King David—"the man after God's own heart," as he has been blasphemously styled—the murderer, adulterer and beast, generally is a bright example, as if the great law giver, the Almighty, omniscience itself, would choose a law breaker to enforce his law; as if the Almighty were a trifler, and made laws to be obeyed or not at the will of the creature; as if omniscience, truth itself, could be a lie. Will the reader use his understanding and reflect on the horrid blasphemy involved in this claim—the idea that the Almighty omniscience, understanding itself, should choose for association with him one who defies him—the breaker of his law—as if purity would associate with impurity, truth itself with lies, and so has bestiality gotten toleration for itself, and so have governors preached David as a precedent, and so followed in his wake, and so has the Word of God been made of no effect by tradition—that is, the lies, the tyranny of governors. (See Matt. xv.) Let the reader reflect how the great bulk, the burden of the Bible is of the adulteries, the fornications, the incests of these self-styled chosen ones of the Almighty, the object being to make tolerable to the people the free use of woman by governors—the object being to keep woman a slave to the bestiality of governors. And these governors have even borne false witness against the Almighty himself by putting in His mouth the lie that He ordained woman the subject of man, when the will of the Almighty is expressed in man in his understanding, and when this understanding demands the enforcement of principle as the government of man—that is, the equality of woman. The man who asserts the inferiority of woman to man asserts his own thoughtlessness, for had he reflected, surely his understanding, the Word of God in him, would have prevailed to the contrary. And to this claim of Divine agency is the toleration of these governors and all their lies to be attributed, for this claim being trained into man, his understanding halts, it cannot accept the claim, and training prevents rejection, and so governors and lies are endured.

As you deny woman equality with men, of government, law, usage, education, employment, pay, you make her the dependent of man, you put aside her understanding, and so cultivate and develop her the mere beast to minister to the sensual gratification of man. And of this training and dependence comes prostitution; for woman is thus trained a mere beast, and then as a beast subjected to man. And yet prostitution is with woman the exception, as is seen in the exception woman takes to it. But with man promiscuous intercourse is the rule, as is seen in the impunity with which he indulges. And such has woman been trained. As an understanding she has had no education, no maturity, no individuality. She has not counted. She has been ignored; and notwithstanding man has thus done all he could to brutalize and degrade woman, and has trained mankind to regard her as an inferior being incapable of government understanding liberty; yet woman is the only representation of manhood understanding principle. And why? Because manhood understanding principle is nature, is instinct with woman, and so alone man has failed to train understanding extinct. All of government that there is in the world, all that there is preservative of the rights of man, comes of the family, the inspiration of woman, the mother. Now let her enforce herself in the government, and she will preserve the government as she preserves the family. The regeneration of man lies in the vindication of the manhood of women, the prevalence of maternal instincts in government.

The old fable of the sculptor and the lion bears here. The sculptor and the lion were examining the statuary, and the sculptor asserted the superiority of man to the beast, and in proof referred to the statuary of man and beasts, in all which man was represented the conqueror and the beast the conquered. "Yes," answered the lion, "but the man makes the statuary. Now, let us beasts make the statuary, and we

will represent the beasts the conquerors." And so of man and woman. Man has been the governor, the trainer. He has made all government, all laws, all usages, all books; he has had all the say, and all this say teems with the inferiority of woman; and he never ceases the say, for he feels that constant assertion is necessary to keep the lie alive. Now, let woman be heard; let her have her say in the government, in the laws, in the usages, and in the books. At worst, she can do no worse than man has done; and better or worse, as matter of right, equally is she with man entitled to the disposition of her own body, and the labor of it, for this is all that there is of government. As matter of right, equally is she with man entitled to count one of the subjects of the Creator. This individuality, this independence, is the birthright of each beast as to the rest. At least should it be the birthright of woman, the mother of man, as to man. And this exclusion of woman, this government without principle, this reign of brute force, comes of the training of man. His waiving his understanding in matters of government, his want of understanding of what government should be, and his want of understanding of the different individualities of woman and man—or, in other words, this government without principle—has been tolerated because understanding, principle, have not been tolerated, do not govern.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[The following, handed in to the *Star, Sun, and Herald*, failed of insertion in either:]

#### VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Sir—Seven months ago, in a letter dated "Ludlow street Jail, New York, Nov. 16, 1872," addressed "To the Editor of the *Herald*," and published in that paper of Nov. 17, Victoria C. Woodhull said: "But what is the great danger which the public pretends to fear from me? The plain statement of what I desire to accomplish, and it is this at which the public howls, is this: I desire that woman shall be emancipated from the sexual slavery maintained over her by man." And did the *Herald*, brave and chivalrous enough to give this letter, accompany it with words like these? "Here is something that we have not understood before. We call upon the press and the public to take notice that we have all been misled. Mrs. Woodhull is not the person she has been deemed. She makes a protest which can neither be ignored nor refused. She claims that her only object is and has been, the liberation of her own sex from subjection to the lower passions of men. This puts a new face on the whole affair, actually making her, instead of an offender of whom men have a right to complain in the interests of society, a representative victim, in the name of her sex having right to complain of men. In a word, it makes the accused, instead of a wrong-doer, superior in morals and virtue to the very accusers. The press and public will at once rectify this mistake, and see that justice is done to Mrs. Woodhull, even to the extent of acquitting her and condemning the whole male fraternity, if that must needs be. We cannot afford to be unjust, and American fathers, husbands, brothers and sons will not be unjust. They will accept merited rebuke even from a woman, though that woman be one whom they have honestly supposed as flagrantly at fault as Mrs. Woodhull."

Seven months have rolled away, and it has transpired to the satisfaction of the whole nation, that Mrs. Woodhull was not the author of the charges against the distinguished pastor of Plymouth Church; and the conviction is everywhere growing, that in giving them publicity she only intended the subserving of good morals; and that sheer motive of their publication forever makes any such thing as "obscenity" out of the question. But all these weary months that has been true—

"The hero is not fed on sweets,  
Dally her own, own heart she eats—"

and at last she falls as if dead, and even yet her life may hang on the cast of a die. From far and near the press of the country speaks its sympathy; and then in this city, on Wednesday, do we proceed to try this same prostrate woman, in the person of friends dearer to her than life, thus reimpairing her life?  
JOSEPH TREAT, M. D.  
NEW YORK, June 16, 1873.

#### A PROPHECY.

Lord Macaulay thus wrote to Henry S. Randall in 1857: "I never uttered a word nor wrote a line indicating an opinion that the supreme authority in a State ought to be entrusted to the majority of citizens told by the head. I have long been convinced that institutions, purely democratic, must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth, with this difference—that the Huns and Vandals, who ravaged the Roman Empire, came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country, by your own institutions." And this man was called a "liberal" thinker and historian.

#### IS THIS "SARKASM?"

INFALLIBLE.—The Bible is a vein of pure gold, unalloyed by quartz, or any earthly substance. This is a star without a speck; a sun without a blot; a light without darkness; a moon without his paleness; a glory without a dimness. O, Bible! it cannot be said of any other book that it is perfect and pure; but of thee we can declare all wisdom is gathered up in thee, without a particle of folly. This is the judge that ends the strife, where wit and reason fail. This is the book, untainted by any error; but is pure, unalloyed, perfect truth.—*Spurgeon*.

[Ask Comstock, who prosecutes Train for quoting from this "vein of pure gold."]

#### A SONG FOR THE TIMES.

BY JAMES S. LAIDLAW.

TUNE—*Captain Jinks*.

I'm Henry Ward of the Puritan stock,  
I'm the great religious weathercock,  
And shepherd of a flourishing flock  
Of Christian lambs in Brooklyn.

I am a wonderful popular man,  
It's owing entirely to my plan  
Of preaching salvation for fallen man  
To my congregation in Brooklyn.

My method of running the Gospel machine  
Is a modern one as may be seen;  
It does up the business slick and clean;  
You can see how it works in Brooklyn.

The first and principal thing to be done  
Is to preach with a view to please every one.  
It's the nicest thing beneath the sun,  
It works like a charm in Brooklyn.

My religious views are a sort of hash  
Of every conceivable kind of trash,  
Compared with the Bible I know it "won't wash;"  
But it's popular over in Brooklyn.

To the orthodox I preach a hell,  
I throw a sop to the infidel,  
'Twould puzzle old Nick himself to tell  
What I mean by my preaching in Brooklyn.

I feed my flock most everything,  
I sell my pews for what they bring,  
I shoot my bird while he's on the wing,  
To keep the mill in Brooklyn.

I visit the ladies to do them good,  
As every generous pastor should;  
Of course, its generally understood  
Among the members in Brooklyn.

If a foolish slander gets about,  
I call the author a miserable lout,  
Keep perfectly still till the thing dies out,  
And all gets quiet in Brooklyn.

I don't think that the people need  
Any particular kind of creed,  
If they come over and let me bleed  
Their plethoric purses in Brooklyn.

I don't care if they go to balls,  
Or take their nips at their New Year calls,  
Or over in Wall street make big hauls,  
If they pay their stamps in Brooklyn.

I tell them it's all stuff about sin,  
What they want is plenty of tin;  
To be sure, for a preacher, this sounds "pretty thin,"  
But it suits the brethren in Brooklyn.

Success is the principal for you,  
It makes no difference what you do,  
Nor what means you take to carry it through—  
So you come out ahead in Brooklyn.

Between you and me the fact of it is  
In religion like everything else "biz" is "biz;"  
It's palpably plain that's how it "riz,"  
Over on the heights of Brooklyn.

There is no other possible way  
Of making a church like Plymouth pay,  
But to have a sensation from day to day,  
Then raise the pew rents in Brooklyn.

I never allow the thing to lull,  
I always have some wire to pull,  
I've practiced so long in pulling the wool  
Over their eyes in Brooklyn.

I preached abolition for many a year—  
I'm good at shedding the crocodile tear—  
I shed at about ten thousand a year—  
That's the cheapest I do it in Brooklyn.

As soon as that began to grow stale,  
I took up the woman suffrage tale;  
Oh Lord! didn't I rant and rail  
'Bout woman's wrongs in Brooklyn.

As soon as this began to disparage  
My preaching, came in the Richardson marriage,  
But I rather think that was a miscarriage  
Upon the whole, in Brooklyn.

Now comes along this devilish row  
About me, and Tilton, and Bowen, and Co.;  
Fact is, I hardly know what to do,  
It's getting so hot in Brooklyn.

I think I'll manoeuvre something like this—  
We'll call a meeting; we'll take a kiss,  
Of brotherly kindness, and then dismiss  
With prayer at the Church in Brooklyn.

And when they ask, well! What did you do?  
We'll say we sifted it through and through,  
And the sum of it is the story ain't true—  
"How's that for high," in Brooklyn.

If we can only manage to kill  
That Woodhull WEEKLY, and I think we will;  
Then "all will be gay and lovely still"  
In Plymouth Church in Brooklyn.

I'm Henry Ward B—, I have no fear,  
With twenty thousand, I see my way clear  
To humbug the people another year  
With the help of the deacons in Brooklyn.

#### MORAL.

All that a man wants in this world of woe,  
Is plenty of money and cheek, "you know;"  
And I've got enough to carry me through,  
Whatever turns up in Brooklyn.



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48 Broad Street, New York City.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1873.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE OBSCENITY TRIAL.

There have been two panels of jurors exhausted. Six were empaneled from the first one hundred and twenty-five, and two from the second. A new panel of three hundred is ordered for 1 o'clock p. m., Thursday, June 26, when the empaneling will proceed. The Court laid down the rule, after an exhaustive consideration of the question by the prosecution and the defense, that any person who has formed opinions that require evidence to remove is incapacitated from sitting as a juror—an eminently fair and impartial ruling, but specially disgusting to Comstock & Co. Before another issue the trial will be closed, and we shall either be already under sentence, and liberty trodden under foot, or this question will be forever settled in favor of the continued freedom of the press.

## THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The Board of Trustees of this Association met according to call at 48 Broad street, at 3 o'clock, Wednesday, June 25. The principal business before the meeting was the question as to where the Tenth Annual Convention should be held. Four of the five members present favored Chicago; the remaining one, New York. A full report of proceedings will be given in our next issue.

## THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY.

For some unexplained reason this company last week again refused to supply their orders for the WEEKLY. We suppose that the great surveyor and purveyor of literature, Beardsley, *alias* Nichols, more commonly called Comstock, Anthony J., has issued his orders against any further circulation of the WEEKLY by the News Co. Will our friends see to it that the newsmen, everywhere, are again notified to send direct to us for the WEEKLY, which we will forward as usual?

## PREMIUMS TO CLUBS.

In a short time we intend to present the most magnificent schedule of premiums for new subscribers and clubs that was ever offered, as an introduction to which we now present the following:

For every subscription (from one to four) received we will send the WEEKLY one year and one of the dollar photographs—Woodhull, Claflin or Blood.

For every club of five subscribers—fifteen dollars—five copies of the WEEKLY one year, five photographs and one copy of "Constitutional Equality, a right of woman," by Tennie C. Claflin, price \$2.00.

