

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!
BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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NEW YORK, JULY 19, 1873.

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W. F. PARKER, Agent.
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SOCIALISTIC.

FREE LOVE:

AN ORATION THAT IS YET TO BE DELIVERED.

BY JOSEPH TREAT, M. D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: What is Love? And what is Sex-Love? And then what is Sexual Love? And what is Free Sex-Love? And what Free Sexual Love? And what is Lust? And what Free Lust? And what is Right? What is Beautiful? What is Holy?

Love, sympathy, kindness, affection, needs no definition, and can have none; we all feel what it is, as no words can express it. A man takes care of you when you are sick, denies himself and takes thought only for your recovery, wears out weary days and nights in watching over you, holds your life in his hand, and at last gives it back to you—that is love. Or you yourself take care of another, put your soul in his soul's stead to save him, fight the long and terrible battle alone but unavailingly, and when he dies, wish that you could die for him, both for his own sake and that of those he leaves behind—that is love. Or you feel that gush of sympathy, that there is not a human being living, not even a drunkard in the gutter, for whom you would not die rather than have him, because he fears death and you do not—that is love. You are so one with this great and universal humanity, that to bless and save, it you could be blotted out—that is love. Or if this is not wise, here is a poor friendless, wretched mortal, ready to die of grief and a broken heart, and you take him to your bosom, bind up his wounds, kiss away his tears, and make him happy—that is love. A mother devotes herself to her child, all unselfishly, through years of waywardness and wandering from the right way: one man gives himself to another, to do him good, advance his welfare: any individual consecrates himself to another, to bestow on him the boon of happiness—and in each case it is love. Ask every one of the thirteen hundred millions of human beings on earth, and that is at last the definition which he or she will accept: Love is what longs to do me good, make me happy!

And what is Sex-Love? It grows out of the fact that each individual of one sex, sees in each individual of the opposite sex, a counterpart, another self; and it is, 1, the thrill, the delight, of finding this counterpart; 2, the attraction drawing to this being; and 3, the greater, deeper longing to bless and happily the being, than was ever felt in the case of one of the same sex. Man does and must, love woman more because she is woman, and woman does and must, love man more because he is man, than either does or can love his or her own sex. Each sex is to the other, something different, and therefore something added; each complements the other; and each individual of each, in the same sense, complements every other individual of each, the two in that sense being married to each other, making such a one as neither could alone, and yet the two instantly changing and married to others—marriage then of sex and not of persons. Human love (or the love of human beings), thus heightens to sex-love (or the love of opposites), as something still greater, and as the same perfect Nature and fate—just as much the fate and compulsion of men and women to love each other peculiarly and superiorly, as of human beings to love each other at all.

Then, here is a married man, noble, cultured, accomplished—Literary, Musician, Botanist, Zoologist, Astronomer, Mathematician: he attracts to him a score of women, both married and single, as each at home in some one of these departments: these women are most dear to him as companions in the same pursuits, but inexpressibly more dear because they are women: he clasps them in his arms, kisses them, holds *te-te* with them, shares the same unreserved communion with all or with each as one—and that is sex-love. Or an unmarried man does the same. Or a married woman of accomplishments attracts a score of men; she is greater, she is their master, and they are precious to her as appreciative and grateful disciples, but her woman's nature looks beyond all and sees in them men; she both draws them to her and flows to them, reciprocating kiss, caress and endearment, whether openly or privately—and that is sex-love. Or the male instructor in a seminary, while proud of the young men, yet idolizes the young women, and acts the preference: the female instructor reverses the programme: and the young men and women themselves, flow to each other in this school of the heart as well as head—and in each case that is sex-love. Sex-love is forevermore recognition of the opposite, and response to it.

And what is Sexual Love? It is one step further along. Human love heightens to sex-love, and sex-love heightens to sexual love. A man loves women more than men, but he

loves some one woman more yet; and a woman loves men more than women, but she loves some one man more yet; and two thus love each other till the mutual passion perfectly fuses them—blends their very sexes in unity! Their sex-differences are absolutely lost in the meeting that makes them one being! For that one moment they are one sex or no sex, and it is love that thus has power to create two-one! Then sexual love is at once the highest love, the perfect love, the only final and perfect love. All else is not climax, consummation. Two living together—as a continent or aged pair—may love each other most tenderly, beautifully, spiritually, till it seems not possible to exceed; but this love, however high and worthy, or even superior, is not after all love's consummation, and then in that sense is less than that. The beautiful continuous love which sexual love may in such a case compel, is only a concomitant, but yet as such, it may be classed with sexual love, as, though not identical, in that sense part of it. And doubtless, the deep heart-love that can bind a man and woman together for life, is in that light, of far higher account than the fleeting love that might bring two to this utter blending of natures, this uncommunicable identity, but still, the one is Nature's summation and acme, the other is not. One is perpetual preparation for focalization, but the other is focalization.

So, sexual love in being the highest love, is also the holiest love, as it is equally the purest, chastest love. It is more chaste, elevating, ennobling, refining, to love the other sex than to love our own, and it is the highest chastity to love ourselves away, lose ourselves and our dross, in the embrace of another. Man is never so much woman, nor woman ever so much man, as when each merges in the other's being; and then neither ever has so much of the other's highest qualities, as in that supreme moment. Neither is ever so unselfish, generous, noble—neither ever loved so, to be unselfish! It is perfect ecstasy of love! Neither is ever so happy, rapt, transported—it is equal ecstasy of bliss! Neither is ever so delicate, ethereal, spiritual—the passion-fire fusing, consumes all gross! Neither is ever such penitence, forgiveness, aspiration! And nothing makes the two afterward, so tender, sweet, beautiful to each other! Nothing makes them finally, so assimilate and grow into each other! Sexual love is the highest sacrament of earth. Of all sacred things it is most sacred, of all heavenly things most heavenly. Of all reforms it is itself almost the greatest, it does not need to be reformed, but will reform nearly everything else, and the only reason it does not do it now is because there is so little of it, as the only reason all this will seem so strange to most people, is because they are thinking of something entirely different. They say Sexual Love, but mean what we are coming to by and by.

And now what is Free Sex-Love? Sex-love usually passes for pure, Platonic love, and it is assumed that that is free, that it is only sexual love which is not. But sex-love is not free. That married Literary man, Botanist, Astronomer, would not be free; even if his wife did not raise a row, somebody else would. He must not kiss and caress all those women, their husbands would shoot him on the street, or their fathers or brothers break his head! And if he were an unmarried man he could not do it any more. And that married woman could not love all those men; if her husband did not kill her or them, their wives would! And no more could she do it if she were unmarried. And those instructors in the seminary could not be free, nor the pupils—it would be reported every-where as a free-love institution, and that would be the end of it! First, sex-love cannot be free, because it will lead on to sexual love! Husbands will not let their wives love other men, because they will do more; wives will not let their husbands love other women, because they will do something beside. Sex-love cannot be free because married people are jealous! And secondly, it cannot be free because this same jealousy cannot allow so much. Even where there is no danger of sexual love, a married pair will not let each other enjoy love—the husband wants it all to himself, and the wife wants it all to herself! Each thinks that what the other has, he or she shall lose! And so this universal right of humanity is stricken down. All human beings have the same right to love each other as sexed beings, because they are sexed, that they have to love each other as human beings because they are human; and it is the same tyranny to deny them the right to love as sexed, it would be to deny them the right to love as human. If a man has a right to love a man, then he has to love a woman, and more than he has to love a man; and equally, a woman has more right to love a man than a woman. You who believe in a God, fly utterly in his face: he made men and women, and you say it is a crime for them to love each other: he made sex, and you say it is wrong to recognize and respond to sex!

Out upon the miserable world that will not let men and women be brothers and sisters, not let them love each other! Out on the squeamish, canting hypocrisy and cowardice that dare not let them! As if the whole solar system would go to wreck, if a man drew a woman to his knee, strained her to his heart, covered her with kisses, and talked tenderness and sympathy to her, till both were melted to tears! As if every man was not made to give love, and as if every woman did not want it; and as if every woman was not made to give it, and every man did not want it! As if that was not what every man was made for, to be a true and loving knight to every woman, and every woman to be an equally noble and faithful knight to every man! And if half the men are not worthy of such knights, nor half the women either, that is the very reason, because they have never had them! This old and cursed system has made and kept men and women small and mean and low, and it always will, as long as it continues. That is all that has made prostitutes, thieves, drunkards, murderers, and all the scum—because men and women have not been free to love each other, and have not loved! There never has been any such thing as society yet, and there never will be, till the sexes are free. Then there will be society, worthy of the name, and worthy of human beings to enjoy. Then there will be a world, as there never has been yet, and never will be, till this universal marriage of sex. Then that married Literary man can lavish tender-

ness on as many women as he pleases, and that married woman can bestow affection and sympathy on as many men. Then all human beings will be prompted to make all other human beings happy, not only by this humanity, but also by this stronger, deeper love of every man to every woman, and every woman to every man. Positively, Sex-Love alone would save the world!

Then sing peans to the Freedom of this Love. Be Free, O Man, be Free: be Free, O Woman, be Free!

"This above all, to thine own self be true,
And it will follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any one!"

But act the love within, cast it forth on the waters, give it to the winds, compel all others to the same, till the flood surrounds the world! Then will the better day come!

And what is Free Sexual Love? For Free Love not only means Free Sex-Love, but also and especially, Free Sexual Love. Free love means that sexual love ought to be free. It ought to be free because it is love. If human love ought to be free, because it is human love, and the love of human beings is beautiful, and if sex-love ought to be free, because it is sex-love, and the love of the other sex is right, then sexual love ought to be free, because it is sexual love, and the love that fuses two to oneness is right. Sexual love is after all nothing but love. Human love is only love, sex-love is only love, and no more is sexual love anything but love. The sexual union is not its effect but itself, the sexual union is the sexual love. The union is what constitutes the love, it is what the love is and does. The tender kiss is not the effect of sex-love, it is sex-love, in that case it is what composes it. So, union is the very soul and self and continent of sexual love—the union of two natures, two beings, who love each other so that they must be one, and who absolutely love each other into one! The sexual union is not reproduction; it may be, but in itself it is love, and reproduction springs from it; and even where reproduction is designed, and in that case becomes the true end, still the union is this same great love, incorporating with itself that special purpose. A lover cures a woman's headache with tender, affectionate passes—those passes are his very love, though they have that designed effect to cure: so the sexual union is the very love, though it has that effect to reproduce.

Then sexual love ought to be free because it is love, and love ought to be free. If any love ought to be free, this ought, for it is the holiest love. If human beings ought to be free in loving each other a little, they ought to be in loving each other more; and if they ought to be free in loving each other more, they ought to be in loving each other most. They ought to be welcomed to bestow on each other the very highest human love, whenever they can, and whenever they do. When two can love to the extent of losing their separate selves and selfishness in one common self, oned in a generosity that is oblivion to everything else, that ought to be greeted as a consummation devoutly to be wished. The more such love the better, and then instead of obstacles, let there be extended to it invitation. Forevermore such love be free, forevermore such love be encouraged!

And what is Lust? All human beings are amative—that is part of human beings. When love blends two in sexual union, amativity is part of the love—that is the highest function of amativity. But it is only part of the love, and then the union is not for that, but for the love of which it is part. The union is still for love and is love. And the amativity being thus subservient and instrumental, it is pure love. And amativity being part of the love of each, it is mutual love. It is still all this that has been pictured, the highest, holiest, chastest sacrament of earth. It is ravishment of the perfect being, the ecstasy of the animal sense adding itself to the exaltation of the human and spiritual, to heighten the effect of the whole.

But when a man seeks and consummates sexual union for the sake of his amativity, that is lust. Then it is not the same sexual union, for it has not the same spring. Then it is not love, but self-gratification, selfishness. Or if the man does love, and even the woman too, yet if amativity is not part of her love, so that she desires the embrace, then it is not the same sexual union—it is not now, mutual love, and nothing but mutual love can ever be sexual love. The equal yearning and flowing together of the two makes sexual love, and absence of that in woman, in man renders it lust. If her amativity has no place, then it is all for the sake of his, and that instead of love to her is lust in him. A thousand times more if he has no love, or if she has none, or if both have none. Then it is sexual union, but literally, the infinite opposite of sexual love. So that you begin to see what I was talking about, all along before, and that that was indeed holy, even to being the greatest Reform, and the Savior of the world, for that was Sexual Love; but this—ah, this is the very reverse. This is not love with its everlasting disinterestedness, but the opposite with its eternal selfishness. Sexual union though common to both, is in one case pureness, chastity itself—in the other, called by whatever name, is lust.

And what is Free Lust? Really healthy, normal, that is, harmonious human beings, could never desire sexual union without love, desire it for the gratification of amativity. But multitudes of men (possibly the large majority), from bad habits in youth, long-continued and frequent commerce, or excessive original endowment—and some women, especially those in whom passion is developed to a disease, nymphomania—have amativity so preternaturally stimulated, that they do desire sexual union for the sake of gratification. But women can never compel men, even if, in a sense they can seduce them; and therefore practically, the question of lust is restricted to men. Then free lust is the so-called right, that is, it is the power, of men to consummate sexual union with women for their own gratification—the power to subject women to sexual union, for if women do not desire it, then they are subjected: in other words, free lust is the power of men to subject women to lust. It is the power to pervert, prostitute, sexual union from its true character and function of sexual love, to a mere means of

gratifying men's base passions, thus rightly earning its name of prostitution—prostitution of what ought to be highest and holiest, to lowest and most vile! All sexual union that ministers to low passion is prostitution. The man prostitutes the woman in perverting sexual union with her, and he prostitutes himself in perverting the same sexual union with her—he makes both prostitutes. He adulterates sexual union, equally earning that true name of adultery, making both himself and the woman literal adulterers. And by subjecting to sexual union, he strictly and appropriately commits rape, violating woman's sacred person by sufficient compulsion, no matter what that compulsion is. But if one of those lustful women volunteered union with him, though it would not be rape, yet it would just as much be adultery and prostitution.

Compulsory Marriage is Free Lust, even in the very name itself. Marriage compels woman, and when she would get away, the marriage itself is compelled, so that she cannot get away. Both man and woman love at first, so that there might, every now and then, be sexual love, sexual union, but he exceeds her desire, destroys sexual love on her part, and then forever after, it is only and strictly, his free lust. She is young, and her constitution is delicate, but no matter, his lust is free for all that. She is not ready to become a mother, but that is naught; and even while she is becoming a mother, he checks not his passion, his lust is still free. In time he ceases to love her, and even she to love him, instead of love they both hate each other—but still the lust is free! She is temporarily sick, or almost gone with consumption; he is a drunkard, and perfectly beastly; she has already borne him ten children; she loathes the very sight of him; they live in a perpetual and matchless hell—but still the lust is free! Only death can ever release her, and death waits, waits, mocks, tantalizes—but still his lust is free! If she would leave him, all are against her; unless he is a drunkard, friends, gossip, public sentiment, the law, the courts, even religion, all bid her back to his arms, reconsign her to his still free lust. So that if one wanted to define marriage, the only definition that possibly could first suggest to him would be free lust; and if he wanted to define free lust, the only definition that could first suggest would be marriage; and if he does not find these the definitions in the Dictionaries, then Webster and Worcester must have been guilty of the strangest oversight ever pointed out in either of their works! Yes, this very marriage, which the Catholics make a sacrament, and all Protestants equally regard holy, this which is vaunted as the corner-stone of civilization, and the foundation of our whole social structure, this is forever, a pure (so impure) synonym of free lust! Ask what is marriage?—it is free lust. What is free lust?—it is marriage.

And Prostitution is Free Lust, equally in the name itself—the girl has to prostitute herself, and then the lust is free to compel her! She has no home, nor food, nor money to get these, and that makes the lust free. She has no clothes, not only to give her entrance to society, to which she has a right, but even to make herself decent, and then the lust is free. If selling herself before, has availed to satisfy need so far, still she must live afterward, and then the lust is free. Even if, as the result of this past, she now longs more desperately than at first, to live in some other way, yet she cannot, and then the lust is free. Fair virgins are inveigled, entrapped, carried into dens, locked up, kept till they are forced to submit, or are bought with sufficient money—and then lust is free. A worn-out debauchee pays a hundred dollars, or five hundred, for the procurement of some beautiful young creature, capable of stimulating his passion again—and then lust is free. Once in a house of prostitution, women are held to be outcasts, ruined, they are scorned, spit upon, damned—and then the lust is free. The men who visit them are the first members of society, in church and state, but they are only those men's lowest but perfectly indispensable playthings—and then the lust is free. Marriage needs them to satisfy these men, and the men visit them in the same breath in which they adore their wives, and their wives know that they visit them! The whole fabric of society rests on Prostitution, the structure could not be sustained without it—and then the lust is free! Prostitution to woman is compulsion, and then in man is lust that has power to compel—her slavery, his lust's despotism!

And if marriage and prostitution are both free lust, then so is something else, which is back of them—denial of woman's equality, subjecting her, making her dependent, shutting her out from equal opportunities of labor and its reward. Keeping women dependent insures both marriage and prostitution, as well as enables men all over the country, outside of marriage, and independently of the great system of prostitution, still to seduce and corrupt thousands of victims. So that literally, keeping woman dependent is free lust; or again, denial of her equality is free lust. And men both do and will, keep her dependent, for free lust, and they both do and will, deny her equality, for free lust.

But the denial of Sexual Love, is in so many words free lust: absence of sexual love is free lust: sexual love is the very reverse of lust, so that with sexual love perfectly free, there could be no lust (or none worth naming, none except in the case of those few low women); and then interdicting sexual love is free lust, is making lust free! What interdicts free sexual love, is this very marriage, prostitution, compulsion, subjection; and then the interdiction of free sexual love is all this, all this lust in marriage and prostitution—the interdiction of free sexual love is free lust.

And the denial of free love is free lust. The very fact that love is not free, is the reason why lust is. The very fact that women in marriage and prostitution are not free to love, is the reason why they remain in marriage and prostitution, where they can be subjected to lust. Give a woman in marriage, constantly outraged by her husband, the right to love and flow to somebody else, and she would never occupy the loathed, lecherous bed of that husband again: assure a prostitute means to live, and give her the right to lavish herself on some one who had sympathy with her, and she would not tarry in her hell another hour [except where woman's nature had been absolutely reversed]. Instead of

free love a bad thing, everything not free love is thus the worst thing in the world, free lust!

Or it comes to that transparency we have had before, denial of woman's consent is Free Lust. Sexual union with a woman—leave that to her own consent. Whether she shall get married—leave that to her consent. Whether she shall become a prostitute—leave that to her consent. Whether she shall eat three meals a day, whether she shall drink tea and coffee, whether she shall dress in light colors, whether she shall wear her hair short, whether she shall forever be herself—leave all that to her consent. Why not leave sexual union to her consent as well as all the others? Leaving that union to her consent is free love—not leaving it to her consent is free lust. It is not left to her consent in marriage, hence all that free lust: it is not left to her consent in prostitution, hence all that free lust. It is not left to her consent, and hence in both cases she is compelled, and then lust is free to compel her.

But with woman (except in the almost impossible case of one of those low women), consent means that same deep, sexual love, the strongest love on earth, the highest, holiest love on earth, the most unselfish, utter love of which human beings are capable. It means that love, because woman will not give consent without it. Then it means just what the world needs, to make all beautiful and pure and good. It means just the opposite of "promiscuity," anybody and everybody. It means nobody unless he is loved to this perfect utterness. It means nobody till that is true—

"What Love is, if thou wouldst be taught,
Thy heart must teach alone—
Two souls, with but a single thought—
Two hearts, that beat as one!"

It is marriage that cares not for such love, but accepts any body without it (even with hate), this particular one because the man has got her! It is prostitution that, with no thought of love, literally takes anybody and everybody. It is the present system that perpetuates promiscuity, and it is consent that will put an end to it. And even if, with consent, it might be barely possible to seduce a woman, by the man making-believe love in answer to her love, yet, she being independent, that would be only barely possible, while now, she being dependent, it is easy. And even if, consent being accepted as the principle, a bandit might still commit a rape, just as he might a murder, yet that would be less than nothing to the innumerable rapes of to-day. Consent would be the universal salvation.

But now, the start of all is that first human love. We go straight back to that right of human beings to love each other, that accepted duty of all to love, that command of all Bibles and all Gods to love, that recognized highest and holiest fate to love. Human beings are to love each other without stint, and in wisdom there is no danger of their ever loving each other too much. They are to love each other so devotedly, that even if that love when it comes to be exercised toward one of the other sex, becomes at once an infinitely tender sex-love, no matter. It is to be so great a human love, that it must grow into a transcendent, incomparable sex-love. It must grow into such a sex-love, that whether that shall lead all men and women to act what was pictured of that Literary man and all the rest, or on the other hand, to fall short of that rendering, must be left to the event to prove. But then that sex-love must equally glow, and flow, and bless, even if the already inexpressible affection between all men and women, should in whatever possible or actual cases—few or many or millions—ripen into sexual love! It is all the same love, same want, same supply, same benediction. It is all the same humanity, same unselfishness, same doing good. There is no stopping, from that start till you get to the utter end. That is a picture of what one day will be—the whole race bound together in such a love, from the human up to the sexual!

And then the race will prove whether it is not only male and female, but two and two. If it is, duality will be the law; but if not, it will be the same love, the same purity, the same heaven. And even if that will be the final law, but cannot be or is not now, still it is now, the same love, the same purity, the same heaven. Sexual love is to-day, the holiest, chastest thing of earth, even if existing in variety. A man or woman all love and generosity, may lavish affection on a number, even to that final and absolute losing of self in those loved—and no human being on earth more unselfish nor more chaste! The very sexual union is because he or she loves so much and so purely, and in that fact becomes actual and inevitable impossibility of lust! And today, a true woman might want a child (as she has a right to have one), and flow to some good man to father it, and in neither of them would that be lust. And if one of those low women wants sexual intercourse, which would be lust, still that is not a thousandth part so bad as for a man to compel that, in marriage or prostitution; and her occasional union with a man on her own plane, might do more to cure her than enforced abstinence. And the same might be true of the man meeting her; and a low man seeking any other woman, would be checkmated by her refusal to consent; for though he has a right to be free, she has too, so that he would be shut up to winning somebody's love, and that would be the commencement of his own education out of lust. And two at first pure, might flow to union too often, alike deteriorating their love (perhaps), and injuring themselves physically, but experience would correct them.

So that freedom is the only thing: freedom in the case of almost all women, is free love, to women and men both (because men are shut up to women's consent); and freedom in the case of the few low women, instead of free lust, is literally, infinitely less lust. And you will not say that those concerned in this have not as good a right to their little lust, as you to your great deal; nor, fresh from inflicting yourself on a victim of marriage or prostitution, will you hold up your hands in holy horror at mutual, pure love, even in variety; and if you wonder how we can preach this perfect freedom to youth just arrived at puberty, when their passions are strongest, that will be made transparent even to you, in the coming discourse on Sexuality.

Contrast all this with now. Now men make a grand flourish of how much they love their wives; but they do not love them, they love only themselves and their own lusts. That is the true definition of love: Love longs to make the one loved, happy! The most beautiful portrait of love in the English language, is in the old play of Pizarro: "Who is this Rolla, joined with Alonzo in command?" "Ah! I will answer that, for I love to speak the hero's name. Rolla, the kinsman of the king: in war, a tiger: in peace, more gentle than the unweaned lamb. Cora was once betrothed to him, but finding she preferred Alonzo, he resigned his claim, to Cora's happiness!" She had loved him, she still loved him, but if it could make her happier to go to another, then, though it might break his heart, he would say go, go where you will be happy! And true love, even if it had broken his heart, could not have held her back! But do these men seek to make their wives happy in perpetually victimizing them? Pshaw! it is simply masturbation, and the gratification with a prostitute is simply masturbation. Instead of love, it is the meanest kind of selfishness; instead of love, it is the very essence of cruelty. Let any one inflict on these men a tithe of the indignity and outrage they do on their wives, and their rage would know no bounds, the transgressor's life would pay the forfeit! Before everything else that ever entered a human brain, it is the original and true illustration of, "whose ox was gored?" A whole race of men imperious, audacious victimizers; and a whole race of women down-crushed, agonized victims! Sexual love coming to woman, an infinite thrill to make her happy: this lust of husbands incessantly following her up, to make her intensely, supremely miserable! The man in sexual love so yearning to transport her with delight, as to be swallowed up and lost in the utter longing: the husband only anxious to do for himself, what must first consume her as fire and then freeze her to stone! Sexual love dying to be beatitude and benediction: cold-blooded, insatiate masturbation craving another orgasm! Forevermore, "not myself, but you!" forevermore, "not you, but I!"

And a woman in Ludlow-street jail saying, and at last a woman in Ludlow-street jail for saying, "The plain statement of all I wish to accomplish is this: I desire that woman shall be emancipated from this sexual slavery maintained over her by man!" Let that go down to history. But that is all, it is simply to have woman given her consent. It is simply to have woman given her right to love! It is simply to have her given the right not to be subjected to what is not love! It is to allow her to be pure! It is to allow her to be the angel man claims that she is! It is, that man claiming her angel, shall not be himself the very one to defile her! It is that woman shall be permitted to remain as much better than man as her nature makes her, and that he shall not have license to drag her down to his own low level! In one word, it is that woman may be good and holy!

So, not free love is not free women. And not free women, is mockery of free men, free soil, free speech, free press, and all the other free's. Not free women is not free citizens, not a democracy, not a republic. Not free women is not freedom, but slavery, the abject, absolute condition. All the other tyrannies put together, which constitute slavery to a male subject of government—denial of representation, denial of suffrage, limitation of liberty of person, restriction of labor and its rewards—are nothing and less than nothing to this laying sacrilegious hands on woman's own person, and function of maternity: if the man is a slave, the woman is ten thousand times more so! We call those slaves who live under the rule of the "divine right of kings," but they enjoy liberty unbounded by the side of the women of this country to-day! Go, tell the nations of Europe no longer to look to America, say it is false that we have planted here a free country, founded a republic—there is no republic, half of the people are not free! The women are all slaves!

And then the other half are slaveholders. The men of this country, in denying free love, deny freedom, deny equal rights, deny equality, and what is not equality is not humanity, and then they strike down and crucify humanity. If we can not expect them to hear us when we say, "Do as you would be done by," yet at least we may say, be decent, do not make slaves of your own very wives! And be chivalrous; no longer present to the world this contrast between your Love and your wives' Love—your Love [base Lust!] with its right to go forth and enjoy its consummation wherever, even in houses of prostitution; their Love with its impossibility to be met by such as you, and then its utter and hopeless denial to be met anywhere:

"There's a Love [Lust!] that is couched upon roses,
And fed upon all that is sweet:
There's a Love that all drooping, reposes,
Where yew trees and cypresses meet!

That bright-winged Love [Lust!] who is sleeping,
Is the offspring of pleasure so fair:
But the sad one in solitude weeping,
O! he is the child of despair!

See that gay Love [Lust!] from slumber awaking,
He smiles while his votaries sigh;
The teardrops from his rainbow-wings shaking,
He flies—wings were lent him to fly!

But no wings belong to that other,
Sighs blend with his every breath;
And he strives his wild anguish to smother,
In the breast where he lingers till death!"

It is that fate to which you consign your wives—no love forever: while you revel in lust [the only love you are capable of]!

Then for a man to say, I am a free lover, is to say, I am an abolitionist; but not to be a free lover is to say, I am a tyrant, I am a villain, I am a slaveholder! And when men enslave their wives, they enslave at last themselves. If the slavery of blacks was the slavery of their masters, much more does the same chain which the husband fastens on his wife, come home to bind him. He cannot rise above her, she perpetually reacts on him. And men enslave them,

selves in the persons of their children, dwarfed and depraved offspring of their own lechery. Good children are impossible only in freedom; slavery will reproduce slavery, and lust, lust; and free love waits to give the world its saviors, and in that be itself world-savior! Sexual love is to bless, and it will not only bless the two, but the child, and through the child, all; while lust curses mother, child and all, in one!

The tables are thus turned. Free Love is white, and the only thing white. It is reason, consistency, liberty, nature, and the only thing that is. Love, love, love, the love they say God is, the love they expect to find in heaven, the love, that is yet to change earth to a paradise—it is all here! The love that blesses human beings, the love that sways to the hallowed charm of sex, the love that fuses two of opposite sex to pure one, and from that one gives back another still purer—it is all here!