For every club of ten subscribers—thirty dollars—ten copies of the WEEKLY, ten photographs and one copy each of "The Principles of Government," by Victoria C. Woodhull, price \$3; and "Constitutional Equality" (each book containing steel-plate engraving of the author).

For every club of twenty subscribers—sixty dollars—twenty copies of the WEEKLY one year, forty photographs and two copies each of "The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality."

For every club of thirty or more subscribers, accompanied by three dollars for each subscriber, thirty copies of the WEEKLY one year, ninety photographs and one each of the books—"The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality"—for every ten subscribers; and

For a club of fifty subscribers—one hundred and fifty dollars—fifty copies of the WEEKLY one year, fifty photographs, a set of the books and a Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine.

## TO THE RESCUE! TO THE RESCUE!!

Awake, arouse, friends of freedom! Let the cry sound up and down the length and breadth of this land. The hand of the despot is raised to crush out the new-born ideas of freedom. The only paper in the world that dares advocate the sovereignty of the individual is threatened. The only paper that dares lay hold of dark deeds in high places and drag them out into the pure sunshine is set upon by the representatives of these places with a desperation that means victory or death. The only paper that dares defy the minions of the combination between Church and State, to stay the rising tide of reform, is attacked on all sides, by all sorts of enemies, who make common cause against it as their most dreaded foe. Say, freemen and freewomen of America, shall they succeed? Let your replies flow in upon us, and let us be overwhelmed in turn by your emphatic Nevers! and let every soul contribute his or her mite to sustain this decision!

## SUFFRAGE LOGIC (?)

There is a class of men who have a strange way of assuming to refute the argument that by the Fourteenth Amendment women are citizens and voters; and there is also a class of women desiring to seem to ape the like male class who reiterate the want of logic. They say, to assume that the amendment guarantees the suffrage to women proves too much since, by the same reasoning it would also guarantee it to lunatics, criminals and idiots.

Now, how people who wish it to be understood that they possess a single grain of common sense dare to make use of that argument we cannot imagine. It is so transparent a fraud that the merest tyro in reasoning ought not to fail to see it. There is not the slightest relation between the two parts of this proposition. The ballot is denied to children on account of age, but it is denied to male and female children equally. The ballot is withheld from lunatics, but equally from males and females. The ballot is denied to criminals, but men and women stand equal. Then, what sort of argument is this that says if women are made voters by this amendment that these three classes of citizens are also made voters? If women were permitted to vote by the terms of the amendment, children, lunatics and criminals, both male and female, would still be excluded; and this is so palpable that it seems to us a misuse of space to attempt to make it more so. We would request the class of reasoners to whom we refer to study their dictionaries and learn the difference between regulation and prohibition. The State may regulate and establish, but it cannot prohibit the suffrage.

## CONVICTION OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

JUDGE HUNT DECLARES THAT CONSTITUTIONS ARE GREATER THAN PEOPLES.

It was stated in the last WEEKLY that this brave laborer in the vineyard of Woman Suffrage had been found guilty of illegal voting after trial in the United States District Court, held at Canandaigua, N. Y. Probably this will be one of the land-marks, to stand, in the future, indicating the progress of this vast question. Certain it is that scarcely anything has occurred that at the time produced so marked an effect upon the thinking part of the people, regarding the question of suffrage, as this. The telegraphic reports, sent all over the country by the Associated Press, have laid the questions at issue more generally before the whole people than was ever done before, since, the press, until now, has always refrained from placing the arguments before the people. It is asserting what is greatly short of the real fact to say that, notwithstanding the adverse decision of Judge Hunt to the claim for suffrage, the terrible injustice of the law, if it is as laid down by him, is evident to every sensible mind. A great step in favor of the rapid solution of the whole matter has thus been taken, and, though for the present it is unfavorable, it will, because it is so, press the subject more closely home to the understandings of the people than though it had been otherwise; and this will make the ultimate aim to be gained really nearer than if success had been more definite now.

But Judge Hunt has made a decision that will prove his judicial death, because it is wholly at war, not only with the fundamental propositions of republican institutions, but also with the spirit of the age, which, in combination, can be withstood by no never-so-well fortified argument of seeming legality. A truly republican government expands naturally with the growth of the people, and requires no revolutions or radical and sudden changes in its organic structure to meet new issues. Instead of recognizing this, Judge Hunt has hedged the advances made by the Slavery revolution, as we shall shortly see:

## JUDGE HUNT'S OPINION.

"The defendant is indicted under the act of Congress of 1870 for having voted for the representatives in Congress in November, 1872. Among other things, that act makes it an offense for any person to vote without having any right to vote. It is charged that the defendant thus voted, she not having a right to vote because she is a woman. The defendant insists that she has a right to vote; that the provision of the law of this State limiting the right to vote to persons of

the male sex is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and is void. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were designed mainly for the protection of the newly-emancipated negroes, but full effect must nevertheless be given to the language employed. The Thirteenth Amendment provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should longer exist in the United States. If honestly received and fairly applied, this provision would have been enough to guard the rights of the colored race. In some States it was attempted to be evaded by enactments cruel and oppressive in their nature, as that colored persons were forbidden to appear in the towns except in a menial capacity; that they should reside on and cultivate the soil without being allowed to own it; that they were not permitted to give testimony in cases where a white man was a party; they were excluded from performing particular kinds of business, profitable and unprofitable, and they were denied the right of suffrage. To meet the difficulties arising from this state of things, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were enacted."

## COMMENTS.

[Here Judge Hunt has struck at the cause of all the difficulty that has arisen about the amendments and the changes made by them in the status of the several classes of people involved by them. The Thirteenth Amendment was sufficient, if it had been properly interpreted, to have secured to the negroes all the rights justly belonging to them; but some States did not interpret the amendment to mean anything more than their release from servitude, not putting them under the shield of the Constitution in other regards. It was found necessary, therefore, to adopt further legislation for them. Instead of doing this by Congressional act, as it ought to have been done, Congress proceeded by another amendment to the Constitution, virtually to explain and amplify the previous one. Thus when Judge Hunt says, "To meet the difficulties arising from this state of things, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments were enacted," he states two facts as one which are distinctly two.

When the Fourteenth Amendment was enacted, nobody imagined another would be required before negroes would be permitted to vote. Everybody supposed its provisions were full and ample to meet the most delicate and subtle plea of want of comprehensiveness, and that this surely would, as the Judge remarks of the Thirteenth Amendment, "if honestly received and fairly applied, have been enough to guard the rights of the colored race;" and it was not until it was found that some of the States still attempted to evade this application, that a Fifteenth Amendment was considered as necessary to secure suffrage to the negro; just as a Sixteenth Amendment is now considered necessary to secure suffrage to women, when really there was never a necessity for any amendment either for the negro or for woman, the principles of a Republican Government as set forth in the Constitution as originally adopted, being sufficient.

But the object of the Fifteenth Amendment was twofold. First, it was framed to meet the continued opposition on the part of the States to suffrage for the negro, and to hedge the broad privilege of the Fourteenth, which by that time had become evident to more than one sagacious mind, and its phraseology changed from the positive form of the Fourteenth to the usual negative and restrictive form. This was really the intention of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment—a sort of compromise to the breadth and length of the first section; just as though in either case what had been granted or recognized in positive terms, could be limited afterward by implication, which is an impossibility in law, and well-known to be so by all well-informed minds. This is, however, the dodge to which resort is now made when our male governors are driven to the necessity of finding some excuse to deny woman her political freedom.]

## THE NATURE AND RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The Fourteenth Amendment created and defined citizenship of the United States. It has long been contended and has been held by many learned authorities, but has never been judicially decided to the contrary, that there was no such thing as a citizen of the United States, except as that condition arose from citizenship of some State. No mode existed, it was said, of obtaining a citizenship of the United States except by first becoming a citizen of some State. This question is now at rest. The Fourteenth Amendment defined and declared who shall be citizens of the United States, to wit: All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. The latter qualification was intended to exclude the children of foreign representatives and the like. With this qualification every person born in the United States or naturalized is declared to be a citizen of the United States and of the State wherein he resides. After creating and defining citizenship of the United States, the Amendment provides that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizen of the United States. This clause is intended to be a protection, not to all our rights, but to our rights as citizens of the United States only; that is, to rights existing or belonging to that condition or capacity. [The words "or citizen of a State" used in the previous paragraph are carefully omitted here.] In article 4, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the United States, it had been already provided in this language, that "the citizen of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States." The rights of citizens of the States and of citizens of the United States are each guarded by these different provisions. That these rights were separate and distinct was held in the slaughter-house cases recently decided in the United States Supreme Court at Washington. The rights of citizens of the State as such



are not under consideration in the Fourteenth Amendment. They stand as they did before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and are fully guaranteed by other provisions. The rights of citizens of the States have been the subject of judicial decision on more than one occasion: "Corfield agt. Correll; 4 Mark, C. C. R., 371." "Hard agt. Maryland, 12 Wall, 430." "Paul agt. Virginia, 8 Wall, 140."

These are the fundamental privileges and immunities belonging of right to the citizens of all free governments, such as the right of life and liberty; the right to acquire and possess property, to transact business, to procure happiness in his own manner, subject to such restraint as the government may adjudge to be necessary for the general good. In *Cromwell agt. Nevada*, 6 Wallace, 36, is found a statement of some of the rights of a citizen of the United States, viz.: "To come to the seat of the government to assert any claim he may have upon the government; to transact any business he may have with it; to seek its protection; to share its offices; to engage in administering its functions. He has the right of free access to its seaports through which all operations of foreign commerce are conducted; to the sub-treasuries, land offices and courts of justice in the several States." Another privilege of a citizen of the United States, says Miller in the "Slaughter-house," cases is to demand the care and protection of the Federal Government on his life, liberty and property when on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of a foreign government. The right to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances, the privilege of a writ of *habeas corpus*, he says, are rights of the citizen guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

## COMMENTS.

[It will be seen, then, that Judge Hunt has suddenly switched upon altogether a different track from that on which he touched in the introductory paragraph. Then, he was considering the reasons for the amendments and the people they affected. Here he suddenly forgets all that was sought to be gained by the Fourteenth Amendment, and goes into the consideration of the general rights of all the people. Does Judge Hunt desire to have it understood he has decided that the Congress which passed this amendment and the legislatures that adopted it were fools, attempting to do a great thing but really accomplishing nothing? There isn't even a novice in the country who ever doubted that all the rights of which he (Hunt) speaks were possessed and exercised by all the people. This amendment, then, was not needed to secure rights that were already secured. And Judge Hunt knows as well as anybody in the land, that it was not to secure these rights to the people that this amendment was passed; but he does know it was framed to enable the negro to vote with the Republican party, and that was the sum total of the thought of the Congress that passed and the legislatures that adopted it. It is too late in the day to attempt to show that suffrage formed no part of the intent of the government. It is too late in the age now to attempt to cheat woman out of her suffrage by quibbling that the privileges and immunities contemplated were not intended to include suffrage.

Moreover, Judge Hunt knows that this amendment was framed expressly to wipe out of existence forever the very thing he now says it recognizes—that is, the right of States to the supreme control of its citizens, and especially is this true as regards suffrage; and he forgets that he admits all this by his reference, further on, to the second section, which expressly introduces in terms, the right to vote. How then can he attempt to say that the privileges and immunities of the first section, do not include voting, when the second section speaks of this as the whole force and intent of the entire Amendment, and even dare to hope to be able to retain a name for consistency and honesty of conviction? To have any force, a decision must be consistent in all its parts, lacking which it must fall, as this opinion must fall, void, upon the public mind when it shall digest it freely.

And he does all this in the teeth of the famous decision in the *Dred Scott* case, which he attempts flatly to contradict. The case was wholly upon voting, and it was therein decided as follows: "To be a citizen is to have the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political." Will Judge Hunt even attempt to say that the suffrage is not a political privilege? He may claim that it is a right; but if he do, how much more forcible the application of the words of Justice Daniels?

Again, even admitting that there is force in the peculiar discriminations made by Judge Hunt, between the rights of citizens of the United States, and of the several States, it must still be remembered that the general government is required to see that the several States maintain a republican form of government, this being held to be one that exists by the consent of the governed. But Judge Hunt, says, the States have a right to prevent the female portion of citizens from expressing either consent or dissent. Hence he is impaled upon it, let him take either horn of the dilemma that he may choose. Special pleadings cannot be admitted into this argument unless they comport with all other constitutional provisions, and even Judge Hunt will not attempt to declare that a government that disfranchises one-half of its citizens, and has the right to disfranchise them all, under the same rule, is republican in form; but just this does he say when he admits the right of the States to deprive women citizens of their right to vote.]

## HOW THE RIGHT OF VOTING ARISES.

The right of voting, or the privilege of voting, is a right or privilege arising under the Constitution of the State, and not of the United States. If the right belongs to any particular person, it is because such person is entitled to it as a citizen

of the State where he offers to exercise it, and not because of citizenship of the United States. If the State of New York should provide that no person should vote until he had reached the age of 21 years, or after he had reached the age of 50, or that no person having gray hair, or who had not the possession of all his limbs, should be entitled to vote, I do not see how it could be held to be a violation of any right derived or held under the Constitution of the United States. He might say that such regulations were unjust, tyrannical, unfit for the regulation of an intelligent State; but if rights of a citizen are thereby violated, they are of that fundamental class, derived from his position as a citizen of the State, and not those limited rights belonging to him as a citizen of the United States; and such was the decision in *Carfield agt. Cayell*. The United States rights appertaining to this subject are those first under article 1, paragraph 2, of the United States Constitution, which provides that electors of representatives in Congress shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; and second, under the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right of a citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. If the Legislature of the State of New York should require a higher qualification in a voter for a representative in Congress than is required for a voter for a member of Assembly, this would, I conceive, be a violation of a right belonging to one as citizen of the United States. That right is in relation to a Federal subject or interest, and can be guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. The inability of a State to abridge the right of voting on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude is a Federal guaranty. Its violation would be the denial of a Federal right—that is, a right belonging to the claimant as a citizen of the United States.

## COMMENTS.

[Here again does Judge Hunt argue from effects backward instead of from causes forward. The right of voting does not arise either in the Constitution of the United States or in that of the several States. This right existed before constitutions were formed, and it was by its exercise that they were formed, and without it they could not have been formed. Governments derive their power from constitutions, but constitutions do not grant rights to citizens. It would be more proper to say that the duties of governments are defined in constitutions, but it would be a flat contradiction to say that a government constituted by the people could grant anything to the people not previously possessed by them. To say this would be to say that the thing created is greater than the power creating it, which is so absurd that it is ridiculous; but just so absurd and ridiculous has Judge Hunt been ambitious to show himself. A government, to have a legal existence anywhere, must have a rightful beginning somewhere. It was so with this government, else it has no legal existence now, and no rightful power or duty. To bring it down to the present, let it be supposed that we have no government, and that the people are about to construct one. Who, pray, are the people who would go about this business? Would Judge Hunt say to his sister or his mother: "Here, I have the right to act in this matter only. You shall not have anything whatever to do with it?" This would be an arbitrary assumption of power entirely at variance with the spirit of Republican institutions. If he have the right to say this to his sister, it would be simply because he has the power to enforce it; and he has the same right to say the same to his brother. Now what sort of a Republican government would that be constructed by the exercise of such arbitrary power as this? But just such is this of ours, which denies to one-half the citizens all exercise of political rights. It is because of this autocratic disposition of Judge Hunt, in contradistinction to true Democracy, that he cannot see that it would be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment should the States attempt to regulate that persons having gray hair should not vote.

In a Republican government there can be but three classes of citizens, to wit: Citizens who have the right to vote; citizens who have the right to acquire the right to vote, and citizens who have forfeited the right to vote. To go further than this, and provide for a class of citizens who never have had and never can acquire the right to vote, is to change the form of government from republicanism to despotism.

The regulations that may be provided to guard the exercise of the suffrage must be general and not arbitrary in form; must be of such a character that all persons by the same process may bring themselves within their purview. It is proper to say that citizens shall not vote until arrived at mature age; but it is not right to say that a male, by acquiring the age of twenty-one, may, while a female acquiring the same age shall not vote; and to permit a State to regulate the suffrage in this way is not to maintain a republican form of government, since this would be a government of class rule, in which by a natural cause which can never be overcome, one half of all the people would be disfranchised.

If men possess the natural right to say to women in framing a government that they have no right to participate, it might be argued that men have the right to regulate the suffrage out of existence in the case of women; but unless this right exist in men, independent of constitutions and laws, then they cannot rightfully enact it in constitutions and laws.

An emphatic denial of the right of States to regulate the rights of citizens as they shall severally elect, is found in that provision of the constitution which provides that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." This is equivalent to saying that if the women citizens of a single State

should be admitted to the exercise of the right to participate in government, then the women citizens of all the States would also be entitled by virtue of this provision to the same exercise. It would be the duty of the general government to see that this was done, since unless it were, a republican government certainly would not be maintained.

But the invalidity of all special pleading as to the right of the States to prevent women from voting is clearly shown and completely refuted by the single and simple fact that this government exists only by the fact that the right to vote existed in the people who set about to frame it.]

## THE QUESTION OF SEX NOT TOUCHED BY THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The right herein exists by virtue of the Fifteenth Amendment. If the Fifteenth Amendment had contained the word "sex," the argument of the defense would have been potent. She would have said an attempt by a State to deny the right to vote because one is of a particular sex is expressly prohibited by that amendment. The amendment, however, does not contain that word. It is limited to race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Legislature of the State of New York has seen fit to say that the franchise of voting shall be limited to the male sex. In saying this, there is, in my judgment, no violation of the letter or of the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment. This view is assumed in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which enacts that the right to vote for Federal officers is denied by any State to any of the male inhabitants of such State, except for crime, the basis of representation of such State shall be reduced in a proportion specified. Not only does this section assume that the right of male inhabitants to vote was the especial object of its protection, but it assumes and admits the right of a State, notwithstanding the existence of that clause under which the defendant claims to the contrary, to deny to any of the male inhabitants the right to vote which is allowed to other inhabitants. The regulation of the suffrage is conceded to the States as a State's right. The case of *Myra Bradwell*, decided at the recent term of the Supreme Court of the United States, sustains both the positions above put forth, viz.: *First*, that the rights referred to in the Fourteenth Amendment are those belonging to a person as a citizen of the United States and as a citizen of a State; and *second*, that a right of the character involved here is not one connected with the citizenship of the United States. Mrs. Bradwell made application to be admitted to practice as an attorney and counselor-at-law, in the courts of Illinois. Her application was denied, and upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, it was there held that to give force, under the Fourteenth Amendment, the claim must be of a right pertaining to citizenship of the United States, and that the claim made by her did not come within that class of cases. Mr. Justice Bradley and Mr. Justice Field held that a woman was not entitled to a license to practice law. It does not appear that the other judges passed upon that question.

## COMMENTS.

[The question of sex is not introduced in the Fifteenth Amendment, but it ought not to have needed to have been introduced. It is well understood that women had not generally ever claimed the exercise of their right, as a part of the sovereign people, to participate in the government, and it may be conceded that it was not intended to include sex in this amendment; nevertheless, by the rules of logic, and that the greater always includes the less, it is included. But why Judge Hunt in this amendment should argue that women are excluded because not mentioned in it, and, at the same time, argue that women are included because not mentioned in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, is a paradox which the judge may have reason hereafter to explain, since it is not evident upon the face of his opinion.

The regulation of suffrage is not conceded to the States as a right, but as a duty. It is their duty, as has been defined by the Courts, to regulate and establish the suffrage; but what person assuming the possession of common sense will construe this into the right to prohibit and defeat the exercise of suffrage. The Constitution provides that electors for representatives to Congress "shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Now, what are qualifications? Evidently such things or condition as all people can acquire or attain to by making use of the same means. A person may qualify as a voter by attaining the age of twenty-one years, by residing in the State a year, and so on. A female can do this equally with a male, and these illustrate what qualifications are; but to say that a woman must qualify to vote by attaining to be a male, is an absurdity so palpable that no right-thinking person will ever assume it. Sex, then, cannot be made a qualification because it is a condition of nature that cannot be changed and is impossible of qualification, and, being possessed by a person, that person cannot qualify as a voter by changing. Hence, to make sex a bar to the vote, is not to make it a qualification but to enforce it as a prohibition.

But beyond all that has been or that may be said, there lies a still more potent question that has never been discussed in this connection. The Fourteenth Amendment in terms declares that women are citizens of the United States and of the States. Until the question of woman suffrage was raised, there was never a court or writer on Constitutional law that did not hold that to be a citizen was to possess the right to participate in government. All lexicographers, publicists and justices have, until recently, universally held the possession of this right as distinguishing between persons being citizens and aliens. But Justice Cartter, Senator Carpenter, and more recently Judge Hunt, have set up a new



rendition of this word; or, what is still more true, they have obliterated it from the language, since with its present meaning it has no signification over the more general term, persons. Heretofore a person being a citizen has had the right to vote, all other persons being aliens; but it is now deprived of this signification. A person may be a citizen and be possessed of no more rights than an alien—indeed of the same rights. Every person in the United States possesses all the rights that all other persons possess, excepting alone the right to vote and be voted for, and this difference is all the difference there is between citizens and aliens; therefore, women, in the practice of male domination, are aliens and not citizens as provided by the Constitution of the United States. This distinction is carefully preserved in the Fourteenth Amendment when it provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." Now nothing can be clearer or more evident than that the framers of these provisions had it well defined in their minds, in the use of the terms citizens and persons, that the sole distinction between them consisted in the right to participate in the government, citizens having that right and persons not citizens not having it; and all the special efforts of "our male governors" to indefinitely deprive women of their rights as citizens can never refute this simple fact. It will stand to their shame, the indisputable evidence of their despotic sway over women—the illustration of the right of might exerted by the stronger over the weaker.

The remainder of the opinion is immaterial, requiring no comment.

#### MISS ANTHONY'S VIOLATION OF LAW.

The Fourteenth Amendment gives no right to a woman to vote, and the voting by Miss Anthony was in violation of law. If she believed she had a right to vote, does that release her from the penalty? It is argued that the knowledge referred to in the act referred to relates to her knowledge of the illegality of the act, and not to the act of voting; for it is said that she must know that she voted. Two principles apply here: first, ignorance of the law excuses no one; second, every person is presumed to understand and to intend the necessary effects of his own acts. Miss Anthony knew that she was a woman, and that the Constitution of this State prohibits her from voting. She intended to violate that provision—intended to test it, perhaps, but certainly intended to violate it. The necessary effect of her act was to violate it, and then she is presumed to have intended it. There was no ignorance of any fact, but all the facts being known, she undertook to settle a principle in her own person. She takes the risk and she ought not to shrink from the consequences. It is said that our authorities are cited to sustain the position that there can be no crime unless there is a culpable intent; to render one criminally responsible, a vicious will must be present. A commits a trespass on the land of B, and B thinking and believing that he has a right to shoot an intruder upon his premises, kills A on the spot. Does B's misapprehension of his rights justify his act? Would a judge be justified in charging the jury that if satisfied that B supposed he had a right to shoot A he was justified, and they should find a verdict of not guilty? No judge would make such a charge. To constitute a crime, it is true that there must be a criminal intent, but it is equally true that knowledge of the facts of the case is always held to supply this intent. An intentional killing bears with it evidence of malice in law and a desire to promote the welfare of the deceased by his translation to a better world would be no justification of the act were it committed by a sane man. Whoever, without justifiable cause, intentionally kills his neighbor is guilty of a crime. The principle is the same in the case before us, and in all criminal cases. The precise question has been several times decided, viz., that one illegally voting was bound and was assumed to know the law (Hamilton agt. the People, 57th of Babour, p. 625; State agt. Bossett, 10th of Indell, p. 336; State agt. Hart, 6th Jones, 11 chap., p. 339; McGuire agt. State, 7 Humphrey, 54, 15th of Iowa Reports, 404). No system of criminal jurisprudence can be sustained upon any other principle. Assuming that Miss Anthony believed she had a right to vote, that fact constitutes no defense if in truth she had not the right. She voluntarily gave a vote which was illegal and thus is subject to the penalty of the law.

At the conclusion of the opinion, Judge Selden requested that the case should be submitted to the jury upon the question of intent, and upon the following propositions:

1. If the defendant at the time of voting believed that she had a right to vote, and voted in good faith in that belief, she is not guilty of the offense charged.
2. In determining the question whether she did or did not believe that she had a right to vote, the jury may take into consideration, as bearing upon that question, the advice which she received from the counsel to whom she applied.
3. That they may also take into consideration, as bearing on the same question, the fact that the Inspectors considered the question, and came to the conclusion that she had a right to vote.
4. That the jury have a right to find a general verdict of guilty or not guilty as they shall believe that she has or has not committed the offense described in the statute.

The Court declined to submit the case to the jury upon any question whatever, and directed them to render a verdict of guilty against the defendant. Judge Selden then requested the clerk to poll the jury, which request was denied by the Court, and a verdict of guilty was rendered. The defendant's counsel excepted to the decree and action of the Court, and insisted that upon the construction given to the law by the decision, there had been only a violation of the State law, and that the United States Court had no jurisdiction. Sentence has not yet been pronounced.

#### FREEDOM AND DESPOTISM FACE TO FACE.

##### WHICH SHALL GO DOWN IN THE STRIFE?

Last week we expressed the conviction, of which we have been possessed ever since it was announced before Commissioner Osborn by Noah Davis, Assistant-General Davies, that it was well worth the while of the United States to vindicate the reputation of Henry Ward Beecher, by prosecuting us for obscenity, that the United States would never proceed to trial upon that charge. This opinion was still further confirmed when, a short time since, the present District Attorney announced that the United States did not propose to proceed to trial upon the indictment under which we were first arrested and imprisoned in Ludlow for a month, and we, therefore, had no hesitation in publicly announcing that conviction, nor of setting forth freely all the reasons that cluster around the case.