"Their natures met, like night and morn,
What time the morning-star is born:
The child that from that meeting grew,
Hung, like that star, between the two!"

It is all here, generation and regeneration, world's creation, and world's redemption! It is all here, one perpetual nature, "pure as ice and chaste as snow!"

This very human love with which we start, prepares for and insures, all the rest. Rolla need not die of that broken heart, nor even have broken heart, for both Cora and Alonzo will welcome him, and she loves him no less because she loves Alonzo more. She did love him most, she now loves him still the same, though she loves Alonzo most. She only loved him all that he could attract her, and she still loves him all that. She only gave him all the love that was his, and she still gives him all his. And he can ask no more, and equally she can not possibly give him less, and it makes Alonzo happy that she gives it to him, as it does him that she gives still more to Alonzo! And even if it must cause him a pang, that, he loving her more than all else, she does not in return love him more than all else, yes, that may be nature, and fate, and necessity; but both she and Alonzo will sympathize with him in it, and be all the more tender to him, do all the more to make him happy; and he must only make himself more to her, as the sure way to get more from her—he must be himself what will bring to him her highest love! And though he proves he can not be this, still the Universe is full of fates as much against him, in all other directions than this of love, and so he will no more sink here than there, but bear up and make the best of all, in this and everything else. Then Rolla, Cora and Alonzo, all three live in a high bliss, for both human and this other love have banished selfishness and jealousy, and made them one in beatitude! O generous, beautiful love, example to the world forever! Now, perhaps, you can do justice to the nobleness of Col. Blood and Victoria C. Woodhull, in that matter involving human three and hot selfish two!

The same human love will yet make all so love all, that each shall seek the good of all, and all the good of each—all shall co-operate, become one great family, inaugurate Socialism. All will so love all, that competition will be impossible, isolation will cease; one will not shut himself away from all the rest, to live for himself; two will not shut themselves away, to live for themselves: but all will in that sense live with and for all, so many loving brothers and sisters: not only so many loving human beings, but still more, so many men living with and loving so many women, and so many women living with and loving so many men—sex-love superadded to human. That will make them all Rollas, Coras and Alonzos; that will make them all free lovers; that will make free love easy, natural, inevitable—it will literally make everything but free love impossible. That will heal and compensate all disappointed affections, bring every man and every woman to his or her utter level, secure to every one his or her complete fruition, give every one his or her all-sided, rounded fill of love! That will provide for the children—insure that they are not born until, and except as, they are wanted—insure that they are born, not only into the hands of loving parents, but into the arms of a greater, loving family, the arms of a race, all pledged to care for them, educate them, rear them to manhood and womanhood, and crown them with the fate and bliss of glorious human beings working out glorious human beings' destiny! So simple a thing will open the long-sought door to realization, and make free love in a moment practical.

Even, the same human love, aided by sex-love, will bring the result still earlier; for men will yet so love women, that they can no longer deny them equality nor opportunity, no longer refuse them independence; but men will themselves make women equal and independent—and that will open the door to all, make all an instantaneous realization, free love actual as well as practical. Nay, the same love will effect all, even more directly still; for men will so love women, that they cannot victimize them, subject them to lust, neither in marriage nor prostitution—they cannot do as they would not be done by; but they will repent with shame, and ask to be forgiven their time-hoary outraging—and woman, noble, divine, will forgive! But from that moment of repentance she will be free, her love will be free, it will all be free love. There is no stop from that first start to this utter end! The very millennium will compel it all—or call it the Good Time Coming, or the Golden Age, or the law of Progression, or the principle of Evolution, but whatever day of Destiny ever comes to earth, will bring this all as the fruition of that first love! All is in that evangel of Church and Christianity that "God is love," and that "the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters cover the sea;" or, pronounce Church and Christianity a fraud and fable, yet something higher and better remains, even Nature, and Nature holds all in store as inevitable. Love inherently is the whole, and infallibly and irresistibly, will outwork the whole! Deny love, or accept everything after!

And Science says the same, for all this is reduced to Science: Science of Love, Human, Sex, Sexual: Science of Sexual Union, Generation, Stirpiculture: Science of Freedom, Reform, Happiness: at last the Science of Men and Women. Herbert Spencer, this is your Science of Society,

Sociology. Comte, Fourier, and poor, dead John Stuart Mill, this is your Science of Attractions, Liberty. Darwin, Huxley, Carpenter, all Biologists and Physiologists, this is your Science of the highest part of Nature, Human Beings. "Popular Science Monthly," this is what you must yet accept and proclaim, as the highest part of the great Science of Man. It ignores and overthrows Theology, but itself is strictest and profoundest Philosophy. It is inevitable fitness, transparency, rationale, from one end to the other.

Advancing and perfected Civilization, Enlightenment, is only another name for all this: Barbarism was signalized by its heathen institutions, Polygamy, Concubinage, Prostitution, Slavery, Human Ownership, then Marriage or Ownership of Woman, even if Monogamy or Ownership of One Woman—all like institutions, and each part of the whole, all the same Barbarism; and we have not yet outgrown that Barbarism, we still cling to Prostitution, to Polygamy, to Slavery, and to Marriage—so far we stand with the heathen of the most ancient world. We have only sought to exchange the ownership of many women for the ownership of one; and even if theoretically, she owns her husband as much as he her, yet practically and almost universally, he owns and not she, it is the same slavery of woman, the same Barbarism, we are still living in the Dark Ages! But Enlightenment will yet sweep away all these relics of the past, and the last to disappear will be Marriage, replaced by Love, Free Love. Polygamy is Marriage multiplied, Monogamy is as much Marriage as Polygamy, but Free Love is Marriage utterly abolished, and that is what Civilization will give. That Free Love between two may last forever, and be exclusively dual if that is final nature, but it will just as much remain the everlasting abrogation, contradiction, and impossibility of Marriage.

Not to any part of that dead past, but to this live to-day, the redeemed will look back from one thousand years hence, and say that our mothers and wives were nothing but slaves, legal prostitutes, men's lemans, harlots! They will say so, and weep that they descended from such! But they will weep a thousand times more that they descended from those who made them such! Yes, O men, you insult the honor of your own mothers, sisters and daughters, you traffic in the virtue of your wives, hold them mistresses without the rights of mistress, make no suit for your favors, compel surrender, freight a woman's unwilling being with another that shall involve and be her very own those cruel months of gestation, and bring her to the more than mortal agony of childbirth, if not to death itself—you do all this, and say, "am I not in sport?" As if sexuality was nothing! As if it was not, even to man, the greatest act of life, to woman, the most tremendous fate of earthly existence, and then to her in this case outrage literally inconceivable and infinite, calling, beyond every other atrocity ever perpetrated, for intervention, retribution, vengeance!

But, O women,

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow!"

Rise in rebellion against all this, declare war against it, fight against such desecration! You have a right to, you ought to, not only for your own sakes, but your children's, the next generation's, the whole world's, for you to-day, are the whole world of thirty years hence. Refuse to allow base and vile to profane you! Perish the miscreants who would—but strike down their power that they cannot!

For this is revolution. Freedom was revolution in that past of slavery, Republicanism was revolution in those ages of the "divine right of kings," and Love is revolution in these terrible days of lust! Free Love is the greatest revolution of the centuries, downfall at once of Marriage and Theology. Not a nation only, a world, "will be born in a day," when Love ascends the throne of the planet! But the revolution is in the air, and it will never go backward, for this is the Love by prophet and seer foretold to be universal!

Every lady will leap to be a free lover, proud to walk the earth a queen, everywhere accepting from man that homage of the sacred sovereignty of her own person, and still more, of her own affections! Who says no, let her welcome from the same man degradation and desecration, knowing that he will then despise her for it!

Every gentleman is a free lover, delicate, appreciative of woman's every feeling, sharing it with her as if she were part of himself, and scorning beyond words, to fall below her thought of him, or then below herself! Who says no, let him never dare look at woman again, and let her forever hold him off, as dishonorable!

Every great man worships the principle of free love, and if he does not, then he has forgotten to be great!

Every good man worships the principle of free love, and if he does not, then he has forgotten to be good!

Free Love is the very first element of greatness, goodness, justice, decency, refinement, noble and lofty character.

O woman in that jail, still proclaim thy high and holy truths! All the ages that have ever been are looking toward thee from one way, all that ever shall be are looking toward thee from another, all the ages are gazing on thee, to see a woman work out the world's redemption! Till thou art stricken down in death, falter not, but still stand for the rights of the trampled and prostrate! And thou wilt not falter, thou mayest die, but thou wilt die with face to the front, thou wilt pass on leader (in that sense ruler) of the world! They may give thee gall and wormwood to drink, but thou wilt conquer, thou wilt make friends' even of heart-ringing and spirit-agony!

"Sufferings human souls can hallow,
Sufferings lead to yon Valhalla,"

where thou shalt shine unequalled in the firmament, with all the stars thy diadem forever. But not now shalt thou ascend, nor ever, till thy work is done! [Pinned when she was at the worst.]

O pious mother who bore me, and clergyman father who sired—here is something purer and holier than all you ever dreamed, and yet you would have spurned it at the bidding of a church!

O Church and Christianity, you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, you have ruled a large part of

the earth over 1800 years, and kept it one brothel till to-day!

O Fenelon, Baxter, Edwards, Bunyan, Whitefield, Dwight, Chalmers, St. Augustine, Polycarp, Paul, good if you were, yet you have preached the world down to this hell of Solomon, David, Jacob and all those abominable old lechers!

Come Reform, come Free Love, to cleanse away the corruption and filth that have so long lived in the slime of that old Bible! Come and redeem the world!

Forevermore Free Love is set on high—pure as the empyrean, immaculate as the stars! Goddess, we worship thee!

Who will defend the old system now? Let him speak. Not the press can do it, though it may still slander and revile; not Science can do it, though it may yet perch on lofty heights, claiming it cannot look so low; not recreant Spiritualism can do it, nor Infidelity fearing new obloquy—not any can do it! Transparent truth throws down the gauntlet to the world, to find none who dare pick it up!

What is right? What is beautiful? What is holy? You shall give the answer!

And so the race will climb up out of this horrible, immemorial hell, unfolding from Lust into Love, and from Slavery into Freedom, till the Paradise shall come, and on, on, on, millennium after millennium shall roll, till the stream of Human Time reaches its ebb, and melts away into the great ocean of the Forever!

And yet the half has not been said.

THE HOUR OF TRIAL

BY B. W. STODDARD.

While fancy in revulsion roams
O'er all lives varied forms,
Or where my startled sense bemoans
Its many gathering storms;
With impulses devoutly pure,
We range fates frowning heights
To find some emblem to secure
The boon of sacred rights.

Held in the grasp of ignorance
The human soul remains
Subservient 'neath her battlements
To Fear's distorting chains;
Deaf to the higher tones of sense,
The formal priestly frown
Like a destroying prestilence
Sweeps aspirations down.

'Tis thus the masses of the earth
Do deftly seek a cause
To give their God a formal birth
Within the nation's laws;
Fearful that Reason's crowning light
Shall blast their creedish fate,
They seek to have their Church unite
In wedlock with the State.

Though oft despairing on the press
To gain a holier range,
The ways and means are numberless
By which they weld each chain;
Since where all other projects fail,
Their guide, as has been seen,
When circulated through the mails
Assumes a shape obscene.

God's holy word without a stain,
Whose light all lights excel,
Dooms through the priest George Francis Train
Down to a murderer's cell,
Fanatical, oh yes, insane,
They say, when all else fails;
Or why should this George Francis Train
Send such stuff through the mails?

Mrs. Woodhull, too, what shall we do
Our forces to secure?
Her scandals taint a reverend saint
As being most impure;
Although he never can deny
What her pen has revealed,
'Tis true we know, yet we must try
To keep his sins concealed.

He is a model minister,
A soldier of the cross,
And we must make a formal stir
Or else sustain a loss;
Such revelations will overthrow
Our creedish arts long stored;
H. W. Beecher must not go
So rudely by the board.

Yet how shall we arrange the case,
What measures shall we take;
For facts are stubborn things to face
Where there is much at stake?
In sad despair we toil and plod
And smoothe the fevered brow,
And truly wish we had a God
In the Constitution now.

Then added to our bolts and locks,
In godly zeal unfurled,
The pillory and public stocks
Would help reform the world.
Such measures would much sin dispel,
And like a lump of leaven,
Check sinners on the road to hell
And raise them up to heaven.

Thus muse the creedish horde to-day,
Yet the aspiring mind
Keeps nobly on the better way
To do what God designed.
Bold, true and tried they ne'er revert
But firmly persevere,
Though heartless cowards may desert
And fall back in the rear.

AN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR BOTH SEXES.

There are some facts that stare one in the face. Wherever I step out on this broad earth where women and men are congregated together, it will constantly thrust itself before

me with an appeal that cannot be set aside, that the laboring poor man toils incessantly from dawn till sunset to supply the wants of his family, while they are having an easy time. These wants are on the increase, which increases the heavy burden they (the men) already have to bear. The women are not the happier for this non-activity. They bring in no money; they are not improving apparently in any direction. The wrinkles deepen on the husband's brow, the back becomes more bent; and when he is seated in his chair at night he is so weary that he feels he would not care to leave it again that night, while the sight of his uncomplaining hardship sends her to bed with a headache. This is not the darkest part of the picture, for week in and week out there is not a cent put aside to stimulate and encourage him in his toil. Is there no remedy? I think so. We should have an industrial school open to both women and men, where they could obtain employment in different departments, increasing the variety as the capital would permit, with the aim to produce skilled laborers. Women who have families could not leave their homes unless there was a way provided for the care of their children, the most vital point of this movement. No one woman nor man can instruct a child perfectly, for they can only teach what they know themselves, and often fail to do that; besides their deleterious influence bearing upon the children from irritable tempers, exacting toil and want of time to give to their attention, growing out of the pinching poverty and debilitating toil. We shall need and must have a nursery, where the children can be surrounded by the best influences, and have proper instruction, with the requisite help for their daily needs, changing the force as thought advisable. This would be similar to the training in the Community homes, but being only a temporary affair, optional with the friends as to the duration of their stay. Every stroke of labor should receive a compensation in value equal to the service, which would create attractive industry. Women then, as well as men, could be developed in every direction without being overworked. Women would have aims in life as well as men. Every department of labor would be open to them without the consent of the law-makers. Of course, the sexes should work together. There should be a large tract of land, where practical agriculture in all its branches could be taught, which would be the industrial basis from which all other industries would grow out of. This broad idea can be put into execution by the co-operation of capitalists or by the unity and combination of all reformers who have the best interest of humanity at heart, by each giving their mite toward the work. Who will agitate this movement? F. W. R.