Immediately after January 1, the Cooper Institute speech for January 9, on "The Naked Truth," was widely advertised. Beecher's special and friendly tool—Beardsley, *alias* Nichol, *alias* Comstock—urged on by Beecher himself perhaps, by his friends at all events, set about to suppress that speech. Another indictment was accordingly made out, our arrest was planned to culminate on the morning of the day of the lecture; but as fate would have it the arrest could not be made until the lecture had been given, thus defeating the principal reason for it. Neither did they succeed in keeping us confined in Ludlow for any length of time, as bail was furnished after one night's imprisonment; while the decision of Commissioner Davenport developed the fact that the examination had really exploded the absurd charge of obscenity. He said it was clear to him that the statute under which the arrest was made did not contemplate the abridgment of the freedom of the press, but for the sake of settling the question he held us for indictment.

Although the indictment was formal, the result of the examination confirmed us in the conclusion that the United States must know there was no case, and consequently that there would never be a trial, and we believe the District Attorney was of this opinion. We cannot believe that one learned in the law and intelligent in the general principles of Republican institutions could think that Congress ever intended to pass, or ever had passed, a law which could be used to suppress free discussion in the public press, and we shall never place so low an estimate upon the legal ability and general intelligence, either of Mr. Bliss or Mr. Purdy, as to admit that they have proceeded upon this supposition.

##### WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

But we find ourselves now before the United States Court, Judge Blatchford presiding, actually on trial upon the charge of sending obscene literature through the mails, and we are forced to look about for a reason for being brought to trial now, and we find it in the last desperate effort of the Young Men's Christian Association to suppress the WEEKLY, and the last desperate attempt of Mr. Beecher's friends to squelch us out before any more of his unwise friends shall have the opportunity which time may give to publish another Covenant, or perhaps to make it unnecessary for Mr. Beecher to publicly whitewash by forgiving more persons besides Mr. Tilton, who like him have told tales about him, which prudence and devotion to the great preacher ought to have prevented. So whatever form the present expiring efforts to crush us may take, we feel assured their inspiration lies in Mr. Beecher and his Christian friends and in the Y. M. C. A., and that to get rid of their combined persistence the District Attorney is forced to dispose of the case by bringing us to trial, and of course by doing all that lies in his power to convict us.

##### WHAT IS THE ISSUE?

We would not, however, permit the people to lose sight of the real issue that is to be tried in this case. It is true that we are charged with sending obscene literature through the mails. It may perhaps be proven that we have sent WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY of November 2 through the mails. That, however, is a small part of the issue, since, unless the thing sent is obscene, there can be no case. Suppose that we did send the packages upon which this indictment is based, the paper must first be ruled to be an obscene paper before the prosecutors can go to the jury with any part of the case. The whole question, then, hangs upon the question of obscenity.

Now this is the first instance in the history of journalism in this country that a newspaper that criticises the acts of public men or of private citizens even, has ever been indicted for obscenity. This paper criticises the acts of Mr. Beecher and Mr. Challis. It speaks of what, under the law, is termed 'their crimes against society, fully, freely and without reservation; but in so doing no language is used except such as is absolutely requisite to express the thing meant to be conveyed, and the same language may be found in almost any book of prominent ability from the pen of almost any prominent writer; and language much more pointed and direct in its allusions and references to things generally, though as we believe improperly, held to be obscene, is found in numerous passages in the Bible, while Shakespeare, Smollet, Hudibras, Whitman and Pope, even, abound in the same kind.

If this fellow Comstock were really honest in his action against the WEEKLY, were he attempting to suppress it, himself believing it ought to be suppressed, solely on account of its obscenity and without reference to the character and standing of the person whom the language involves, why

does he not attempt to suppress the sending of all these authors' works through the mails? Why does he permit the Bible to be sent through the mail, when he knows there is language contained in it which, compared to the language of the WEEKLY, is foulness itself? Why does he not proceed against the *Mercury*, the *Police Gazette*, the *Illustrated Police News*, in short against every paper which publishes the calendars of crime in which sex is involved, every one of which must use equally as objectionable language as is found in the WEEKLY? In a word, why does not the quick-scented jackall attempt to suppress the New York *Herald* for its recent article on Nude Models, the language of which must, we know, appear to his keen senses most highly offensive and widely tending to "excite obscene ideas in the minds of the young."

And still again: Why does he not at once proceed against Brick Pomeroy, who purposely flaunts him in the *Democrat* of the 14th inst., in language that he cannot overlook if he is not thoroughly canting in his pursuit of the WEEKLY? We know his attention has been called to this article. Why does he not have Mr. Pomeroy arrested? Why has he not had all these other editors arrested?

##### IS HE A KNAVE, OR A SNEAK, OR A WHATNOT?

It has been seven months since this fellow began his attempts against the freedom of the press by attacking it in the WEEKLY; and he has not ventured to attack either of the papers to which we have referred, though some, from week to week and others from day to day have contained more offensive language than the WEEKLY. Is he a coward as well as a hypocrite? Does he fear to attack men who have means to crush his cowardly carcass out of sight forever? Does he hesitate to proceed against men who know him too well? Yet this is the "second Christ" (?) who says the WEEKLY is obscene because it has told naughty things about his friends Beecher and Challis, and he has the presumption to think he can make use of learned and intelligent courts to carry out his hypocritical cant. Out upon such carrion. It is already a setch in this country. Some powerful male editor cannot too soon have the pleasure of burying him away from offending the nostrils of decent and freedom-loving people, who think others than themselves fit to live in this country, though they do not blindly worship an unknown God nor attend Plymouth Church on Sundays or Friday evenings.

##### THE REAL ISSUE.

The real issue, then, that is on trial is not that the WEEKLY is obscene above any other paper that is published, and against which this agent of obscenity has not proceeded or has not dared to proceed; but that it has published facts about a person whom no other journal dared to expose. Thousands of cases can be referred to in papers all over the country in which the same class of facts are constantly published; indeed, scarcely a daily paper can be read which does not contain minute accounts of seductions, rapes and so-called criminal relations between men and women; but then they are not about Mr. Beecher, "you know." They are not about persons whose reputations it is well worth the while of the United States to vindicate, and here is the great, the determining distinction. We might have published the same facts that we published about Mr. Beecher about any poor or unknown man, and this jackal would never have scented or suspected us of obscenity. We might have held up to public view the lecherous doings of any poor woman who had been the victim of some great man's lust, and this Christ and his followers would have applauded us to the skies, and have almost admitted us, women though we be, to the folds of the Godly Y. M. C. A.; but, fatal error, we passed the poor victims by and took up those who make them thus, and in a trice we were in jail. Godly men be those, yea, thrice Godly all such as this Christlike (?) agent of the Y. M. C. A., for the protection of the reputation of revered citizens who cannot protect themselves.

Moreover, had we held up to public scorn a poor, deluded victim of some procuress grown rich by the large bonuses paid by her wealthy gentlemen friends for virginity, we should have received a never ending list of encomiums from these latter-day Christians; but as we passed the young victims by and laid hold of the real authors of all this misery, we are repaid by incarceration in jail and by persecution for obscenity. Obscenity, forsooth! Just as if any story necessary to show up the damnable curses that are daily being cast upon the heads of the pure-minded and unsuspecting girls, to warn others from falling into the traps set to catch them, could be obscene, could be indecent could be immoral, could be detrimental to the morals of the community! We can find no language sufficiently pungent and soul-penetrating to express our contempt for such consummate hypocrisy. We can only show it up, and leave the future to pronounce its verdict upon it, and to appreciate our motives.

##### OR IS IT THE DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL FREEDOM AT WHICH THE BLOW IS AIMED?

By the terms of the "Bill of Particulars" furnished by the District Attorney, it may be inferred that it is against the liberty to discuss the principles of social freedom at which this persecution is aimed. He "reserves the right to read such other parts of the paper as tend to produce obscene ideas." Outside, then, of the relation of facts regarding persons, it is now determined to pronounce against the discussion of principles. This is tantamount to saying that the WEEKLY shall not advocate social freedom, because such advocacy tends to produce obscene ideas! To what depth and lengths will the government attempt to proceed? Are



we not to be permitted to discuss the rottenness of the marriage system? Shall our lips be closed and our pen stayed in the revolution which we have set out to inaugurate? How is a better state of thought to be brought about, except through public discussion on the rostrum and in the newspaper? Does this administration feel itself already so strongly fortified on the downfall of the liberties of this people, as to proceed thus in face of the express constitutional provisions contained in Article I of Amendments to the Constitution, to wit: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press?"

Now what is this but an attempt on the part of the officers of the law to abridge the freedom of the press, by perverting and prostituting the statutes of the United States? The Constitution does not say, the press shall not be held responsible at common law for the use it shall make of this freedom; but it does say, it shall not be abridged. That is, any person may speak or publish whatever he or she pleases about anybody, being responsible to that person for the truth or falsity of the publication; or he or she may advocate any system of religion, ethics or philosophy, and there can be no law made to prevent it. Anything that should attempt this would plainly be unconstitutional and must be so held by any honest and impartial judge.

## RETROSPECTION.

But we remember that Garrison advocated the abolition of chattel slavery at the expense of a halter about his neck and of being dragged to jail in the Puritanical city of Boston, and that when John Brown passed into the borders of slavery upon the avowed mission of abolition, its oligarchs hanged him dead to defeat his mission. Nevertheless, abolition stalked on in spite of halts, prisons and hangmen, and for the few martyred bodies, thousands paid the penalty, but millions of Africa's sons and daughters were thereby made freemen. And now, in the advocacy of abolition for this later, greater and more damning slavery, if prisons, bolts and bars are the necessary stimulative methods to rouse the people to a sense of the deep injustice that they are permitting; if halts and hangmen be impressed into the service of the latter-day oligarchs to strangle the advocates of freedom to death, and if the U. S. Government officials, at the beck and nod of an almost defunct Christianity, are to marshal on the persecuting host, then it is well that there be those whom none of these machinations can intimidate nor turn from their course. There can be no greater honor conferred than to be counted worthy to be instruments of so grand a work as must flow from this.

## THE MADE-UP PROGRAMME.

The prime mover of this movement considers us already in Auburn penitentiary. This tool of the Hypocrites imagines that it is the special business of the U. S. District Court to send us there, because he has obtained an indictment and he already begins to question the proceeding, not understanding "why the Court allows those women so much latitude." We suppose if it should so turn out that the Court and jury fail to convict that he will have the Court impeached and the verdict set aside. He has had "a hundred cases of obscenity and never missed one except Train." So if his calculations prevail our next issue may be edited from Auburn, where he has decided that we shall be sent, since, as he says, "Get them there and we can keep them from writing anything more about Mr. Beecher in the WEEKLY.

## WILL IT SUCCEED?

If we are not mistaken, however, this fellow for once will be taught that he is not the Grand Mogul of the District Court if he think he is of the Circuit Court. On Monday his face lengthened from a broad grin to something less than a yard long as he saw his brothers of the Y. M. C. A. mercilessly slaughtered by our counsel as jurors, and calmly bade by the Court to "stand aside." Evidently such fairness was not to his liking. It seemed to interfere with some well laid plan of his, put up for Christ's sake. Probably a whole month's earnest labor among this panel of thirty-five jurors, from whom there were but six jurors empaneled, endeavoring to impress upon them the heinousness of our crime in letting some light into the hidden mysteries of modern Christianity, and of the necessity of locking us up where we could not publish the terrible WEEKLY, he saw melt gradually away as one after one of his prepared subjects "stood aside," leaving those only whom he could not approach.

## THE PRESS ON THE SITUATION.

Ours is not a private case which he can rush through the courts and never cause a ruffle on the surface of the outside world, as most of his cases have been. The press of the entire country is looking toward this trial. They know that their own intactness may depend upon the issue, and a large proportion of them have spoken out boldly regarding this infamous attack upon a liberty common to them all—a sample of which, taken from a prominent and influential Indiana paper, shows their spirit:

It was a species of contemptible barbarism to throw her into jail on the trumped-up charge of obscenity. That the charge was inspired by malice is abundantly established by the fact that such enormous bail was required. Plainly the intent of those who instituted the prosecution was to intimidate her by imprisonment for want of bail rather than the fear of conviction at trial. Whatever may be thought of the ideas of which she is an open advocate, no one can truthfully assert that she has used indecent language to express them, although such an impression has largely prevailed. It is no

excuse for the exercise of brutal tyranny toward Mrs. Woodhull that she may have aspersed a great man's name, and the return of evil for evil in the case does violence to the cause which is professed to be subserved. Mr. Beecher has the same recourse that is open to others, and more than this neither he nor his friends can reasonably ask.