PHILADELPHIA, June 24, 1873.

Dear Mrs. Woodhull—In No. 134 of WEEKLY your correspondent, Elvira W. Ruggles, after indorsing your doctrine of social freedom, in theory, proposes the following query concerning its practice and asks for light:

"Suppose a woman does desire and needs sexual intercourse, but, for reasons sufficient to her, does not desire maternity, what shall she do—forego the pleasure and benefit, and repress natural desire, or resort to unnatural preventives, or accept possible consequences?"

The first consideration is, her own highest good, physical and intellectual. If yielding to the sexual impulse would secure to herself these benefits in a higher degree than refusing to yield, the question is principally settled, and she is justified in taking the consequences, though her obligations remain to her prospective offspring, and she must do the best she can in her circumstances, and that is all that is required in the line of duty. Many a mother outside of matrimony has brought misery upon her child, when the necessity did not exist, only from a fear of exposure and consequent fancied disgrace (I say fancied disgrace, for where the mother bears herself with dignity of manner and conscious integrity of purpose, it soon becomes evident, even to herself, that the disgrace is only imaginary). A different education would have prevented the sorrow to the one and the outrage to the other. But what of those persons, it will be asked, who are forsaken by the father, and then thrown upon their own resources, which, according to their own knowledge, are inadequate to their support? This, we admit, is a consideration of the highest moment, and should be thoughtfully balanced before the act leading to such a result is committed. But we are not prepared to say that repression to the party's downright injury of health and intellect is advisable, even in the case mentioned. As you have well said, and as observation and facts thoroughly demonstrate, the child begotten in love is the child of excellence and promise; and it needs but the knowledge of the fact to cause society to foster and protect such offspring, let them be borne by whom and under what circumstances of penury they may.

But who are the children that are destroyed, forsaken, or find their way to the so-called institutions of charity? Are they not, in a large majority of instances, the offspring of parents who dread exposure? It is this unwomanly and unmanly fear which, more than any other cause, leads the unwise and cruel parent to forsake and disown the product of her loins, which otherwise might be a solace to herself and a benefit to society at large. Two cases aptly illustrating the point I now have in the circle of my acquaintance. The one is a boy eight days old, the other, a girl four days old. The boy is of beautiful outline; every feature, and every limb is moulded in Nature's finest style of art, and which should be a thing of gladness to parents and all concerned; but alas for human weakness (not to say the extreme of wickedness!) the child "must be disposed of" to save disgrace. In the case of the girl, it is a model of sweetness, of beauty, of cherubic excellence. But in the latter case (all praise to the family of that mother!) the intent to dispose of it has been reconsidered, and instead, on account of its worth, it will be retained as the brightest jewel of the house.

Did we think your space warranted we might extend our remarks upon another branch of the article—that of the mother bearing several children—to which the writer seems to object, on the ground of multiplying her cares, and in

some cases preventing the manifestation of an innate genius which she feels herself to possess.

But we here hesitate not to assert that the maximum of enjoyment which this life is capable of, under the rules of society extant, has been obtained by those mothers who bore a large number of children, and the minimum by those females who bore none at all, or very few; and happiness, you know, is the end of *this* life, though it may not be in reference to the other.

And again, have not you, Mrs. Woodhull, clearly indicated the means by which an unwelcome number of children may be avoided, and at the same time the health and energy of the female remain unimpaired, without resorting to *unnatural* means of prevention?

I have thus presented a few thoughts upon a subject pre-eminently worthy of attention, but not with the expectation that they shall take the place of others which may be presented more ably by yourself.

SAMUEL H. ATKINSON.

They say that I've a friend, Mary,
In her bright home far away—
And, that she'd know and love me,
If she were here to-day!

Ah! I'm a friend to her, Mary,
But she's not so to me:
How can she feel affection,
For one she cannot see?

Yet, I have ne'er seen her, Mary,
And know not I ever may:
And still I'm hers forever—
O! would she were mine, too, for aye!

Yes, would it were but true, Mary,
But no, it cannot be;
For, sure there's none who ever,
Felt aught of love to me!

O no, I'm left alone, Mary,
To tread life's weary track;
And though my heart is bursting,
There's none to love me back!

A broken heart is mine, Mary—
That gives its love to others,
Yet, never love receiveth,
From any of my brothers!

My heart is sad with grief, Mary,
And my eyes with tears are dim:
On earth, there's not one being,
Loves me, as I love him!

My heart's a broken lute, Mary,
That never tells of gladness;
The harp within, hangs mute,
And trembles in the sadness!

I'm like an orphan child, Mary,
Cast out from the day of its birth;
I go, alas, a wanderer,
Without a friend on earth!

And so, 'twill ever be, Mary,
Till I am lying low,
Where the Mermaids and Peris, a bed,
With coral and pearl, for me sow!

For I am doomed to sleep, Mary,
Far down in the deep, deep sea—
With none to care I perished,
And not one to think of me!

But I must drop my pen, Mary,
And bid you a kind Good-By!
We'll meet in the far-off Future,
And then 'twill be you and I!

THE PROSTITUTES.

BY THOMAS WICKERSHAM.

There is not in heaven, earth or hell a curse so fearfully dreaded as the curse that now rests, like a deadly incubus, on that unfortunate class of humanity denominated prostitutes. They are left out of the pale of all human sympathy, and consigned to the tender mercies of a class of men who have become lost to all the feelings of humanity, and live in the constant claim of their services for that class of passions for which they are in the habit of seeking indulgence. They fill them with all the vile principles of their own abandoned hearts, and then point to them as examples of the depravity of the sex, as if it were a natural quality in the mind of woman. Then comes the fearful cry of the world, calling them to an account for the condition, in ecclesiastical language, of cursed, cursed, cursed. Then in the wide world where is the asylum to which they can fly from their tormentors, who pursue them through every avenue of life, with the undying, ever present, never ceasing cry of cursed, cursed, cursed, till the last knell of time calls them away from the scenes of clamor, discord and horror to continue the same state of existence in the caverns of hell to all eternity. I am constrained to call on you, my fellow mortals, to consider; for a clear and candid consideration of this subject is of more vital importance to the race of man and their future salvation, than you may at first thought imagine it to be. There is in this matter food for more thought than can be found in the arena of politics or the concerns of trade; for it is one that lies at the basis of the structure of society, and will eventually cause more suffering and misery to the human race than any other evil of which it is now sought to find a cure. There is in this cure a living representation of the existence of a hell, to which all are liable who claim the salvation of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ; and it is strange that his professed followers should be the worst of all in that cold neglect of the means of redeeming this fallen class from the depths of degradation into which they are sunken by one misdeed, of which they themselves were not the real actors: for it is a fact not to be denied that it is the seducer really, and not the victim,

who is the cause of all this misery and despair. I am of the opinion that this is a question that requires to be taken into consideration at this time, and thoroughly discussed by all those who assume to feel an interest in the reformation and the salvation of the human race. I am also of the opinion that it belongs more especially to woman to take initiative steps to commence a revolution in the state of society as to this condition of an unfortunate portion of her sex who are now left to wallow in the slough of condemnation and degradation, only for want of the proper means to restore her to a standing in society again, where she may have an opportunity to become a useful instrument in the salvation of others who need the same aid. Why is there in the whole field of Christian duty and labor not one to make the first concentrative movement toward the redemption and salvation of this most unhappy and undone class of God's children? Why is it that in the claims of sinners on the Church of Christ there is no door opened for the entrance of those who would enter it, even as the woman who washed the feet of Jesus with her tears and wiped them with the hair of her head? Was not this an example worthy to be followed by his commissioned disciples? Yet, like the Pharisee of old, they are ready to exclaim, "She is a sinner." But Jesus answering, said unto him, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much." Did not the dear Saviour by these words define the exact course which he intended his followers to pursue through all time in his church on earth? And is it not a terrible breach of faith in his teachings thus to drive away from all sympathy and hope those who are in the greatest need? I desire to call the especial attention of the professors of Christ to this subject, and shall at another time renew these remarks.

WEST WINFIELD, June 30, 1873.

Dear Victoria, Tennie and Col., Greeting:

I learn by our daily, that you are triumphant. Our government have not made much out of you no more than Geo. Francis Train. I hope you with him will teach it a lesson by retaliating. My thoughts and prayers have been with and for you since I left New York, if I have been silent. I felt your time to leave us was not yet. No! I hope you will be with us until social slavery, which blasts and ruins most of the women and some of the men, is swept from off this fair earth. "Social freedom." It is the world's only hope of final emancipation from the galling chains of sexual slavery, which is the legitimate outgrowth of the old marriage institution, and is nothing more or less than legalized rape and prostitution. Social freedom is just what the great Nazarene referred to when he said: "On this rock (practical communism) I build my church, and the gates of hell (old marriage institution) shall not prevail against it."

I attended our convention at Peterboro, and hoped we would do ourselves the credit of practical work; but the majority seemed to want to hear nothing but Spiritualism, or if they did, had not the courage to say so.

I talked some for the interest of your paper and labor reform, but I was given to understand that that was not what was wanted. Only for the pleasant acquaintances that I made, and being entertained by Gerrit Smith, Mr. Cosking and family, I should have felt poorly paid indeed for my journey there. The speaking was good for those to whom it was new; but for one who has been thirty-two years a Spiritualist, and heard most of the best lecturers in the country, something practical—an outgrowth of our beautiful philosophy—would have been appreciated. One of the speakers made it her business to slander you, one whose memory I would take back to North Bennington, Vt., some eight or ten years. Unless these hypocrites stop this, I shall openly expose them in future, and would this time had I been present. It was done privately, and when too late I was informed of her slanderous utterings. I am glad to learn by your paper that the Spiritualists of Western New York, are as ever alive to the signs of the times, and dare pass a resolution remonstrating against the conspiracy of freedom, of thought and action, in the persecution of yourself and George Francis Train.

My future life is dedicated to working for social freedom, labor, reform, and every cause that will elevate and bless mankind.

Yours for truth and humanity, R. W. SCOTT BRIGGS.

RED-HOT CHRISTIANS.

WILLIMANTIC, Conn., June 29, 1873.

Just now there is a little *sub-rosa* excitement going on among some of our Methodist neighbors, thusly: A large family of well-to-do farmers in this neighborhood, of the strictest piety, who "love Jesus" so that they cannot eat in the morning without praying to him, and who hold class-meeting every Friday to tell each other how much they "love Jesus," have just had a severe affliction. A son who put nearly all his property, while a bachelor, into their hands as a trust, died suddenly recently, leaving a wife and little son. He had neglected to make a will, and his death left the widow destitute. Knowing the state of her husband's affairs from repeated conversations with him, and having memoranda and letters to prove the rights of her child, she took him with her to make her relatives-in-law a visit. The mother and brothers of her husband treated her to abundant prayers and class-meetings, and told her how dearly they loved Jesus, how much they wished she did, but declared their intention to hold fast to their brother's property, and let the widow bring up the orphan as best she could. It takes means to fight such a case in law, and the poor woman, suffering from a nervous shock, went away for a short time, leaving the little boy to the tender care of these people who so deeply loved Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of these, ye have done it unto me." She was taken worse, and not returning immediately, these "Jesus lovers" wrote her that if she did not return and take the poor, dear three-year-old away at once, they would put the little man in the poorhouse! This specimen of people, who, "for a pretense make long prayers" and rob the widow and orphan, make us feel that good, square, honest sinners are good enough for us.

In another letter I may give you further particulars of this family. The liberal people of the place are on the watch, and if such a thing as putting the child away before his mother sends for him is attempted, there will be the biggest tempest in the Methodist teapot that has ever been known in this place anyhow. For the credit of Willimantic, it is to be hoped these people will do justice by their relatives without their being forced to. There is a good deal of feeling about it among the best people here, who have been informed of the circumstances. It is bad enough, they think, to see such dishonesty and inhumanity among sinners, let alone red-hot Christians like our neighbours.

JUSTICE.

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL FREEDOM.

We desire to present from time to time a list of the writers and speakers who advocate Social Freedom. The time is not far distant when it will be necessary that these shall know each other, and it is at the suggestion of one of the most able writers and speakers, and most earnest of them all on this subject, that we now invite names for this directory:

- Francis Barry, Ravenna, Ohio.
- Julia H. Severance, Milwaukie, Wis.
- Thomas W. Organ, Tuscola, Ill.
- Loren Hollister, Turner, Ill.
- J. W. Evarts, Centralia, Ill.
- Laura Cuppy Smith, care this office.
- Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Conn.
- J. K. Philleo.
- L. K. Joslin, Providence, R. I.
- E. H. Heywood, Princeton, Mass.
- Heywood, Princeton, Mass.
- Seward Mitchell, Cornville, Me.
- Carrie Lewis, Cleveland, Ohio.

SPIRITUALISTIC.

NEW YORK, July 3, 1873.

Victoria—Will you please give the inclosed a place in your invaluable paper. Sister sent me the particulars of the event, and said she would be pleased to have me hand them to you and write what I chose myself; so here it is, and you can do as you please with it.

Yours for the abolition of all the slaveries and the reign of right, equality and justice.

WM. WHITE, M. D.,
51½ West 32d st., N. Y.

A NEW LIBERTY HALL.

SATURDAY, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., June 21, 1873.

A very interesting event occurred here this afternoon: Harvey Lyman, Esq., who, with his whole-souled wife, have long been identified with Spiritualism, and whose beautiful home has long been the resting-place of our weary workers, having determined that the cause should no longer be retarded for the want of a hall in which the living gospel of to-day could be heralded to needy souls, this afternoon laid the corner-stone of the new edifice, Sister Fannie Allen officiating. About one thousand people of all denominations were collected to witness the event and to listen to what could be said in favor of Spiritualism and kindred subjects.

All listened with the most respectful attention, and seemed to appreciate what was said, and some who are not Spiritualists were heard to say that it was the best discourse they had ever listened to. Sister Allen closed with a beautiful poem, and named the contemplated structure "Liberty Hall."

A metallic box had been prepared, into which was put the following, viz.: "Banner of Light," WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, of Nov. 2d, "Train Ligue," Tract—"The World Moves," "Bible Class Lessons," "Voltaire's Catechism," "Peter Maguire," by Lizzie Doten; "Humanity versus Christianity," by Henry C. Wright; "The Bible, a False Witness," by Wm. Denton; "Thomas Paine's Letter," "Wm. Lloyd Garrison on Modern Phenomena," "John Stuart Mill on Woman Suffrage;" also a message from the Indian Spirit Samoset through Mrs. Woods, an excellent clairvoyant and healing medium. All these were put into the box with red, white and blue flowers (whose language is love, truth and justice), and placed under the stone; and thus ended this very interesting event; and may we not hope that in the near future, every city, town and village in this great country, and the world, will be plentifully supplied with halls and places of meeting, owned by the worshippers.

So may it be the prayer of your friend and co-worker,
WM. WHITE, M. D.

Bro. Smith—You are probably aware that I am as much alone in my views on the relations existing between the visible and invisible, termed matter and spirit, as was Galileo in his theory of the globular form of the earth, or Columbus in his belief of the existence of the continent we now inhabit, and feel equally sure that I am right. You and I differ on basic principles; that difference is easily stated. You believe in the supremacy of spirit over matter; I in the reciprocal relations of the two, and in this statement consists the sum total of our difference; and as the welfare of the world depends on the correct application of organic law, a knowledge of that law is of vital importance. You have the opinion of the world to back you; I depend on the strength of my position and the evidence I can bring to sustain it, well knowing that argument cannot alter facts. You represent Spiritualism the sum total of all religious beliefs; I a condition yet in embryo on our planet, the reciprocal relation, a balance by interchange of the opposing forces of nature. One of us must be wrong, the question is which? Had the reciprocal relations of all things been the base upon which the past was reared, and been productive of the same deplorable result, I should be the last to advocate it. Suppose we should try to solve the problem of existence by the same rule that we now solve problems in numbers, and problems in numbers

by the rule that we are now trying to solve the problem of existence, would not the effect be reversed with the rule? Where all is harmony now, all would be chaos; and where chaos now reigns, supreme harmony would supersede it. Would not this be the natural effect of reversing the rule?

Now what objection can there be to discarding a rule that has invariably been productive of discord and substituting the one that has ever been productive of harmony to the solution of both problems. To the belief in the supremacy of spirit over matter I charge crimes too horrid to contemplate and too numerous to recapitulate, and of which the history of the world is one continuous narrative from its earliest date to the imprisonment of Woodhull & Co., for advocating sexual equality, and exposing the rottenness and putridity of modern Christianity. If spirit is supreme over matter, why do we advocate sexual equality? The female bears the same relation to the animal that the earth does to the vegetable; and if there is no interchange of relations, she eternally represents matter. Where is the equality of the sexes we talk so much about? It seems to me there can be but one escape from this dilemma: that males and females are inversions of each other, and every change of species produces a change of sex; and if the union of lower numbers produce higher ones, a union of lower species must produce the same results. All healthy organic beings are the effects of a perfect balance of the opposing forces that constitute them, and all unhealthy ones the effects of unbalanced conditions; and to this rule there can be no exception, nor is there any one being, thing or condition that is not convertible into something else, and this in strict accordance with the organic law upon which existence is founded.

In your analysis of my views it seems to me you begin at the apex instead of the base, and leave organic law out of the question, as you refer more to the human family than to the source from whence they were derived. In erecting an edifice it is well to have a foundation that will sustain it. In regard to physical matter, what is visible in one condition becomes invisible in another. As inert matter does not come within the range of my vision I will not refer to it. The egg is said to be the source from whence all organic life is derived. A world in miniature, the yolk and albumen representing the material and spirit conditions of the world, and the two containing all the elements necessary, under incubation and gestation, to duplicate the beings that produced it. The active powers of any condition are in turn acted upon by other conditions that supersede them. If spirit and matter are both eternal, why make one supreme over the other? If they are co-eternal, why not co-equal? You admit the reciprocal action of spirit and matter upon each other, but deny that they are convertible. If their action is reciprocal, what is the difference? A conscious existence on the other side is as much a necessity as on this; it is the day side of our planet, and bears the same relation to this that day does to night on this side. We are the same beings there as here, minus the outer covering; and from night to day and from day to night is a law that knows no beginning or end.

You deny that two souls can be merged in one, as they would lose their identity. That loss of identity is just what has produced you and me. Every species in a direct line between us and the lowest have lost their identity in us, and all combined constitute our individuality. Rest assured there are higher conditions than we or our spirit friends have yet reached, in which our individuality will be merged. Unending change and a balance of the forces that produce it is organic law, whether we like it or not.

But I have extended my remarks further than I intended, and will try and be more brief in future. The question at issue is deeply important, and if our discussion shall awaken an interest that will probe it to the bottom and show I am right, we shall confer an inestimable benefit on the world; or, on the contrary, you will confer one on me by showing up my errors.
J. TINNEY.

WESTFIELD, N. Y., June 23, 1873.

The following fine poem, written under the inspiration of Achsa W. Sprague by Brother Horace M. Richards, of Philadelphia, was read by him at the anniversary meeting held in that city, March 31, and was forwarded to us at that time for publication. As it failed to reach us, Brother Richards has furnished us another copy:

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.
FROM ACHSA W. SPRAGUE, BY HORACE M. RICHARDS.

I feel the mighty current
That sweeps the earth along—
And my soul keeps step to music
Of Nature's holy song.

There's a grand and rhythmic measure
In the march of every star,
That fills my soul with grandeur
As I gaze on it afar.

I know that countless ages
Lie buried in the past,
That Nature on her pages
Will prove this truth at last.

I know that God holds in His hand
These ages as they roll,
His care is over every land
And every mortal soul.

The mighty ones who walk the earth,
Or weakest of them all,
His hand has held since hour of birth,
Each answer to his call.

I hear a swelling chorus
Resounding from the sky,
I know that close unto us
The angel world draws nigh.

I know dear forms we laid away
Beneath the flowers to sleep,
Whose spirits congregate to-day
This jubilee to keep.

Their voices join in every prayer—
Each song we sing, repeat;
I feel their presence everywhere,
There is no vacant seat.

Their holy influence calms me,
Till sweetly o'er my soul,
A far diviner melody
In waves of music roll.

I feel a glad thanksgiving,
And my soul is full of praise,
To know that I am living
In these grand progressive days.

I feel the coming conflict
That tests the worth of men;
When armed hosts will rally
From mountain and from glen.

Truth's mighty forces gather.
As stars that gem the night,
I know the coming victory
Will be for God and right.

We never more need question,
The power that rules our land,
He holds the mountain and the valley,
In the hollow of His hand.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., March 31, 1873.

The New Jersey State Association of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress will hold their Third Quarterly Convention in Vineland, N. J., on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, August 8th, 9th and 10th, 1873. The meetings will open at 10 A. M. and 2½ and 7½ P. M. each day. The morning and afternoon sessions of Friday and Saturday will be devoted to conference and short addresses—the evening sessions and Sunday to lectures. First-class speakers have been engaged for the occasion, among whom are Victoria C. Woodhull and Mrs. Hannah T. Stearns. Platform free, in order. Delegates and visitors from New York and vicinity will take boat from foot of Murray street, N. Y., pier 28, at 9:30 A. M., to connect with N. J. Southern R. R. Excursion tickets for the round trip, \$3.25, good from Thursday, August 7th, to Wednesday, August, 13th, inclusive. From Philadelphia, by Atlantic, R. R., to Western Junction. Also an excursion from Vineland to Cape May, on Monday, August 11th, at less than half fare. Everybody invited to attend the convention to participate in the exercises and enjoy the festivities of the occasion. Visitors will find free homes and a cordial welcome. Good music will be in attendance. The officers and Executive Committee are requested to meet early to arrange for the services.

By order, L. K. COONLEY, Pres., Vineland, N. J.
D. J. STANSBERRY, Sec., Newark, N. J.

JOHN BROWN SMITH will lecture in the New England States during the summer. Address, Amherst, Mass.

[All Spiritualistic or Reformatory Societies in New England, which are not afraid to hear the truth, will do well to engage the services of Mr. Smith; such as are too young and weak to stand the truth undiluted had better pass him by. Mrs. Smith also goes to Massachusetts with him. On their way thither they called at our office, finding us suffering from a severe headache, which Mrs. Smith's "healing power" speedily removed. We recommend her to the "ailing" wherever she goes, as a salvation from physical sin.]

THE TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The attention of Spiritualists all over the country is invited to the following constitutional provisions regarding representation in the National Convention, to be held in September, probably, in Chicago:

"ARTICLE VI, SECTION 3. Each active State or Territorial Organization of Spiritualists within the limits of the United States of America shall be entitled to as many delegates at large as such State or Territory has representatives in Congress—the District of Columbia being entitled to two delegates—provided that only one general organization shall be entitled to representation from any State or Territory. Each working local society and each progressive lyceum shall be entitled to one delegate for every fractional fifty members."

It will be noticed that any organization of ever so few members is entitled to a delegate. Spiritualists everywhere will be governed accordingly.

It is decided that the Convention will convene on Tuesday, the 16th day of September, at 10 o'clock A. M.

MRS. CLIFFORD, CLAIRVOYANT.

We are continually in receipt of inquiries, both verbal and written, as to the reliability of this, that or the other professional clairvoyant. It is a delicate matter to become responsible in this way for any one not well known to us personally, especially as so much reliance is coming to be placed upon communications received from this source. But of the woman whose name stands at the head of this article, who resides at No. 24 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, we can say that we have been intimately acquainted with her for the last eight years, and have had frequent occasions during this time to make use of her clairvoyance both personally and for friends, and in all this experience she has always been strictly reliable. During our recent trials in the courts, her "sight" of what would result was remarkably clear and correct, and added not a little to our confidence as to what that would be. We therefore confidently refer inquirers, both as to business and sickness, to Mrs. Clifford, 24 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, L. I.

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Per line (according to location), - - - - - From \$1 00 to \$2 50
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All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

48 Broad Street, New York City.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1873.

CALL FOR THE PRESS AND TYPE FUND.

One-half of this fund having already been subscribed, and being desirous of reducing our expenses by the use of the material, which can be done by about fifty dollars per week; and it being possible with the amount subscribed to obtain what is required, depending upon future subscriptions to meet deferred payments, we now prefer the request that the subscriptions be sent in at the earliest convenience of subscribers. The funds will be placed in the hands of two proper and responsible parties, who will forward the necessary papers to each subscriber in accordance with the original proposition, holding the material in trust for the WEEKLY until such time as its earnings will repay the same. Thanking our friends for the very remarkable manner in which they have come forward to the support of the WEEKLY, both by subscription to this fund and by labor in increasing its circulation, we are able to say that if they continue to labor with us until the expiration of the year, the WEEKLY will be on a permanent basis and beyond the reach of its foes—the Y. M. C. A.

THE PAGAN BIBLE.

We are requested by the publisher of the "Pagan Bible" to say that Mr. Train left the country with the last form of this pamphlet unfinished, which is the explanation of the delay in filling orders. The completion is daily expected, and when received it will be immediately issued, and all orders promptly filled.

We shall consider it an especial favor on the part of our friends all over the country if they forward to us local papers that contain mention of the WEEKLY or the cause it advocates. Since the new postal law came into operation we are cut off from receiving many papers that used formerly come to us in exchange; hence this request.

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, twenty 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.

THE COMING NATIONAL CONVENTION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The tenth annual Convention of the American Association of Spiritualists will be held in September, and probably in Chicago, if the Spiritualists there have sufficient interest to see that the proper preliminary arrangements are made and the usual accommodations extended. The first Convention of this Association was held in that city, since which time no convention has assembled further West than Cleveland, O., and Richmond, Ind., the other places favored being Philadelphia, Buffalo, Rochester, Providence, Troy and Boston. It would seem, then, that the West should have the preference for the next convention.

Moreover, the Spiritualists of Michigan, Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin are perhaps more alive to the issues of the hour, and better organized for active work than are those of any equally extensive area of country and body of members; and this undoubtedly ought to have some weight in determining the locality for the convention. It is important that it should be really representative of the Spiritualistic elements of the country, and should therefore be central to those elements, and where a large body of the masses as well as a goodly number of delegates can assemble. In this respect Chicago is perhaps the very best locality that could be selected.

Another reason for the selection is that the most of the complaints that have been made about the conduct of the affairs of the association and the acts of its conventions have emanated from the West, and it is but just that they should have an opportunity to attend the next convention, and set all wrong matters right by their superior wisdom and prudence. At least the Board of Trustees should so arrange and prepare for the convention that no one may justly say there was no opportunity for the Spiritualists of the country to be represented; and so that if they are not represented it may not be said with any show of consistency that the coming convention has no right to assume to represent this numerous body of people.

There is a no more fatal idea prevalent than that which exists so generally among Spiritualists against organized action. It might as well be assumed that an important political reform can be inaugurated without unity of action on the part of its advocates as to assume that the reforms contemplated by Spiritualism can be inaugurated without unity of action among their advocates. None but those who are selfishly satisfied with their own attained condition can hold to such an idea. It is wholly against the order of nature, which everywhere illustrates order and organization, and the real power of spiritual truths will never be made to be felt and can never be wielded until a thorough organization of its adherents is effected.

If there were nothing beyond education merely to be attained there might be a seemingly good excuse for indifference regarding unity of action, but even in this the best results can only come from the most efficient and effective concentrated efforts. When we come, however, to take an inventory of all there is to be done; of the various old and decaying structures to be removed; of the new and beautiful orders to be instituted; the need, the actual necessity for united labor becomes still more evident.

And it is with this view and with the further prospect that there is to be active warfare made against radical reform by the church through the subsidized powers of the State, that it behooves Spiritualists and all other reformers now to be alive in this demand. 'Tis too true that local Spiritual Societies have taken almost no interest in National Conventions; but it is also equally true that unless such interest is now manifested it will testify to the fundamental inability of Spiritualism, as a humanitarian means of reformation.

If this fail to meet the necessities of the incoming era, nothing is more certain than that some other Ism will step to the front and assume the duties and responsibilities that now rest upon Spiritualists.