Now, this hero of a hundred convictions must not imagine that courts and juries are going to ride rough-shod over all constitutional guarantees purposely to please him, or even to save Mr. Beecher. We know the law, and so does the court; and the court will not make any indecent haste to bring down upon him a fire similar to that which Judge Davis has recently experienced and Judge Hunt is now experiencing. He will rule strictly according to law, and that is all we shall desire. And should any mistakes be made they will be criticised by every journal in the land, since it is not merely ourselves now on trial, but a great principle of republican liberty which stands or falls with our case. If the WEEKLY is condemned to-morrow for obscenity, any paper that dare print its convictions may be condemned the next day, and so on until there shall be no such thing as journalism independent of the influence of the Y. M. C. A.

## THE FINAL VICTORY CERTAIN.

Nevertheless, these same Y. M. C. A. stand holding open the prison doors, ready to push us in, and it may still be possible that they may succeed. But even this, if it occur, we have faith to believe, will be overruled, to the good of the cause to which we are devoted, and to their ultimate confusion and discomfiture. Hence, we await the result in perfect calmness, fully prepared to enact whatever part is assigned us in the grand drama to secure individual freedom to every living soul.

## AS SEEN FROM THE HEIGHTS.

Nine years since Appomattox! Yet still tinkles that little bell. The soul of Seward marches on.

A woman spake from the depths of an outraged soul. A thunderbolt hissed from the heights of truth. A rotten religion reeled as its mask was rent.

The little bell has struck!

Woodhull, Claflin and Blood to-day are facing what would be the crowning farce were it not the crowning outrage of the nineteenth century.

Alone in the breach, these three must win or die. Now rally, Plymouth—now, "Christian" cohorts—charge! for Christ's sake; now, ye long-haired, ghost-inspired, who bellow reform when skies are fair, fly, *slink*, for the storm has come! But if beside these three there be even one other, however humble, if his heart be true, let him stand, for the right is mighty; God will defend it.

But little sagacity is required to enable us to perceive that while the prosecution of the above firm is ostensibly directed against persons, it is in reality a grand rally, in the interests of pure despotism, for the purpose of suppressing sentiments which are too broad for the narrow outlook of the present keepers of the public conscience. Under domination of the same spirit the persecutions of truth have been directed since time began—never ceasing; simply changing front as compelled so to do by force of the gradual enlightenment of common sense. Eighteen hundred years ago it was a cross; later, the rack and thumbscrew; later, the stake and fagot; still later, the social ostracism of bigotry; now, at last, it has shifted into the mask of a lie, and in the strategy of sheer desperation, comes guised in the garments of truth's bulwark, stalking behind the ghost of Blackstone, invoking the law to ban the proclamation of law's highest truths, coercion by authority of him who bowed before nought save the will of the father, intolerance in the name of the all-forgiving Jesus.

Judge not. Grandly subtle and infinitely just the law that makes all men honest, however reprehensible may seem the conduct of many when viewed from a standard outlook. Cannot all see that it is the same all-expanding truth which, struggling in the soul of one, bursts forth as flowers from cultivated soil, in another as weeds from stony ground. Who expects that the outwork of truth through evil will be un-mixed good? Who dare deny that they were not honest who stoned the prophets? Who does not perceive that filth is the bliss of swine? Who supposes that Comstock, the young Saul of this day and generation, perceives himself to be a sneaking bigot? Who so insane as to believe that purity from the lips of Victoria C. Woodhull would not be hell fire to the biped billy-goats of the Y. M. C. A.?

Development is outlook. Only from the grand heights of the angels should judgment come. L. S. CRANDALL.

## A CARD.

TO THE FRIENDS OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION EVERYWHERE.

You will see by the constitution of the "Western Reserve Woman's Emancipation Society," published in this number of the WEEKLY, that you can become members by subscribing to it, and contributing to the society's funds. Any sum, however small, will be sufficient, and any sum, however large, will be acceptable.

With infinite earnestness and sublime confidence we ask for your names and the necessary contributions. We mean to do a work on the "Reserve" equal to the demands of the hour. But we shall not stop with the "Reserve." The home work of our home workers will be gratuitous, but our employment of outside help, and our occupancy of other territory, will be limited only by want of means. You will see by the constitution that funds cannot be diverted or used recklessly.

I will write a letter of acknowledgment for every name and contribution. Here is an excellent opportunity to secure the secretary's autograph.

FRANCIS BARRY, Sec.,  
Western Reserve Woman's Emancipation Society.

## SPIRITUALISTIC.

## THE TRUE SPIRIT OF REFORM.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:

The Convention of Spiritualists, recently held at Rockford, Illinois, on hearing of your serious illness induced by the persecutions to which you have been subjected by the Y. M. C. A., spontaneously contributed one hundred dollars to assist you in maintaining your paper—the people's paper—the WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

By thus aiding you to uphold the liberty of the press and freedom of speech, they felt they were not merely assisting you, but that through you, themselves and all humanity, and mostly and in a larger and wider sense the liberties of this country. It was not, therefore, your benefit that was sought by this donation but their own, since they felt the supreme need that the freest and boldest paper in the world must needs be sustained at all hazards against the encroachments of its religious and political foes.

Please publish this so that the contributors may know their aid has reached its destination, and may every other convention go and do likewise.

Yours for equal rights and justice, and may the war never cease until they shall be the inheritance of all.

JACOB POWELL.

[The foregoing communication speaks for itself. It is such oases as these occasionally occurring on the otherwise dry and hard road of reform that gives one strength to continue on the way. And when it is evidenced that the people begin to rush to the support of the WEEKLY for their own sake, and not merely for the persons who are engaged in its conduct, its success seems certain. This contribution is gratefully acknowledged, and the work it will assist to do will surely be consecrated to the good of humanity. Had it not been for the various contributions received since being released from prison, it would have been impossible for the WEEKLY to have been sustained. We have made no general acknowledgment of these contributions, because we were not conscious that it would be acceptable to contributors; but we assure them all that these evidences of the appreciation of our services in endeavoring to waken the world to a realization of its social condition, and the growing necessity of the WEEKLY to the people, have encouraged us through many a weary and otherwise hopeless way.]

## ON PHYSICAL NECESSITY AND NATURAL LAWS.

The doctrine of necessity, or an eternal, unalterable series of causes and effects, has engaged the attention of some of the most advanced intellectual investigators at various eras, notwithstanding which it is still an open, unsettled question. These discrepant opinions are the result of the reasoning on either side being based on principles not mutually admitted as incontrovertible.

In this paper the solution of the problem is sought by treating the doctrine in its relation to accomplished events, which all acknowledge, and by avoiding all unnecessary reference to extraneous matters; by so treating it the problem admits of a very simple, concise and conclusive solution, and if the argument be tested by candid searchers after truth, untrammelled by cavils, sophisms and unproved assumptions, its soundness and conclusiveness cannot be gainsaid. It is proper in advance to acknowledge that very cogent appeals can and have been made to the deep-rooted beliefs of the so-called religious world—beliefs which are accepted without investigation, to the utter exclusion of those reasoning powers which must have been given to man for the purpose of availing himself of them to the fullest extent, on all occasions and under all conceivable circumstances.

We are conscious that we exist, and have no other evidence that we exist save this consciousness! The seats of perceptions and desires are in the brain, spinal cord and nerves, all of which are substances; but with our present organization we cannot analyze or trace back to the initial action which calls forth these perceptions and desires.

In a healthy and waking state of the human frame, all conscious motives to action are called will, and are simply desires to obtain for their object the greatest amount of pleasure, or to avoid the greatest amount of pain or displeasure, either immediately or in prospect, under whatever circumstances the person may be placed. The aspirations or desires will, of course, be regulated by organization and other guiding circumstances, and may appear to be wholly selfish and groveling or exaltedly sympathetic and elevating.

A conscious desire or will indicating a want is an effect or event produced either by the direct action of certain external things—substances—or it may be produced by the revival of association—memory—of former impressions and desires, or combinations of them in the brain, spinal cord and nerves. A desire or will thus produced implies the action of the reasoning faculties, *i. e.*, comparing and inferring.

In all this we observe that the cause of desire or will, that is to say, the action and reaction of substances—for we have no knowledge of any other cause or causes which can produce desire or will, resulting as they do from substantial causes—cannot be free will in the popular sense of the term, but must, on the contrary, as already set forth, be the manifestations of substantial causes.

No effect or event can take place without a sufficient antecedent cause, and when such cause operates without obstruction, as of necessity it must do, the effect or event takes place inevitably, otherwise it could not have taken place!

No mortal can infringe the inevitable order of events which are to take place! Hence, any event which does occur was to occur inevitably, and, of course, no other event or events could have been substituted by mortal agency. The laws governing matter and events admit of no chance occurrence! No person exercising the faintest glimmer of unclouded reason can conceive, certainly not give, a rational negative to these, the simplest and the plainest inferences.



It may be objected that these arguments cannot be sound, for the reason that they appear to relieve man from all responsibility for his actions, and that therefore the man who believed in these conclusions would indulge in the gratification of vicious desires without restraint. As regards temporal responsibility, the objection would fall to the ground, in proof whereof we have but to instance the sentiments of right and wrong, of truth, of justice, of honor, of sympathy and affection, together with the restraining effects of the primitive laws and the reprobation which society would mete out to the infringer of these sentiments and laws—all of which are links in the universal, unbroken and unbreakable chain of causes and their effects.

The foregoing argument deals exclusively with physical considerations, and is therefore unconnected with matters or questions of mere simple faith. Faith ignores argument, and is resolutely blind where Nature's laws cannot accommodate themselves to her dogmatic and undemonstrable assumptions. A more expanded knowledge of natural theology, the study of the illimitable firmament, wherein she (faith) may see that the grand principle controlling all the bodies in space is finally determined and uniform; that there is no deviation from, and can be no deviation from, the eternal law which ever was and ever will be.

It is not here proposed to discuss or enter on the question of the Deity's power to control human events and the order of their occurrence, further than to say that when the events did transpire they would fall into the category of events which were to occur, and which did occur, independent of mortal control.

Foreknowledge on the part of the Deity is utterly irreconcilable with untrammelled action on the part of man! Either the Deity does not see in advance what a man's earthly career will be, or, if He does, how can the man have freedom of action? *Quærat demonstrandum.*

The Egyptian priests and astrologers, long anterior to the appearance of Moses, became convinced that there was an inexorable destiny in animate and inanimate nature. Moses was himself an Egyptian priest, and we see the evidence of his Egyptian training in his works.

The Egyptians observing that all nature rejoiced and flourished when certain constellations appeared in the skies (from the advent of the vernal to the period of the autumnal equinox), attributed to these constellations all germinating powers, and hence worshiped them as the harbingers and dispensers of all good, angels of beneficence, of purity and virtue; while the winter constellations, accompanied by long nights and fogs, were looked upon as the geni of darkness, destruction and death, angels of sin and vice, the antagonistic principle struggling with the good. The good or creative God (the sun) they adored as the king or ruler of the summer constellations, and held festivals in his honor, offering up for his acceptance milk, honey, perfume and such other evidences of their gratitude as might in their judgment be acceptable. The evil god, on the contrary, received the worship of fear, whence originated many of the gloomy forebodings and observances of the present day in Christian lands.

The heavens were thus divided into two domains, two factions. The scorpion, as the first zodiacal sign after libra, was for a long time the malignant genius or the God of Destruction. Later, in Persia, the serpent, under the name of Ahrimanes, was accepted by Zoroaster as the Evil God (the serpent of Eve and of the Cross, emblem of Satan as sung by Daniel). Plutarch tells us that the Egyptians only offered bloody victims to Typhon. They sacrificed to him a red ox, and the victim was held in abhorrence and loaded with all the sins of the people (the goat of Moses). *Su De Iside et Osiride.*

Zoroaster says that Mithra was an intermediate being, and it was for this reason that the Persians called Mithra the mediator or intercessor. Theopompus adds from the books of the Magi that "in the end the evil genius will fall never to rise again, then men will become happy and shall have no shadow."

In the case of Mithra there was a ladder representing the seven spheres of the planets, by means of which souls ascended and descended. "This," says Volney, "is precisely the ladder in Jacob's vision, which shows that at that epoch the whole system (Biblical) was formed." The action of the sun on terrestrial bodies teaching the Egyptians to regard his substance as a pure and elementary fire, they made it the focus and reservoir of an ocean of igneous and luminous fluid, which under the name of ether filled the universe and nourished all beings, afterward having discovered this fire, or another perfectly resembling it, in the composition of all bodies, and having perceived it to be the essential agent of that spontaneous movement which is called life in animals, and vegetation in plants, they conceived the mechanism and harmony of the universe as of a homogenous whole, or one identical body, whose countless parts, though distant, had nevertheless an intimate relation, and the world was to them a living being, animated by the organic circulation of an igneous or electrical fluid. (See Volney and Plutarch.) Nothing new under the sun! Here we have a grand and rational idea of God—a principle controlling matter! But to suppose that matter could be created or annihilated is to suppose a beginning, which would lead to the inference that the first cause had also a beginning.