In our view Spiritualism properly and naturally comprehends all humanitarian movements to better the general condition of the human race, but especially such as look to its advancement here in the flesh as a necessary foundation upon which the spirit life begins. The communion of spirits teaches that with whatever spiritual body one leaves the earth life he enters upon spirit existence with the same body. Therefore the exertions for progress should be made here and not in the investigation of the hereafter merely. Proper earthly conditions in which to nurture the spirit are what are needed now, and they can only be had by the united efforts of the advanced people of the world. It is the organization of the people upon a humanitarian basis that must precede any better spiritual condition either in this or the spirit life.

Now if the Spiritualists of the country are equal to this task; if Spiritualism is a sufficient stimulus to its adherents, then will they at once set themselves about this great work, the first step to which is the action necessary to send delegates to the coming Convention. Every society is entitled to a delegate. Not only every society now in existence should send one, but wherever there is a small number of Spiritualists without an organization, they should at once get together and make an organization for the express purpose of sending a delegate. The small expense of attending the Convention ought to be gladly assumed by the Spiritualists of every town and city in the country; and instead of the

usual meagre number of delegates, there should be no less than a thousand. Such a gathering as this in a "Centre" of the country would astonish the Conservative world and make it think twice before it attempts the introduction of its God into the political constitution of the country.

It is an incumbent duty, then, that every body of Spiritualists in the country take immediate action regarding the Convention; and while it is not yet positively ascertained that it will convene in Chicago, it is ascertained that it will convene somewhere, accessible to all parts of the country.

It is hoped that the regular call for the Convention will be ready to be published in a week or so; but it is not even necessary that its forthcoming should be awaited. Every organization is entitled to one or more delegates, and can at once begin to agitate their sending, so that when the call shall be made the responses may be numerous and widespread.

THE DISGRACE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The downfall of every government that ever existed may indirectly be traced to the outrages it perpetrated by right of might upon its subjects. Our government will form no exception to the general rule. It was not until recently, however, that it began to practice these things, and the course once entered upon will, in all probability, run till destruction in some form ensues.

Never in this country, until the Grant dynasty, was it attempted to establish a censorship of the press and a surveillance over the mails; but the extraordinary practice is now in common vogue of pouncing down upon the editors and publishers of newspapers and casting them into prison, in direct and flagrant violation of the express provisions of the Federal Constitution. The Y. M. C. A., through its obscene agent, goes before Congress and asks the passage of a law regarding obscenity, which is interpreted by these conspirators to grant them all the needed power; but finding this one deficient, another application is made, and Congress complacently grants the new demand, and now they think they have the necessary legislation to suppress any paper that may fall under the ban of the displeasure of the godly Christians. No paper must dare to speak disrespectfully of any of the viceregerents of Christ, or to advocate anything in opposition to present social laws and customs. The first may live in actual concubinage, according to their own rendition of that term, but they must stand safe from any expose, while the legally held slaves of "Christ's own" may be murdered by inches by the bestial instincts of their legal tyrants, and not a word must be said in criticism of the causes. The government formed by the people and for the people is made the cat's-paw of these canting hypocrites to enforce their safeguards and to maintain to them their sexual slaves intact. The disgrace is not so much that the Christian Young Men desire to do all this, but that the Congress in the first, and after its action the Courts, in the second instance, lend themselves to the infamy. If they have so easily and complacently done this as a departure, what may not be expected in subsequent movements!

But the designs against the Press do not constitute the total of the infamous things in which these young Christians are engaged. They are determined to eradicate obscenity in everything. But admitting that all they stamp as obscene is so in reality, the methods by which they proceed against it are equally, if not more, questionable than the obscenity itself. This fellow, the obscene agent of the Y. M. C. A., spends almost his whole time in enticing people to transgress the Congressional Statute against transmitting obscene matter through the mail. A letter is written in an assumed name and sent from an outside post office. If an answer is received and the order filled, then an indictment is found, and on the single oath of this tender-concienced fellow, this Beardsley, this Nichol, and the strained rulings of the Court, perhaps, a conviction follows.

Now, we dare say there has never been a conviction secured by this personage that would stand the test of a review as other criminal cases are obliged to do. But the United States Courts, District and Circuit, are, to all intents and purposes, supreme, there being no appeal from their decisions. These convictions are sometimes only, reported in the daily papers, and their victims are hurried off to prison scarcely realizing that they have been tried and sentenced for crimes which, in some instances, to our personal knowledge, were never committed. It is alleged, and we have no reason to doubt it, indeed our experience teaches there is every reason to believe it, that when a person is "spotted" by this obscene agent, if he cannot entrap him regularly he puts up a job on him. For instance, he may write a letter and answer it himself and pretend that the victim is responsible. On the indictment or order of arrest he may search the premises occupied, and failing to find anything illegal, quietly deposit something of the sort himself, and then pretend that he discovered it there. This is taken into court to confirm the pretended dealing in illegal things.

We would not be understood as justifying the dealing in the common articles of obscenity, although we very much doubt the constitutional power of any legislative body to enact a law that can prevent us from purchasing or a person from selling a so-called indecent print, but the method of procedure by which the suppression is attempted, we do wish to be understood as denouncing as utterly beyond the pale of the law, and unjustifiable by any argument or result that may be claimed to flow from it. An

illegal business must be suppressed, if suppressed at all, by the common methods of common law, and the proof in the prosecutions for sending obscene literature and articles through the mails must be such as is demoniated proof in other criminal cases, and the jury must be the judges both of the obscenity and the proof offered, and not ordered by the Court to find a verdict of guilty, as is the common practice in this class of cases, when they otherwise would find an acquittal.

But after a half-hundred convictions without a single failure, we think the backbone of this system was broken by the practice and rulings of Judge Blatchford in our own case, the important point in which was, that offenses that are not indictable at common law and made so by statute aw, must be specific. That is, the law of June, 1872, recites, "any obscene, vulgar or indecent book, pamphlet, picture, print." The well established law is, that under this statute only books, pamphlets, pictures and prints can be indicted, and anything that legally is not either of these is not within the meaning of the statute. Therefore, when the Beecher-Comstock Y. M. C. A. clique obtained our arrest and indictment under this statute, it was done without the shadow even of law, and District-Attorneys Noah Davis and Geo. Bliss must have known it when they drew the indictments.

Last week we reprinted from the *Telegram* an editorial setting forth the outrage that was perpetrated in the Kennedy case, who was arrested for sending a common vaginal syringe through the mail. Like ourselves he was denied a preliminary investigation, by a suddenly obtained indictment, against which practice the Commissioner rebelled as he had a right to do, but not so did Commissioner Osborn in our case, which was all prearranged by him and Rev. Farley, of Brooklyn, as we have good reason to believe.

Think of it, freemen of the United States! No person can sell or purchase a syringe of this kind without being in danger of a prosecution from these terribly fastidious Christian young men. They claim that they may be used to prevent pregnancy, and therefore that they are immoral, and in violation of the law of March 3d last, which says, "or any other article for immoral purposes or uses." But here they are as far from including syringes, because they are not specified, as they were newspapers, in the law of June, 1872, and further testing will no doubt teach these godly young men who have so high a regard for the morals of others, that it is to be feared they have no time to care for their own, that they will have to go to Congress again before they will be able to stop the sale of this last prohibited list of articles.

If legislation continue in the way it is now tending a few years longer, the common people will not dare to move from their homes without a passport from some of these Christian young men; and no editor will dare to publish a paper until the proof has first undergone the inspection of their obscene jackal, to test its obscenity or non-obscenity. The sanctity of the mails is already lost. This fellow, under the disguise of a "Special Agency," goes through the mails, and does with them as he thinks fit, it is said, even to the breaking of such as he imagines may contain something against the majesty of the law and the purity of society. If this course is not a disgrace upon the escutcheon of our country's honor and freedom, it will be hard to conjecture anything that would be. Will the people endure it patiently? Are they willing peaceably to admit that they are already subjugated by the Y. M. C. A.?

DESPOITISM IN LOVE.

In all the departments of life, as well as in the various divisions of individual life, the same conflict rages between despotism and freedom. When the Roman Emperor ruled the then known world, the nearest approach to the absolute power of one man over the world was represented. Since that time the progress in government has been from absolutism toward individualism, in this country, in theory at least, having reached almost as far as the individual.

What is true of the nations, politically, is no less true of the peoples, religiously. The Pope, as the one man power, ruled the world as the head of "the Church" still more despotically than did Cæsar as the head of the State; but the protests by Luther against this entire submerging of individual conscience by one has reached down to the present, when, as in government, in theory at least, the individual exercises his or her inherent right to freedom of thought. Yet not yet is every individual emancipated from slavery to a religious despotism, and become so much a man or a woman as to claim and exercise the right guaranteed by our institutions. Indeed, Popery still wields a powerful sway over a large number of so-called free persons, and the despots in Protestantism even, still enslave souls by the claim made to Divine right of position. The heaven of freedom is perhaps unconsciously, though nevertheless potently, at work liberating souls, and at so fearful a rate does it press its work that the despots already see their sceptre passing from them, and are making ready, through Godizing the Constitution, to obtain the means of a release of their falling power.

It is, however, a stranger phenomenon that so many persons who see so clearly the right to religious and political freedom do not also see that this right extends beyond what is relatively included in these departments, to embrace social freedom. In this department, as well as in

them, there is a despotism just as unnatural and unbearable, when realized, as is despotism in them. Indeed, it is the same principle at bottom. Despotism is all-sided, and so also is freedom; but the people are not large enough to discuss it at one and the same time on its whole application. But logically, freedom cannot be admitted to one department of life and denied to all other departments; nor can it be denied to one department of life and be admitted to all others, and a character for consistency be maintained. If freedom to the individual is a natural and inherent political and a natural religious right, it is equally so as a social right, and there is no escape from the position except by arbitrary means.

The despotism, then, that would enslave, indeed that does enslave, socially almost the whole of one half the civilized world, is none the less despicable and damnable than was political and religious despotism; but the victims of this slavery being mostly of that class which has not yet in practice been admitted to political sovereignty, are in no position or condition to enforce their social sovereignty; while the despots, having the whole political power, will not easily permit this sovereignty to become active in their slaves.

The despotism maintained over love, then, is the next one that shall be broken. Protests against its unrighteousness are already being made, quite as earnest and honest as were those of Luther in the Sixteenth century against the power of Rome over its subjects. War may have to be called into requisition, as in the French and American Revolutions, to secure sovereignty in the social department that inheres in the individual, equally as in the political and religious. It was said of many negroes during the war for their emancipation and the contests of words and pens that preceded it, that they were themselves opposed to the getting of freedom; but what woman who now says the same thing, being a social slave, bound by law to sexually serve her lord and master, and oftentimes submitting to his lash, if she refuse, will assume that it was anything but gross ignorance that prompted the slaves to a course so self-stultifying and altogether so unnatural. Nevertheless there are many apparently well informed, even pretentively enlightened women, who, with seeming equal honesty with the negroes, protest that they do not want sexual freedom. This strange class of persons offer as a reason that those who are contending for social freedom so contend in order to make a bad use of it when gained in accord with the desire that impels the Contentions; so said the slaves.

They considered the Garrisons, Douglasses and Pillsburys as their worst enemies and as the most demoniacal of men. So also do women who are afraid of freedom now consider the latter-day abolitionists as their worst enemies or as utterly demons; but as the heroes of the slave abolition are now the revered and honored, even by those who ignorantly denounced them so recently, so may the workers for abolition of sexual slavery reasonably expect that the future will do them justice.

The abolition of negro slavery did not prevent any negro from remaining with the master who wanted him or her to remain, it only made the negro legally free, permitting him to exercise his or her own choice in the matter. The gain thus was entirely on the side of the slave. So also will not the abolition of sexual slavery, compel the freed woman to leave her former master; but she will be at liberty to choose whether she will remain if her former master shall desire it. Thus, when this matter is analyzed and sifted, it is after all impossible to find where all the terrible badness is to come in when sexual slavery shall be fully abolished, and all the hue-and-cry and the "mad-dog" frenzy that now bellows forth from the ignorant slaves and their terrified masters, is the merest sensationalism pumped up in the minds of its subjects, having no foundation either in existing fact or in future prophecy. Be assured, then, all ye revilers of the advocates of sexual slavery, that the time will come when your names shall be as odious among women freed from the most degrading sexual servitude to their present masters, as are the name of those who pronouncedly opposed the abolition of negro slavery.

THE "HERALD" ON "CÆSARISM" IN THE U. S.

At last, that to which we have been endeavoring to wake the consciousness of the people, the fact that there is a well organized plan to remand this country to despotism, is becoming the subject of lengthy editorials in the columns of the paper which in some respects is the greatest of all newspapers in the world. It is difficult, however, from those that have appeared to determine whether the *Herald* opposes or favors the project. Perhaps in this as in most other things it follows Hudson's definition of modern journalism, commenting upon what is occurring in our midst, without indicating either favor or opposition. This is a most favorable and effective manner of advocating an unpopular movement. The *Herald* would scarcely dare to come out boldly for reviving Cæsarism in the person of Grant; but it can treat wisely of the proposition and thus accustom the ears of the people to the terms used, and to the results to follow, and thus uncommittedly really be its best exponent.

In our opinion this is what the recent outspoken editorials in the *Herald* mean. Indeed we are inclined to the belief that this has been the real meaning of the course of the *Herald* for a long time back, when during Gen. Grant's first term it was his steadfast ally, while continually criticizing his cabinet and proposing changes that never were

made. Through all things the *Herald* has stuck to Grant, and it seems like to continue to do so even to the Empire.

It is a generally conceded fact that Protestantism as a finality is a failure in the world. Leaving Catholicism, there is no legitimate, permanent halting-place until the opposite extreme is reached—that of individual freedom. Protestantism is the road over which people travel from Catholicism to Individualism, while ultimately all people will be obliged either to advance to Individualism or to retreat on Catholicism.

The same is true of our politics. The government represented by our country to-day is to politics what Protestantism is to religion. Having made a departure from absolute monarchy the people must advance to complete republicanism—individualism in politics—or retreat on absolutism. One of the two extremes only is possible as an ultimate condition, and the sort of government now existing here is therefore impossible as a permanency, and the people—some of them—begin to comprehend this fact. Those who openly advocate the true democratic government, favoring individuality in politics, and those who secretly favor a return to Cæsarism, believing in absolutism. And this is the battle that must next be fought in this country.