From the Egyptians the great lights of Greece received and debated on the doctrine of destiny or necessity, whence it has found its way down to our epoch. A long night of intellectual darkness, culminating in the blighting and mind enslaving inquisition, interrupted intellectual investigations which, having for their objects the elucidation of the sublime workings of nature, and the tracing back to first causes the fundamental laws controlling matter, and the unfolding of the mysterious impulses and motives to human action, were viewed with horror and dismay by the ecclesiastics. Long did truth struggle to free herself from intellectual bondage until advancing knowledge asserted itself and sought the light of day in defiance of fog and thumb-screw.

Galileo, a hundred years after Copernicus, assured that

the earth revolved, proved it to a demonstration, and thereby laid the foundation of a clear knowledge of the solar system. Step by step knowledge has continued to advance in the face of dark and overwhelming superstition and narrow misconception, and now, in our day, the Mosaic cosmogony, the six days' creation, the very order of creation as set forth by Moses, the persistent assertion of the earth being only six thousand years old, have one and all to be sustained by apologetic quibbling, in answer to the incontestable array of facts and data presented by geological investigation and astronomical observations and deductions. These remarks are introduced for the purpose of showing the difficulties which stand in the way of free speech and free discussion. The thousand and one legerdemain expedients which are foisted on a credulous world as the manifestations of the power of the Deity, are well calculated to shock all who allow themselves to overstep the narrow limits of blind faith. Our reason and common sense are alike assailed by the recital of the devices to which God is said to have resorted. A few instances as they arise in the mind on the moment will be sufficient: Flowing waters separating and standing up like a solid wall; a woman transformed into a pillar of salt; an ass lecturing his master; the sun rising twice in the west; extracting water from rocks by magic wands; casting out devils, and transferring them to swine, which incontinently ran howling into the sea; slaughter of babes—one only protected by God. Why not change Herod's heart? Are such devices necessary to the Almighty? Ponder, ye Christians, on these evidences of your Heavenly Father's power. Why should the mist of ages lead us to call that supernatural agency which would certainly be called imposition or delusion if occurring or presented to the senses in our day? If we would arrive at a truly grand conception of nature, and the god of nature, let us study the works of nature, and no longer dwarf nature's god by unreasoning adherence to old superstitions and childish traditions, and by investing God with many of man's lowest attributes.

As all advances in sound knowledge which have hitherto been achieved have been productive of advantages to mankind, it may be reasonably inferred that solid benefits will flow from a full investigation of the irrefragable truths put forth in the earlier paragraphs of this paper, pregnant as they are with reasons for calm resignation amidst the inevitable ills of life. Truths, too, so well calculated to dispel the debasing ignorance and abject fear which have to so deplorable an extent stunted the intellects of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The rebellion in heaven, as well as all the other incidents recounted in the Bible, bear internal evidence of having been borrowed at an early period in the world's history from man's knowledge of himself, and from no other source.

"For of God above, or man below,  
What can we reason but from what we know."

B. W.

NOTE.—As the sensations of pain and pleasure can only occur by the action of substances upon each other, the question at once presents itself, "What is it that is to reside hereafter in the realms of everlasting bliss or suffer the torments of everlasting fire?" The corruptible, *i. e.*, matter, cannot enter the kingdom of heaven! The soul must either be something, matter, or nothing. If there be no matter present in it, it can experience no sensation. The vital spark being a mystery, we invent a tissue of absurd chimeras. A blacksmith, on being asked by Dr. Johnson to give a definition of "nothing," said it was a headless hammer wanting a shaft.

It is claimed that man is the only reasoning animal, and this is given as evidence that he and he only has a soul. But man is not the only animal who resorts to expedients and exercises memory. The dog knows, and loves or fears, his master. In the British East Indies a highly trained elephant receives charge of a number of other trained elephants, who are engaged in conveying heavy loads about the public works, and if one of his charges leaves the ranks he chastises him by a blow with his trunk and by giving other evidences of displeasure. In South America certain species of ants immeasurably surpass, considering their size, man as engineers. They build fortresses, admirably conceived for defense, and excavate tunnels under rivers! The Mont Ceniz tunnel and Suez canal sink into utter insignificance before such perseverance and, for the ant, colossal undertaking. To reach a selected point across a river they form themselves into a compact diamond-shaped mass at a distance up the river, and by united action they reach the aimed-at point down the stream.

Dr. Lardner, in his museum of science and art, relates an instance of the mechanical and scientific skill of a species of the black beetle. A dead mouse had been placed on the top of a stick, the other end of the stick being in the earth. A beetle inspected it and retired, but soon returned with a number of assistants, who removed the earth from one side of the stick, the prize in consequence falling, and, not requiring it for immediate use, they rolled it down a declivity, where they buried it!

In all these instances the evidence of brain-power is afforded, and none but the superstitiously blind will attempt to gainsay such evidence of intelligence, acquired, as it must be, by observation and experience. Man in a savage state is a ruthless beast, guided mainly by his instincts, until experience teaches him how to provide for to-morrow. Young ducklings which have been hatched by a hen take to the water. This is an act of instinct.

B. W.

#### REPORT OF THE SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MICHIGAN STATE SPIRITUALIST ASSOCIATION.

Agreeable to notice, the Convention convened in Sampson Hall, in the city of Charlotte, on the 13th inst., Elias Manchester, President, in the chair.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed on the order of business, consisting of Benjamin Todd, S. B. McCracken, Rhoda Loomis, Mrs. E. W. Barnes and Mrs. Winslow, with instructions to report immediately.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed to draft

resolutions for the consideration of the Convention, consisting of D. W. Hull, M. L. Sherman, L. D. Drake, Marion Todd and John Curtiss, with instructions to bring a partial report to-morrow morning.

The Committee on the order of business, through their Chairman, reported the programme for Saturday forenoon as follows: The Convention to assemble at 9 o'clock, and spend two hours in discussing resolutions, with a discourse at 11 o'clock, by D. W. Hull.

The Convention then adjourned until Saturday morning at 9 o'clock.

#### MORNING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the President, at 9 o'clock.

The report of the Business Committee for Saturday and Sunday was accepted.

The Committee on Resolutions then presented the following:

WHEREAS, The system of religion called Christianity, the professed object of which is to make humanity better, having been before the world for eighteen hundred years, during which time the race has made little, if any, improvement under its teachings; and, whereas, the Church itself claims that the world is becoming more wicked every day; and, whereas, Infidels, Hebrews and non-Christians are but few of them violators of the laws of our country. Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That believing Christianity to be a failure, we invite a free examination of every creed, both Infidel and Pagan.

2. *Resolved*, That we indorse the doctrines taught by Victoria C. Woodhull concerning the social relations as explained by her.

3. *Resolved*, That the action of the Young Men's Christian Association in imprisoning Mrs. Woodhull, Tennie C. Clafin, Colonel J. H. Blood and Geo. Francis Train for the expression of their views, is a revival of the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition.

4. *Resolved*, That we believe the doctrine of Spiritualism as taught by our mediums and public speakers, is better calculated to mentally, morally and spiritually elevate humanity, than the teachings of theology; and that we refer with pride to our moral record before the world.

5. *Resolved*, That the Old and New Testaments, as defined by the clergy at the present time, are a curse to humanity, instead of a blessing; and that the clergy are a source of danger to any Republican government.

WHEREAS, The evangelical churches are in the constant habit of underrating natural morality; therefore,

*Resolved*, That a natural man and woman, through harmonious blending of all their temperaments in the law of congenial parentage, conception, gestation and birth, is the best expression of manhood and womanhood that ever graced this world; and if all occupied that position it would be heaven on earth.

WHEREAS, Recognizing the need of a paper in the West through which the people can express their best thoughts for or against the vital issues of the hour, be it therefore

*Resolved*, That we, the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists, indorse the efforts of Lois Waisbrocker to establish such a paper, and we pledge ourselves to give our influence to sustain *Ours, the People's, Age.*

After a few brief remarks from several members of the Convention, the first resolution was adopted. The several resolutions were again read by the Secretary, and after many sharp and logical remarks for and against, it was moved and supported to defer farther discussion until Sunday morning.

Conference then adjourned, and after a song from Mr. Stegman and wife, D. W. Hull gave a telling address upon the inconsistencies of the Bible, as defined by the clergy, logically proving, according to the teachings of Christianity, that the devil had originated and sustained every reform and new invention until it became popular, then the Church would lovingly fold it to her bosom and claim it a child of hers.

The beautiful song, "There is room in the world for all that is in it," by Mr. Stegman and wife, closed the morning session.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Opening song by Mr. Stegman and wife.

Conference for an hour, after which Mr. Millison, the well-known spirit artist, who has brought happiness and joy to many a home on earth by his wonderful mediumistic powers in portrait painting, gave in his earnest and pleasing manner a brief description of mediumship and its philosophy.

Dr. Merton, of Battle Creek, then addressed the Convention on the subject of organization, scientifically presenting and grouping together the different organs of the human head by the assistance of colored charts, definitely defining the causes of well-balanced organizations, and *vice versa.*

After a song by Mr. Stegman and wife, on motion, the Convention adjourned to meet at 7 1-2 o'clock P. M.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Opening song by Mr. Stegman and wife.

S. B. McCracken, of Detroit, addressed the Convention on the subject of religion and schools, in a concise and interesting speech, by portraying the necessity of a radical reform in the instruction of the youth of our nation, and the imperative duty of each State to see that there shall be more practical knowledge and less religion taught in the future than has been in the past.

On motion, the Convention adjourned to meet at nine o'clock A. M., Sunday morning.

#### MORNING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Opening song by Prof. Bailey, of Charlotte.

A spirited and interesting conference for an hour and a half was had discussing resolution No. 2, which was again left for the afternoon session to adopt or reject.

At about ten o'clock a large delegation arrived from Battle Creek, and the intervening stations on the Peninsular Railway, which gave added interest, if possible, to the Convention.



The Conference adjourned at the close of a song by Prof. Bailey.

Your humble servant then addressed the people on the subject of iconoclasm and its necessities.

Benjamin Todd followed with an address on the subject of Social Freedom. Here Brother Todd proved himself master of his subject, and in the same earnest spirit ever present at his command, he dealt his sledge-hammer blows with such logical force, they carried conviction to many a heart.

The Convention adjourned to meet at one o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President called the meeting to order.

Prof. Bailey gave the opening song in his efficient and pleasing style.

Then followed the closing discussion on resolution No. 2. Mr. Winslow, of Kalamazoo city, occupied the time for half an hour on the negative in an earnest and interesting manner. Mr. Jeremiah Brown, of Battle Creek, also made a few brief remarks on the negative.

Mr. McCracken, of Detroit, offered an amendment, with remarks in favor of its adoption, which was rejected by the Convention, and a vote on the original resolution was called for; first by yeas and nays, and then by a rising vote, which resulted in a tie, leaving all in the hands of the President to decide the most important question of the Convention. All was pending on the decision of one man; silence reigned for a moment, and one could feel the waves of hope and fear that passed over the audience. The President rose, calm and dignified as one born to stand in the foremost ranks of liberty and reform, and in a clear, audible voice said: "I never falter at such an hour, and shall therefore cast my vote in the affirmative." The hall resounded with cheers and applause, and not a hiss was heard.

This is, indeed, a victory in the cause of liberty, for all in the hall were allowed to vote, Spiritualists, Christians or Infidels. The remaining resolutions were then read by the Secretary, and adopted by the Convention in rapid succession. A letter from J. O. Barrat was read by the Secretary, and after some business matters were completed, Prof. Lyon, of Adrian, gave an instructive and interesting lecture on the science of the hollow globe theory, which is at present new to most people, and, therefore, our short space can give no true idea of its real worth.

To appreciate the worth of the theory, all should hear for themselves. I would, therefore, recommend Prof. Lyon to all scientific societies. Mr. M. L. Sherman, of Adrian, gave an invocation in trance. Song by Prof. Bailey. The Convention adjourned to meet at 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Song by Prof. Bailey.

Mr. Taylor, of Leslie, addressed the Convention on the different reforms of the times, in an earnest and rapid manner.

Mr. Randall, of Clyde, Ohio, gave the closing address in a trance state.

A motion was offered and adopted that the Secretary send a report of the proceedings of the convention to the *Religio Philosophical Journal, Banner of Light, the WOODHULL & CLAFLIN WEEKLY, and Our Age* for publication.

The following resolution was then read and adopted:

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Spiritualists of Charlotte, for their generous hospitality to us on this occasion.

The following resolution was also adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That we recommend to each Society throughout the State that they place in their respective halls a nickel box, in which individuals can drop a five cent piece, less or more, to be used for a Missionary fund.

After a closing song from Prof. Bailey, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

MRS. L. E. DRAKE,  
Secretary.

P. S.—Delegates were also appointed to the National Convention, to be held in Chicago, in September. L. E. D.

THE GOD OF WORSHIP.

WELL, WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?—LET US HAVE MORE LIGHT.