The magnates in politics, religion and finance, those who now virtually rule, see that the people are awaking to their natural rights as constituent members of the community, and they know right well that when once they are thoroughly comprehended, their sway will end. To crush this some movement must be made to stop the progress of these liberalizing, humanitarianizing ideas. It being impossible that existing things will continue, there is but one way, so they think, in which present potentates can still continue to remain potent in the affairs of the country, and that is, by a retreat on absolutism, for the time called Cæsarism; and this is what the secret organization to accomplish a third term for Grant, and ultimately a life term for him, means. A year ago we endeavored to foreshadow all this; but it is only recently that the movement has become sufficiently bold to put it pronouncedly before the people in the columns of great public journals like the *Herald*.

THEODORE PARKER VS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Since the question of Social Freedom was broadly launched upon the world for public discussion, various persons, through the medium of his *Banner of Light*, his organ, have endeavored to obtain the views of Theodore Parker regarding this momentous movement. Now, whether or not the *Banner* is to be regarded as his organ, and the ideas advanced therein as his ideas, we do not intend here and now to consider; but in the number of that paper bearing date 5th inst., there is a very remarkable, to say the least, communication, purporting to convey Mr. Parker's convictions of the subject of Social Freedom as advocated in the columns of the *WEEKLY*, which we do propose to consider here and now. For our part, we do not hold to anybody, in or out of the body, as authority. We only advocate that which appeals to our reason as truth, let its inspiration be, who or what it may, and if any other authority or person hold an opposite view, we are always ready to enter the lists as champion for our convictions of truth, as we now enter them to oppose what purports to be the convictions of Theodore Parker, for whom no one in the world entertains greater or more profound respect than ourselves.

The following is the question and answer from the *Banner of Light*:

Q.—If Mr. Parker entertains such sentiments as were uttered last Sunday upon Music Hall platform, how can he indorse Mrs. Woodhull, or regard her teachings with reference to Free Love other than dangerous in the extreme?

A.—I am not obliged to indorse all the utterances of Mrs. Woodhull, when I indorse her as a woman and indorse her mission. There is a great deal that has been uttered by Mrs. Woodhull that I have never indorsed; but with regard to this free-love sentiment, as put forth by her, or by those controlling her, as the case may be, I have this to say: I think she is greatly misunderstood, and the trouble is, she don't seek to make herself understood. She puts herself before the people in the most radical light. Well, I cannot say that this is entirely wrong, for the condition into which you, as a people, have drifted, may have need of just such a breaking-up plow to set you to thinking. If something had not been given you contrary to all your ideas of reason and right, would you have been roused from your lethargy? I think not. You would hardly have been ready to receive the lecture you so quietly received from Music Hall platform last Sunday afternoon. I there stated that there was no love free. I repeat it. It is a scientific fact. It can be physiologically proved; it can be morally proved, and divinely proved; there is no trouble about it. And when Mrs. Woodhull makes a statement to the contrary, what effect does it have upon you? Why, it rouses you into a thinking mood; and, therefore, I still declare her mission is a divine one. She throws the shadow, that others may show you the light. A Judas was just as necessary as a Jesus. It seems, from what I am able to learn, that there is a great misunderstanding with reference to my lecture of Sunday afternoon. I endeavored to make it very plain, as plain as possible, considering the short time I had in which to elaborate it. If I should have the privilege of taking up the subject again I will endeavor to clear it up, perhaps not to the satisfaction of all parties, but I will say to them as one of the professors said to the parent of a young lad who attended the same school with me during my boyhood. He came to the professor, finding fault because his boy had not made better progress in certain branches of study. The professor replied:

"My dear sir, I am very sorry for you and your son. I can set the examples before him, and illustrate them, and endeavor to make him understand them; but I cannot furnish him with what he is lacking in—brain to comprehend them." The great thing wanting with most people in this world, is brains and the cultivation of brains. If they would heed the advice given last Sunday, they would have more brains, and what they have would be better cultivated.

Feb. 18.

Here Mr. Parker is made to say that there is no such thing as free love; and substantially that freedom of any sort is a scientific impossibility. In the absolute sense, perhaps, there is no such thing as freedom; but if this be assumed it must also be at the same time assumed that there is no such thing as restraint of any kind. When freedom as opposed to restraint is considered, it is held in the same sense as heat in contradistinction to cold, good to evil, up to down, as opposite conditions of the same thing. As applied to human conditions, however, all these different conditions must be accepted and used relatively, and when freedom and restraint are treated of, they must be considered in the relations they sustain to each other. Theodore Parker would scarcely be justified in saying, it is to be sincerely doubted whether he would say, that there is no such thing as goodness; but he might as consistently say this, as to say there is no such thing as freedom for love. He might equally as well say there is no such thing as free thought, because all thought is the result of circumstances, which determine what it shall be. So also is love the result of circumstances that determine it.

If, however, a person should have a thought that God is a Spirit, and this thought should be the result of the operations of his own mind under the influences and conditions of his mental and moral structure, in connection with surrounding influence, it must be denominated free thought, because it is natural thought, produced by the natural operations of natural conditions; but if holding this thought an outside party or oligarchy should compel this person under the penalty of some suffering to declare that his idea of God is that of a personality, represented in iron or stone, that would be forced thought.

Now, the same argument applies to love. If a person under natural conditions and influences, and without any artificial influences whatever, love a person, that must be called free love, since there is no other term that so well represents the difference between it and the opposite condition of enforced love, a condition where a person when loving freely another person is by some external and artificial influence made to live as if he or she loved an entirely different person.

Now, to say that these conditions shall have no relative terms of distinction, and that these shall not be free and compulsory, and that too without offering any other and better relative terms, is an inconsistency and foolishness of which we do not believe the Theodore Parker, whom we know, would, under any circumstances, be guilty. Had he said that it must be simply love and hate, or love and indifference, we should take no issue with him; but to say that there is no such thing as free love and to offer no solution of the difficulty in which such an assertion leaves the matter, virtually remands the question from the field of discussion.

There is no other accepted name for the relations between the sexes but love. These which exist at the option of the parties interested may, until other and better terms are used, very properly be termed free love, and opposite conditions when the sexes are compelled by any influence whatever to pretend to love each other, may also very properly be called forced love. If, however, the adjectives be rejected, and the condition denominated love, where it exists, and hate, where it exists, we shall be relieved from a great embarrassment, since it might then be said of those who do not love, that they hate each other; and this would be equal to saying of the law that enforces marriages, that it compels people who hate each other to live in relations where love only should exist; and this would be a much more forcible method of statement, and withal much more distasteful to those who uphold that love. But Mr. Parker does not make any explanation or offer any solution for the difficulty in which acceptance of his proposition leaves the matter, hence it is competent to continue in the use of the accepted terms freedom and slavery for love, and people must continue to love those for whom they naturally, spontaneously feel the attraction between the sexes called love, and so long as laws, customs and institutions compel it, to live an enforced love with those for whom no such sentiment or attraction exists.

Freedom for love, then, means the right of the individual to the instincts that arise in him or her, under the various conditions and circumstances of life, without an enforced restraint from others who have no personal right to enforce it; and Free Love means the exercise of this natural right.

Now, under this rendition, will Mr. Parker please show us the shadows that we cast, in order "that others may show you the light." If freedom is not the light itself, will it be pretended that restraint, enforced by third parties who can have no power either to compel love or hate, is the light? We call this, shadows; and it will require more argument than has yet been offered by Mr. Parker, through his medium, the *Banner of Light*, to convince us to the contrary or to compel us to accept the "Judas" character to which we are so complacently assigned in the above answer.

It is justifiable, however, in us to say, that we have frequently held intercourse with a Spirit introduced to us as Theodore Parker, by our spirit teacher, and that he has not only assisted us in the understanding to which we have arrived of this great social problem, but has advanced ideas still farther on than any we have as yet comprehended sufficiently to put forth to the public. Indeed, we are now studying a department of this social problem, under the guidance of this spirit, which is still more startling in its propositions than any that have yet been made. Of course we have no means of proving that this spirit is Theodore Parker, but we believe him to be, and if he is, then Theodore Parker has been one of our teachers from whom we have received the "shadow," and our "Judas" character with which we are accredited in the Message Department of the *Banner of Light*.

We hope that all this matter may be thoroughly cleared up by future communications in the *Banner*, as suggested, and we assure Mr. Parker that we feel amply competent to maintain, so long as there is love, that there is such a thing as a natural freedom for love; and that love manifested under the restraints of the law is not Free Love, but more properly enforced lust. If, however, we are in error in this, we shall be extremely obliged to Mr. Parker and the *Banner* if through them we are set right.

THE PLATFORM OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY —TENTH PLANK.

"That the system of taxation should be graduated, direct and equal in all portions of the country, bearing lightly upon small accumulations, and ascending with the increase of individual wealth, until its demands should place a limit upon the accumulations of colossal fortunes, and thereby secure a more just and equitable distribution of the products of industry, termed wealth, among all classes."

As an alleviatory measure for the ills that come to the people by the unequal distribution of wealth, perhaps there is no single proposition of so potent a character, so just in its nature, and so generally and easily applicable in its action, as that of progressive taxation. Were this method of rendering industrial justice adopted, and were all other features of reform to remain in *statu quo*, it is probable that the desideratum of an equal distribution of wealth might be attained without resort being had to any more violent means. But the remedy is palliative merely, and not at all a cure, since at any time it should cease to be administered the disease would return.

Therefore, in seeking industrial justice through the redistribution of wealth, through progressive taxation, this fact should not be lost sight of, and efforts should also be made to secure a cure that should never require subsequent remedies. But as a transition method, it would be criminal not to resort to the gradual relief which this means affords rather than to permit the present status to prevail until violence shall seem the only resort.

The present methods of taxation make the burdens of government fall entirely upon the laboring classes—upon those who work from day to day for their sustenance. All other classes of people gradually increase their wealth, while the capitalists year by year increase their bank accounts and their bonds. It is true, a large part of the money used to maintain the expenses of the government is paid to its officials by this class; but they in turn receive it from the producers, who, as it was stated, accumulate nothing, while they who seem to bear the expenses, who pay the taxes into the treasury, continually grow richer. Hence it is evident that taxation as now administered is entirely borne by the producing classes; or, to state it in another way, the laboring classes produce enough to support themselves and pay taxes, besides leaving in the hands of their employers a yearly increase upon their capital.

It is too true, however, the true solution of the labor problem is so little understood by the masses, even of laborers, that they would be unwilling to adopt, or to have adopted, the radical measures it involves; while the increase of taxation as individual wealth increases is so clear and simple a problem it is probable that most of them will see its application at a glance, and gladly vote for its immediate adoption. In this view, then again it is a highly important method, because of its present availability and adaptability to the education and circumstances and to the understandings of the producing classes.

It may, however, be regarded as certain, that the execution of a law for progressive taxation would be persistently and bitterly opposed by the class having large wealth. It would in one sense be unequal taxation, which is not a democratic principle; but it must be remembered that the existence of caste, built upon different degrees of wealth, is also not a democratic condition, and consequently that the causes by which they came cannot be democratic. If aristocratic causes have introduced aristocratic conditions into a democratic government, a resort to the necessary measures to remedy them is surely justifiable, and could be enforced without any departure from the principles of the government as now administered.

This proposition, so far as we are aware, was first publicly announced in the WEEKLY of February 10, 1872, in the proposed Constitution for the United States of the World. The idea is claimed to have been originated by others; however, that is a matter of little importance, though with us it was original. In that place it is stated as follows:

"Congress shall have power to increase the rate of taxation on accumulations of wealth in excess of one hundred thousand dollars, in the following manner, to wit: If the tax on one hundred thousand dollars be one-half of one per cent., on over one hundred thousand dollars it shall be one per cent.; on over two hundred thousand dollars it shall be two per cent.; on over three hundred thousand dollars it shall be three per cent.; on over four hundred thousand dollars it shall be four per cent.; on over five hundred thousand dollars it shall be five per cent.; on over seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars it shall be ten per cent.; on over one million dollars it shall be fifteen per cent.; on over one million five hundred thousand dollars it shall be twenty per cent., and on over two million dollars it shall be twenty-five per cent.; and in the same proportions upon any basic rate other than one-half of one per cent. upon one hundred thousand dollars."

Supplementary to these provisions there might rightly be added a further one providing for the exemption from taxation of individuals having a certain amount of property—say ten thousand dollars—or a sum that would represent something near an equal distribution of the wealth of the country. This would make the entire taxation fall on wealth in excess of the individual quota, and still further advance the application of the principle of equality as belonging to the products of industry.

The principle upon which all democratic institutions are based is equality among the individuals embraced. Heretofore that principle has been held to apply only to certain things, meaning really the equality of each individual to appropriate whatever is possible of all other individuals' actual productions. At best, this is the result of the practice of the theory of equality in this country as applied to industry.

Now, if equality have any definite meaning at all, it must apply to all things. It must mean, besides the equality to live and breathe, the equality to the means by which life is sustained. It cannot mean that it is the right of one person to substantially enslave a dozen persons, and to live in luxurious ease from their labors. It must mean industrial equality as well as political and social equality, and though we have neither of these even, still the theory is more nearly exemplified in these departments than in that of industry. Equality in industry means nothing less than equal rights, equal opportunities and equal compensation for each and every individual, male and female, all over the world, and until this proposition is fully introduced, there can be no such thing as industrial justice in the world.

MR. BEECHER'S CARD.

Many anxious friends are asking, "What of the night?" Is the sun's rising soon coming so that the darkness shall be dispelled and all eyes see clearly the various shades and forms of nature, and they stand revealed before the world? To all these we reply: Possess your souls in patience. Everything will culminate as was intended by the movers in this matter, in their own good time. It cannot be reasonably expected that so momentous a question should settle itself in so short a time; indeed it would have been disastrous to the cause itself had it been suddenly disposed of. The real issue is not as most suppose, as to the truth or falsity of the charges, not "stories and rumors" that have been preferred against Mr. Beecher. The real question is as to the relative values to humanity of the new and the old social dispensations. It was only to subserve the great humanitarian interests of the world that the attack was made upon Christianity, and the rotten social fabric in the person of Henry Ward Beecher. Instead of having any personal reason for it, all the reasons of that character that we had would have prevented rather than urged it. Certainly we had no personal interest to subserve that could have induced us to accept the terrible ordeal through which we have been called to pass, and which in some form we were conscious would come to us. We can therefore, re-affirm that what we did was done purely and wholly to forward what to us is the greatest of all human causes—that of all-sided individual freedom; and repeating from the article of November 2, we believe that all the circumstances was a part of a well-prepared programme made by those who command "the armies in heaven," to effect a great advance in human welfare; and, therefore, that the parties involved bear to that welfare the same relations that certain parties have ever borne to every grand movement that was ever inaugurated in the world.