I believe the sun is a living being; that the sun is the All-wise, the Omnipotent, the Eternal God, the creator of the heaven and the earth and all the vast unnumbered things thereof; and that he sees and knows the work that he has done, and rules, directs and governs all by eternal law and principle; and that there is no other God in this our universe.

Do you understand? Does the reader understand? If you do, then every day that the face of the sun is not veiled by intervening clouds you can see the All-wise, the All-seeing, the Omnipotent, the Eternal God that I worship.

And I believe that the sun—this All-wise, All-seeing, Omnipotent, Eternal God—sees and knows all things that we do, and all that we leave undone that we ought to do—to live up to the life, the Divine law, the eternal principle, and the end whereunto He created us.

And I believe that every man and every woman, after they arrive at the age of maturity, are, or ought to be, individually free and responsible for all that they do, only to their God and His Divine law of love—to do unto all others as we would that they should do unto us. And all the law and the religion is very plain and very easy to live up to.

We should know and love and worship our Creator—the All-wise, the Omnipotent, the Eternal God; and our free loves should be our wives, our husbands and our children, and to do unto all others as we would that they should do unto us.

Does the reader understand? Yes, yes, I hear them say. Well, then, I call upon Henry Ward Beecher and the infallible Pope—all the Catholic and Protestant churches, with their theology and their Gods, and the astronomers, the savans and philosophers, and the scientific with their learning, their knowledge, their wisdom, their theology and their

Gods, to come out and prove that the Sun, the god that I worship, is not a living being, is not the All-wise, the All-seeing, the Omnipotent, the Eternal God that created all things, and sees and rules and governs all.

If you have any other gods find them out and let us see and know what they can do? and then we will take up our individual free men and free women. Free Love, "the voice of God in us;" social reform, the divine law and the human law, to be applied to those persons that use force and violence and trespass upon the rights of others.

We see our way clear through, and are ready for the Y. M. C. A. in the Constitution, Henry Ward Beecher, the infallible Pope and their gods.

J. W. SHIVELEY,  
Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., June 13, 1873.

My dear Sister Victoria—Thanks for the words of appreciation and blessing your kind heart found time from pressing duties to dictate in approval of the work done by me at the Cincinnati Convention. None so well as you know the sacrifices of personal favor and preferment, the bitter struggle against prejudice, and the constant warring with opposing odds these battles for principle must cost: hence from none could words of cheer come with more touching acceptance than from you who have suffered so much.

You will believe my motive impersonal and just, while others may censure and condemn my course, which, perhaps, alone saved them, as a part of the great body of Spiritualists, the disgrace or misfortune of a faction or party division, in contradiction of the fundamental principles of our philosophy.

Thanks to the divinity of right, we are still able to declare ourselves loyal to freedom of speech, and determined to make no individual warfare against ourselves. The action of the September Convention of the American Association will better determine the result of the Cincinnati Convention than now is manifest to the masses.

If possible, I shall be with you in every sense that conserves to the right, if in no other way in spirit and purpose, to carry out the project of compelling distinction "between principles and facts."

Have forwarded you Terre Haute *Express*, containing my letter in regard to the Cincinnati Convention. Do with it as seems best. We trembled at the import of last week's telegrams, but trusted in the strength of the emergencies that demand you, and would keep you still with the great people who could not let you go, and who trust in your early and speedy recovery.

Yours, sister, in behalf of right and truth,  
ADDIE L. BALLOU.

CHICAGO, June 17, 1873.

Dear Representatives of the Weekly—It was *Anno Domini nostri*, 1867, that in the city of Buffalo and at the residence of the venerable Mother Maynard, by virtue of a request especially made to us by spirits of departed ones, about eight ladies, most of whom were mediums, and one gentleman, besides the undersigned, formed a circle of spirit communion, on an evening by spirits appointed for that especial purpose. During our seance, one medium saw and mentally conversed with some of the host of spirits present, and another received communications by means of the raps and alphabet, both thus supplementing what otherwise was simultaneously translated, and corroborating in some cases the authenticity of sentiments and signatures which a third lady was meanwhile moved and impressed to pen, and which, I think, never have been in print, but now, perhaps, might be of interest to the readers of the WEEKLY.

I copied these brief sayings and their signatures at the time as requested by our spirit visitors, and the following is the exact order and way in which they were written, except that the signatures were always below their respective sentiments:

"A great and noble purpose is ours, and one that ought to engross the attention of the great and good in both worlds; the concentration of all spiritual forces to combat the opposition that is so zealously striving for the mastery."

—Wm. H. Channing.

"I have lived to regret my earth-life—it was a failure."

—John C. Calhoun.

"[You acted out what honestly you thought to be right?] No—not honest; for I was obstinate in my self-conceit."

—[J. C. C.]

"I was called the Father of my Country, but I was too limited in my views, and did not foresee the trouble that would arise from my harrow platform."

—G. Washington.

"I was too lenient."

—Abraham Lincoln.

"Oh, my poor country; how ye have almost lost your birthright!"

—Thos. Jefferson.

"Oh, how much did my noble brain accomplish!"

—Danl. Webster.

"I make no comments; my life speaks for itself."

—Henry Clay.

"May I come and speak a word for poor, down-trodden Liberty?"

—Douglas Jerrold.

"Liberty is still my watchword."

—William Wallace.

"A man's a man for a' that!"

—Robert Burns.

"March on!"

—John Brown.

"Liberty of thought was always mine. I yielded my opinions to none."

—Tom Paine.

"Peace! peace! There is no peace!"

—Patrick Henry.

"There is a Supreme Power guiding all."

—John Quincy Adams.

"I loved my party."

—Douglas.

"I wish I was on your earth."

—Jackson.

"I died, and live again."

—Baker. [Who is Baker?] "Have you forgotten me? Is my name so soon obsolete? I died for my country." [You are the California Senator who fell at Bull Run?]

"Yes."

"I work."

—John Randolph.

"We did not die in vain. Posterity will admit that."

—[Signed,]—Thousands of your country's victims.

[Several of the mediums having felt a very strong warlike atmosphere, and expressed as their opinions that the same might be prophetic of war, it was written:] "No; it is the combined magnetism of an innumerable company of unnamed soldiers."

Finally, Mr. Maynard—our spirit host—when the spirit guests had left, expressed his as well as their "gratification for this successful and harmonious sitting;" and encouragingly added: "Be strong-hearted! The ways are very near."

To all of which, permit me only to add, that, verily, it must be difficult to the seeing and hearing, not to hear and not to see, from all the signs of our time, as well in the heavens as on earth, that something of great importance to earth's inhabitants is being prepared throughout the world of matter and mind, and that humanity is far from being unprepared for the change.

Yours, for "Thy kingdom come!" N. H. JORGENSEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June, 1873.

In the act of preparing my usual half-dozen WOODHULL & CLAFLIN WEEKLIES for the mail, a member of the Y. M. C. Ass., who happened to notice my operations, put this question to me: "Why do you continue to read and circulate that vile sheet?" My answer to this poor deluded specimen of humanity (or inhumanity) is my answer to the whole world: "I will give one dollar for every obscene or vile word found in said paper to any man, woman or child who finds it, provided said man, etc., will give me an equal amount for every obscene, vile and blasphemous word I find in the Christian's Bible." Yours for humanity,

WEED COREY, L. L. B.

AN APPEAL FOR OUR LIBERTIES.

WANTED in every city, town, village and hamlet, in the United States, live men and women, who will defend themselves.

Infidels, Heretics, Spiritualists, Israelites, Pagans and all, believing that the time has come to strike, I make this earnest appeal. The Young Men's Christian Association, has become a giant dragon throttling the government, controlling its laws, and legislating in its own interests to the severe detriment of your liberties. The judicial ermine is trailed in the dust, and judges of our courts boldly override all laws and precedent in carrying out the behest of a religious faction. With an order of protestant jesuits on our trail, whose manifest aim is the establishment of an inquisition more damnable in spirit than that of Spain, no one is safe for an hour. If by a concerted action at the meeting of Congress next winter twenty men and women of grit and pluck should be bastiled, the liberal world would stand paralyzed; such an event may occur before that time. In any such an event, under the pressure of the hour, laws would be passed silencing all opposition, and you would each be compelled to swear fealty to the religious tenets of some set of bigots. Will you do it? Are you men or are you brutes?

Then show yourselves men and women by cutting the meshes of the net in which you are being wound up. Now or never! If you do not strike soon it will be eternally too late! Organize, then, at once. Organize for war, if necessary. If judges transcend law, it is your duty to take the law in your own hands and reverse their iniquitous decisions. If legislators connive at your liberties, it is your duty to defend your liberties by every means within your power.

Liberalists of America—a thousand generations are looking down upon you, and you are writing your action upon every stone in your streets to be read by the men and women who are to come after you. Let not an infamous word go to them.

There is treason in the air, treason in the church, treason in the State; treason on the Judicial bench, treason against your liberties; and there will be a cry of treason, if, in the name of our ascended fathers, you should attempt to stifle this monster in its den. Your duty is not to listen to the voice of oppression, but stand up like men and women and show your colors. Germans and foreigners, this hideous monster now has his fangs fastened to your vitals. Over 4,000,000 in the Northern States alone are told that they must conform to the Puritanical customs of a few fanatical bigots. Will you do it?

Germans organize!  
Israelites organize!  
Pagans organize!

Heretics, Infidels and Spiritualists organize. Now is the time to show your teeth. Let cowardly bigots know that they can prostitute our Courts, our Legislatures and our public offices no longer! Liberty is yours, and can be possessed by the getting of it! Come and take it! If now we refuse the offer, the anathemas of posterity will be upon us.

For the purpose of being prepared for any emergency of the kind, it is proposed to organize secret lodges everywhere.

By the time the reader sees this the Order will be in full blast, and agents will be ready to travel to every point for the purpose of establishing organizations.

For further information address the writer at Hobart, Ind.; Lois Waisbroker, Battle Creek, Mich.; or Benjamin Todd, Charlotte, Mich.

Determinedly, D. W. HULL.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF "THE KISS?"

Dear Ladies—You have been imposed upon by "L," of Vineland, who sends you the poem "You kissed me." It was written over nine years ago by Dora Shaw, an actress of note in the South and West, and the author of many beautiful poems, among which are "The darling wee shoe," and "Out in the rain."

It will be quite useless for "L" to deny the theft, for the authorship is too well known. A friend in Conn. has had a copy in his scrap-book for many years. I will give you his name in my private note.



## VOICES OF THE PEOPLE.

AUSTIN, Texas, May 28, 1873.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, 48 Broad st., N. Y.:

Madam—I see you advertise for sale a work called the "Pagan Bible," price 25c. Inclosed find amount. Please send me the book.

I have been a constant reader of your paper for a few months, and it tends greatly to confirm me in the belief I have entertained from childhood, viz.: That the Christian religion is a myth, and that it is a very low and vulgar specimen of ancient mythology; that the Bible is a slander on the character of a God. I do not advocate "Free Love" as I understand it. I know nothing at all about Spiritualism, and can neither advocate nor condemn it; but I do admire the boldness with which you lash the long-faced hypocrites, and expose their villainies to the light of day.

I have, myself, from my boyhood suffered persecutions for my infidelity; and the long-faced hypocrites tell me I "must believe," or I will be damned; but I find from experience and observation that belief is not a voluntary but an involuntary act of the mind, based upon evidences brought to bear upon it.

My skepticism has rendered me odious; and the anathemas that have so uncharitably been hurled at me have provoked me to a feeling of disregard for the canting hypocrites who pray long prayers every Sabbath, and say in a hypocritical tone that "Whatsoever they ask in His name it shall be given them," when at the same time they know it is a lie.

R. P. C.

Victoria—Thou martyr soul. Do not in this hour of deep affliction and peril forget the words of prophecy given to thee: "Blessed art thou among women, for when the hour comes thou shalt not be found wanting." Thy brave soul has been chosen of God to lay bare the hypocrisy of Christianity in the exposure of our representative man; and while this cowardly age may condemn thee, nations unborn shall rise up and call thee blessed. If Christianity were anything but a mockery, the Christian public would have demanded that Mr. Beecher should have said, even were his life attacked, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do;" and when it was only his worldly reputation, from a worldly standpoint, that was questioned, it should have compelled him to take you by the hand and say, "Though I have been reviled, I will not revile again;" instead of this he has called you a nameless animal, and stood silently by while you have been imprisoned and persecuted almost unto death. Yet this cannot be. The ignorance of past ages may have required the martyrdom of its seers and prophets, but there is a dawn of light and reason which will not suffer the enemies of reform to carry their persecutions to the extreme of imprisonment and death. Therefore, take heart thou brave, courageous soul! Thy life is precious in the sight of the angel world, and they will not suffer your enemies to prevail against you. Trust yourself into the hands of infinite wisdom, and walk bravely forward to meet the future and to perform the duties of the hour.

Remember the many warm hearts that beat in unison with your own, and among these count me as one who will ever remain true to you and the cause.

EMILY B. RUGGLES.

GEO. F. TRAIN:

Having perused all the histories of all the religions of the world, from the Brahmin down to the Mormon, and having satisfied myself that that is the best religion that makes the best men; and that the ancient Pagans were the kindest, most generous and tender-hearted of any people that ever lived, I was obliged, several years ago, to leave my church of the pious Henry VIII., much against the wishes of both brethren and sisters, who regarded me as instinctively addicted to holiness, and go with "the blue bonnets over the border" in Paganinity. I can assure you, my dear brother Pagan, your publication of the "Pagan Bible" fills me with joy unspeakable. When benighted Christians shall read the Veda and the laws of Menu—"in the heart, the moon; in his auditory nerves, the guardians of eight regions; in his progressive notions, Vishnu; in his muscular force, Hava; in his organs of speech, Agni; in excretion, Mitra; in procreation, Brahma"—they will find something they can handle, something refreshing. Most sincerely do I congratulate you upon your marvelous success in cornering courts, judges, juries, lawyers, doctors, "and a' that," and the splendid strategy, via Botany Bay, of escaping the lunatic asylum one week by establishing your sanity, and the next week escaping fine and imprisonment by pleading insanity; thus showing the truth of the Patch philosophy, that "some things can be done as well as others."

May your shadow never be less is the prayer of your brother-Pagan,

WILLIAM PATTERSON.

## THE WHOLE AND NOT ONE.

NEW YORK, May 31, 1873.

Dear George Francis Train—For more than a week this letter has been written in my head, but not on paper for lack of time. Three months ago, at the Tombs, you repeatedly expressed contempt for the people. I could not sympathize with you. "Of whom the world is not worthy," is beautiful, but at last the great world of humanity is worthy of us all! Your egotism is at the expense of humanity, and is therefore a wrong to it. And your sensationalism is only another name for the same thing, self against humanity. Your coming to the rescue of Woodhull, Clafin and Blood was noble beyond words; your printing those filthy extracts from the Bible as an eye-opener, was compelled, and displayed the true courage of a martyr; but your headings were that pure sensationalism, egotism—they were aggravating, exasperating—they were against the cause. Of course they did good, created agitation, but that does not vindicate them. The same publication without the headings would have done more good, would have been read

and pondered by millions who now will never see it, because your selfishness caused it to be suppressed!

Then, in the Tombs you did good, more than you ever did before in all your life (and that is saying an infinite deal); but your egotism and sensationalism combined to prevent your doing a fourth part the good that you ought! Many things you wrote in that Tombs were beautiful even to tears, they have never been surpassed, they will live forever; but if you had only been the great modest man you ought, if you could only have forgotten George Francis Train, you would have shaken Tombs, Bible, Christianity, civilization, as no man ever again can till he occupies the same vantage-ground, speaks from a dungeon-cell! The right kind of a man could have got into every paper in New York and the whole country; you with your almighty self ever in front, shut yourself out from every one! Defect of nature lost you the greatest opportunity ever enjoyed by a human being.

You called on the laborers to adopt you, at the same moment you were boasting you would yet be the richest man in the world; and you unceremoniously flaunted "Dictatorship" in every man's face, in the same breath you were giving him proof you wanted it more for your own sake than for his! I know not but you will be Dictator (before the reform comes that gives us Victoria), for who lives ten years will see greater and perhaps more terrible things than this country has ever witnessed yet; and I would far sooner vote you Dictator than any other man President, who has a chance for election these years to come; but the transcendent good you would do would yet be diminished and tarnished, by the glorification of ego as against this greater and all-inclusive humanity!

You have yourself, thus, given occasion for the long and universal hue and cry about your not being "sane," for it is very insane to do as you have done!

And to-day you go to Europe because, according to your own showing, you cannot face a people whom you despise for their cowardice, feeling, as you do, that you would certainly insult them. You are right in going; stay till you get over it, if it is forever.

Yours for the whole before any individual,

JOSEPH TREAT.

## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

[From the Buffalo Express, June 17.]

When this story first came out, last Fall, we were warmly prejudiced in favor of Mr. Beecher. He had been a powerful and enthusiastic worker in the cause of freedom, and the great laborers in the cause have always commanded our warmest admiration. We believed in Beecher as strongly as we believed in any man in America. For a long time after the Woodhull broadside appeared we paid no attention to it. Finally we examined it closely and saw that it bore strong internal evidence of truth. We noted the absolute silence of the witnesses named, except that there was produced a very guarded letter of denial or evasion from Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, who curiously enough was out of the country. We noticed the absolute silence of Tilton in a case where his wife's honor was concerned, she being branded as a prostitute by a woman whom he had strongly indorsed. Since then we have examined the letter of Tilton to Bowen, the remarkable "covenant" of the three principal parties, and the silly letter of Beecher about an immaterial matter, comparing it with his silence about the most important facts. We now see Plymouth Church dodging all investigation, and allowing Mr. Beecher to remain their pastor, and Mr. Bowen, who has accused him of the most revolting vice, to remain a member of their church in good standing. We believe that Mr. Tilton, who has also made similar charges (for that he has made them there can be no reasonable doubt) is also a member of the church.

From all these documents, and still more from this astounding silence, our solemn belief is that Henry Ward Beecher is guilty of a large part or all of the offenses charged against him; that the leading members of Plymouth Church know he is guilty, and dare not investigate the matter for fear that the social corruption which exists in their midst will be fully exposed to the world. With this record of our verdict, we put the matter aside until further developments.

[From the Evening Journal, Saturday, June 21, 1873.]

## BEECHER ON JOURNALISM.

In his lecture on journalism in Poughkeepsie Mr. Beecher is reported as having said some things in depreciation of the habit of newspapers in publishing details of crimes and offenses. He is reported to have said that although he had been in journalism all his life more or less, he had never yet read the report of a murder trial. He had never waded ankle deep in the horrors related in the daily press of the great cities. The report goes on to say that Mr. Beecher grew pathetically earnest in speaking of those newspapers that publish details of scandals and moral delinquencies which bring only jealousies and hates into the home circles. He condemned it as pandering to the lowest instincts of human nature. Now we beg leave to dissent most emphatically from the whole idea and tone of Mr. Beecher's remarks. Would Mr. Beecher have the public press suppress the record of crimes that demoralize and afflict society? Suppose his plan here suggested were adopted for a little while, and that the press of the country made no mention of murders, rapes, arsons, burglaries, larcenies, brutality, drunkenness and debauchery? How long would anybody be safe in any community. When a man like Graham or Taintor robs a bank and steals the funds of innocent and confiding people, Mr. Beecher would have the press keep still and not mention the unpleasant "details," we suppose, because the one concerned is respectably connected and the other was "big Indian" in Sunday schools and missionary enterprises. When a professed Christian minister is detected in shame-

less debauchery, or a "ruling elder" is found to be a foul-mouthed and malicious maligner of his brethren, Mr. Beecher would have the press play dummy, and let up on these pious criminals because the publicity given to their offenses may bring jealousies into the home circles. It won't do, Mr. Beecher, it won't do at all. To use a slang but fitting phrase, it is "too thin." Mr. Beecher knows that when a rascal picks his pocket, or defiles his daughter, or murders his friend, it is not the press that states these ugly facts that is responsible for any disagreeable consequences, or that is pandering to the lowest instincts of human nature; it is the guilty sinner that is responsible for all the evil that ensues. Mr. Beecher might as justly blame the detective who arrests or the court that punishes a thief for the misery he occasions as blame the newspaper which properly puts the brand of thief on the criminal. If Mr. Beecher wants to purify society and fight the lowest instincts of human nature, he had better make war on the sinners who do the things which the press takes cognizance of and denounces. There is to-day no single influence so powerful in restraining crime as the public press. Rogues have more dread of the newspaper than they have of the pulpit and the court together, and Mr. Beecher knows it right well. Once muzzle the press and meanness and villainy will have free course to run and be glorified. The newspaper that publishes truth is always unpopular with and denounced by rascals, but honest and honorable men have no quarrel with an independent and fearless press.

[From the Evening Telegram, Friday, June 20, 1873.]

## "WHITED SEPULCHRES."

In the raid of the health officers on the cellar population, it was found that one of the vilest dens in the Sixth Ward affords a revenue to a prominent member of the Y. M. C. A. of this city, and two of the concert saloons raided upon yesterday pay \$50 a month to a leading New York judge.

Let their names be given to the public. Let the Young Men's Christian Association apply at the office of the Board of Health for the name of that member who, for the sake of the almighty dollar, has rented his premises for purposes so vile that the bare mention would not be made in a public meeting of the association. And having found him out, let him be expelled from the association. The Y. M. C. A. owes it to itself, owes it to the sacred cause which it has made its own, and owes it to the world, that the member who has knowingly rented property for that which is directly "the wages of sin," should be exposed. And then let the public have the name of this precious judge, this "leading judge," who rents his houses for this dreadful traffic of the so-called "concert-hall." How many so-called "respectable" citizens would quail at this revelation, for fear it would be their turn next!

## REFORMATORY LECTURERS.

In view of the determination recently manifested by certain would-be authorities in Spiritualism, and from a sincere desire to promote their expressed purposes, to set up a distinction that will produce a free and a muzzled rostrum; we shall henceforth publish in this list the names and addresses of such speakers, now before the public and hereafter to appear, as will accept no engagement to speak from any committee of arrangement, with any proviso whatever, as to what subject they shall treat, or regarding the manner in which it shall be treated. A reformatory movement, such as Spiritualism really is, cannot afford so soon to adopt the customs of the Church and fall into its dotage. On the contrary, it demands an unflinching advocacy of all subjects upon which the Spirit world inspires their mediums under the absolute freedom of the advocate. To all those speakers who wish to be understood as being something above the muzzled ox which treads out the corn, this column is now open:

C. Fannie Allyn, Stoneham, Mass.  
J. I. Arnold, Clyde, O.  
Rev. J. O. Barrett, Battle Creek, Mich.  
Mrs. M. F. M. Brown, National City, Cal.  
Annie Denton Cridge, Wellesley, Mass.  
Warren Chase, St. Louis, Mo.  
A. Briggs Davis, Clinton, Mass.  
Mrs. L. E. Drake, Plainwell, Mich.  
Miss Nellie L. Davis, North Billerica, Mass.  
Lizzie Doten, Pavilion, 57 Tremont street, Boston, Mass.  
R. G. Eccles, Andover, Ohio.  
Mrs. Elvira Hull, Vineland, N. J.  
Moses Hull, Vineland, N. J.  
D. W. Hull, Hobart, Ind.  
Charles Holt, Warren, Pa.  
E. Annie Hinman, West Winsted, Ct.  
Anthony Higgins, Jersey City, N. J.  
W. F. Jamieson, 139 Monroe street, Chicago, Ill.  
Miss Jennie Leys, 4 Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.  
Cephas B. Lynn, Sturgis, Mich.  
Mrs. F. A. Logan, Buffalo, N. Y.  
Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Ct.  
J. H. Randall, Clyde, O.  
A. C. Robinson, Lynn, Mass.  
Mrs. J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.  
Laura Cuppy Smith, No. 1 Atlantic street, Lynn, Mass.  
M. L. Sherman, Adrian, Mich.  
John Brown Smith, 812 N. 10th st, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Mrs. H. F. Stearns, Corry, Pa.  
Dr. H. B. Storer, 107 Hanover street, Boston, Mass.  
C. W. Stewart, Janesville, Wis.  
J. H. W. Toohy, Providence, R. I.  
F. L. H. Willis, Willimantic, Ct.  
Lois Waisbrooker, Battle Creek, Mich.  
Prof. E. Whipple, Clyde, Ohio.  
John B. Wolf, 510 Pearl street, N. Y.  
Wm. Rose, M. D., 102 Murison street, Cleveland, O.  
Dr. Geo. Newcomes, Jackson, Mich.  
Mrs. L. H. Perkins, Kansas City, Mo.  
James Foran, M. D., Waverly, N. Y.  
Mrs. C. M. Stowe, San Jose, Cal.  
Clara A. Field, Newport, Maine.  
Hannah T. Stearns, Trance Speaker, Corry, Penn.  
H. H. Brown, 387 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.  
J. T. Haughey, Paola, Kansas.

## MASS MEETING.

The Spiritualists will hold a Grove Meeting in Battle Creek, Mich., on Saturday and Sunday, June 28 and 29. Six or more speakers are engaged. The radical questions of the hour will be the themes of agitation. A great multitude is expected. Bring food, money and the good angels with you.

COM.







FLOWERS AND RUSTIC WORK.

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

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

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

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The MONTCLAIR is the DIRECT and SHORT LINE of the MIDLAND through New Jersey. Its bonds are issued on the basis of half cost. They are GUARANTEED. It is a home road, running DIRECT FROM THE CITY OF NEW YORK, assured of a large business and a fine future. THIS BOND OFFERS AN ADVANTAGE OVER ALL THE OTHER MIDLAND FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS, IN THAT, WITH EQUAL SECURITY, IT IS LESS IN PRICE.

We commend it to investors. For sale by Allen, Stephens & Co., BANKERS, No. 97 PINE STREET,