We are aware that, to those who believe in merit and demerit in human action and not in the absolute workings of cause and effect, it is a difficult thing to regard the movements by which civilization is evolved as other than the results of individual action and choice; and to them the great part Mr. Beecher is made to play in this social drama, is not considered an enviable one. A century will rectify such errors and place him where he would now stand if he had the wisdom to avail himself of the opportunity. In his efforts, however, to abort the part allotted him to perform he may succeed in planting upon his own head the very things he seeks to avert.

Had all this been something entirely of our own and set in operation solely for selfish personal purposes, we well might pause in the movement and think of retreat; but as we perform our part fully as much by virtue of an external power, as does Mr. Beecher himself, we know what the end

will be. Nor do we think any reasoning mind can differ from us when it will take the whole history of the matter and carefully review it with the view to judgment as to the future.

No one will pretend that the so-called scandal of November 2d did not fall like an unexpected thunderclap upon the ears of the great masses of the people. Perhaps not more than a thousand persons in the whole country had ever heard what they could consider reliable rumors even regarding it.

Suddenly it came to the minds of almost the whole world, and most of those who read the detailed statement were compelled from its character to accept it as true, to a greater or less extent. We had done our duty; performed the part allotted us; and after months of eager discussion *pro* and *con*, the matter seemed upon the point of passing from public notice, when as suddenly it was revived in more than its original force, with additional fury, by the acts of the parties involved, who one after another, to settle the matter finally as they thought, essayed to dispose of the whole question. Strange as it may seem, however, instead of disposing of it, the discussion upon each succeeding occasion become more and more general and personal, until it has now come to be something upon which public opinion is, to say the least, divided.

No reasonable person can consider carefully what has been said and written by the various involved parties since November 2d and not come deliberately to the conclusion that there must be some fire where there is so much smoke. Nor will even the majority of people place implicit confidence in the word of Mr. Beecher as against all other persons connected with this affair. Indeed, it would be a difficult matter to make any unprejudiced person believe there was no need that the famous covenant should be signed by Beecher, Bowen and Tilton, and that there was no need that Mr. Beecher should be compelled to resign the paper he persuaded Mrs. Tilton to sign, when sick beyond personal responsibility.

So we see that notwithstanding the efforts that have been made to smother this scandal, it burns clearer and brighter with each new effort. In a word, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down, and it will not until it shall have accomplished its mission fully. And this is not to decide if Mr. Beecher is better or worse than any other great and popular preacher, but if there is not a better order of socialism than that by which the people profess to live.

As we said last week we believe that Mr. Beecher's card will prove the very worst thing that has yet been done as a method of salvation from his own stand-point, and certainly that it will eventually damage him more than everything else that has been done. This was his own act, and as the world goes he must bear the responsibility, and the responsibility ultimately will be that, whether it was intended simply to deceive, or really to deny, it will add another to his already long list of so-called crimes. And for this reason we are heartily sorry that Mr. Beecher ever wrote that card. As to our own justification, *we know that it will come*; but we shall not attempt to force its coming. We can well afford to wait and patiently watch the progress of the grand movement.

In the meantime, however, we would say to the many churches: this is the beginning of the end to you all. It is not merely that our social conditions are rotten to the core that the great preacher had to stand exposed before the world, but that this rottenness was clothed about by a still further on decay in Christianity itself, in the death and burial of which the social conditions will purify themselves, and in the incoming order begin a new advance up the steep of the hill of progress, in which scenes of beauty, loveliness and holiness will come within the view of mortal eye, such as it hath not dreamed of before, or mortal heart conceived. Then will all who have figured or been made to figure in the inauguration of this revolution, see the fulfillment of the travail of their souls and be satisfied, and Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, the two prominent characters standing, though unwillingly now, representative of the new, be perhaps glorified.

Eight months only have fled into the past since the introductory scenes of the grand drama; but a mightier revolution in human thought than ever occurred in as many years has taken place. Where before this the great social question was confined to the consideration of the few, it now is broadly launched over the whole world, forming the chiefest topic of discussion. More, seemingly, could not have been accomplished. The whole range of the grandest and most prolific for weal or woe of the human subjects is fully opened up for discussion and analysis, and it is being thoroughly performed in almost every household. So the world moves rapidly onward.

SOMETHING NEW AND NOVEL—A COSMOPOLITAN INSTITUTION.

At 1,230 Broadway, Jerry R. Thomas, already of world-wide renown in his special department, has fitted up an elegant Museum and Gallery of Art, where a grand "re-opening" took place on Wednesday night last. Here the genial host was, Richard-like, himself again. His presence was ubiquitous. Everybody felt the influence of his smile and enjoyed the points of his merriment. Indeed is there but one Thomas, and his name is Jerry. His establishment has long been noted for the many excellent paintings, but

recently many valuable additions have been made, adding largely to its attractiveness. The caricatures of some of our public men contained among his selections are a source of constant amusement to everybody who views them, while the general appointments are in every way suggestive of pleasure and comfort, even of luxury. The culinary department is unexceptionable and unapproachable, and will long stand as the *ultima thule* of every epicurean's tastes, while his wines, liquors and cigars are the best that are made. In these last we do not believe as necessary to a high condition of spiritual development, but while they are indulged in it is better that the best and absolutely pure be used, and at Jerry Thomas' is where such can always be found. We are also informed that to-day, Thursday, the establishment will be thrown open, exclusively for ladies, and we have no doubt, from the many admirers whom Jerry has among the sex, that the magnificent apartments will be literally crowded by curiosity seekers and those who are looking out for the best places at which to satisfy their demands for food.

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR RENEWALS.

The photographs that we offered last week for all renewals made before August 1, are to be considered as belonging only to those who renew for a year. Some six months' renewals have been made under the impression that such are included. 'Tis true it was not stated that they were not, but such was the intent. We hope every person delinquent will hasten to avail himself of this opportunity, and that many whose subscriptions are not yet expired will also use this offer to obtain "one of the three," and thus to assist us over the dull summer months. We must have the aid of our friends during the entire year—up to January 1—when the WEEKLY will begin to work effectually for itself, all future labor will then be to spread and not to support it.

THE EXCHANGE DAIRY.

Country dairies imported into cities are becoming "the rage." At the south-west corner of Exchange place and Broad street any person who desires to know what a real farm-house is can learn. There the purest milk, and the richest cream, and the sweetest butter, the freshest berries and everything into which these enter as a component part, either in cooking or eating, are constantly to be obtained. The best evidence of the superiority of its appointments and articles is the crowded apartments. The denizens of Wall, Broad and New streets and Exchange place rush there *en masse* to quench their thirst on the delicious milk, or to stay their hunger on the equally delicious dishes. Undoubtedly the heretofore so-called fashionable eating houses, to which bankers and brokers have habitually resorted, suffer immensely from the near proximity of this new candidate for public favor. If one follow the crowd at "lunch time," in the money centre, he will land in the Exchange Dairy.

ANOTHER ATTEMPTED OUTRAGE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The government is endeavoring to vent its spleen upon every editor of a newspaper who dares to expose its outrages and shortcomings. Recently Charles A. Dana of the *Sun* has been receiving its attentions in the form of indictments for libel on persons residing outside the State of New York. Not content with obtaining two indictments, the authorities endeavored, by a "snap" judgment, to remove him to Washington for trial. No step is too outrageous for them to take. Constitutional obligations amount to nothing with them. Their malice rides triumphantly over the plainest principles of Constitutional law. When the motion was made to remove him to Washington, did the government official conveniently forget the provisions of Article VI. of Amendments to the Constitution, as follows:

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

How in the face of this provision could an official of the government make a motion to remove Mr. Dana from New York to the District of Columbia for trial?

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To such as have sent in criticisms upon the Social Problem, as presented in the columns of the WEEKLY, we say be patient; they will all have consideration in due time. We have been so thoroughly engrossed in other matters recently that we have been unable to give the necessary time to properly review them. We feel constrained to say this since word comes to us that some who have criticised us assume, because of the delay, that we have abandoned the controversy.

DR. TREAT'S EXPOSITION OF LOVE.

We take special pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the elegant oration of Dr. Treat, in another column of this number. It contains elaborations of some points upon which we have been prepared for some time to treat, but which our other engagements have prevented us from doing. Let every person who does not yet know whether he or she quite believes in freedom for love read

carefully this exposition, and then see if they will say they believe in enforced lust.

RECENTLY, in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, Mr. S. S. Jones preceeded to state his position upon the theory of social freedom. Next week we shall place that same position in contrast with some words of his own expressed some time ago, but before there was any active cause to arouse the peculiar constitutional characteristics of the gentleman—"Out of thine own mouth shalt thou be confounded," or, as Mrs. Wilcox's son would say, injured.

VOICES OF THE PEOPLE.

THE END NOT YET.

CONCORD, July, 1873.

Editor of the Weekly—The New York newspapers report you as acquitted on all the charges. How, now, are you to obtain damages for the most atrocious persecution inflicted on woman or man in two hundred years?

But I do not suppose the persecution is ended yet. Nor has woman even got sight of suffrage yet. Miss Anthony is ignominiously punished as a felon for honestly endeavoring to maintain her right of citizenship; and this very afternoon, in the New Hampshire Legislature, woman was denied the right to vote only in school affairs, which was all she asked, by a yea and nay vote of 69 to 223.

To me the wonder is that the liberal press (if we have any such beyond your own WEEKLY, bravest sheet now in the world) can be so serene when a conspiracy is already ripe to crush out not only woman's rights but all human rights, in the name of not republicanism even but of religion; of Christianity, most proscriptive and persecuting of all religions. It is not WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY whose life-blood is sought by the vampires of the Young Men's Christian Association, but all freedom of thought, and speech, and press, and action, especially on all questions of religion, morals, progress of every name and form. Your paper may be first on the list of doomed ones, but the *Index* is second, I am sure, as next in influence, particularly in the more learned circles and across the sea. For an Abbot loose among mankind is quite as dangerous as a Woodhull free. And the pens, tongues and influence of both must be arrested as soon as possible.

Spiritualism also must pass under the ban or save itself by timely surrender to the syren sisterhood of sects, as Unitarianism and Universalism are making haste to do, sending their most eminent men and doctors of divinity to assist the Protestant Evangelical Jesuits, Young Men's Christian Association and others to hoist their God, Christ and the Bible, as an awful nightmare, on to the breast of the Constitution of the United States. Almost the whole press seems paralyzed—literary, religious, political, pictorial, and even reform presents a most alarming instance of "suspended animation." I would rather have the old Boston *Liberator* as it was when I first made its acquaintance, more than thirty years ago, than all the newspapers I now see, your own gallant sheet only excepted. To-day

"One blast upon its bugle horn,
Were worth ten million men."

But its brave voice was long ago hushed, though surely never more needed than at the present fearful hour.

I trust your subscription list constantly and greatly increases. I saw your paper last week on a number of new counters and news-stands in Boston, where it was never sold nor seen before. May it ever be as eminent for truth, integrity, purity and charity as it is and ever has been for noble bravery and lofty heroism. So may it become and be as "the tree of life" in the groves of Paradise, "whose leaves are for the healing of the nations."

Your friend and fellow-laborer in all good works,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

PHILADELPHIA, June 29, 1873.

Mrs. Woodhull and Claflin—I have read your WEEKLY for some time. At first I did so because of the "hue and cry" raised against it on account of its supposed obscenity. I felt a curiosity to know in what particular it was obscene. After reading it for some time, studying it *pro* and *con*, I must say I have come to the conclusion that it is obscene, inasmuch as it handles, and that, too, without gloves, one of the dirtiest and most loathsome ulcers of the upper tendon. It fearlessly strikes at the top and bottom, back and front right and left of that reeking, seething cesspool of corruption, Henry Ward Beecher and his church; for his church is no better than himself. We could expect nothing but something at the least disagreeable to both ear and eye in the exposure of such a hot-bed of licentiousness as that "harem" over which Henry Ward Beecher presides. The effluvia arising from it reaches from earth to heaven and makes angels weep, then down to hell (if there is such a place) and makes fiends rejoice; spreads from pole to pole, causing the true and honest followers of the lowly Nazarene to go staggering and gasping to get a breath of pure air in such a stifling atmosphere of infamy and deception as steams forth from Beecher and his church.

I would ask the "yelping hounds" upon your track, if your paper is obscene, whose acts make it so? Not yours, I take it, as it is not of yourself you speak, but of the acts and conduct of a pastor and his church that heretofore have been held up as a pillar of light to the Christian world. If to publish and lay bare before the world such baseness and deception makes a newspaper obscene, but few papers to-day are exempt and clear of obscenity. And then if it make a newspaper obscene, what do the facts make of Beecher and his church, whose acts call forth such publication? Ought it not to brand contaminer and harlot in blazing letters, so they that run may read, upon the foreheads of the members and minister of such a church? It is true, to publish such conduct as ninety and nine out of every hundred

believe Henry Ward Beecher is guilty of, would make any paper obscene.

But is it the papers' or the editors' fault? Are not editors bound by every sense of honor to lay before the public, truthfully, things as they find them, or be false to themselves and their trust?

Who does our laws hold responsible for murder—the man who commits the deed or the one who tells of it? Only when the charges are proved false are libelers condemned.

Yours,

AGATHA.

D. W. HULL is speaking in Jackson, Mich., during July.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

[From the Cincinnati Gazette, July 7.]

THE TILTON-BEECHER-BOWEN SCANDAL.

VIEWS OF THE HON. RICHARD SMITH OF CINCINNATI.

Henry Ward Beecher has lately addressed a letter to the editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, stating that he had heard that an application has been made to Mrs. Victoria Woodhull for letters of his supposed to contain certain information respecting certain infamous stories against him; therefore he states that Mrs. Woodhull, or any other person having letters of his, has his cordial consent to publish them. He also adds: "The stories and rumors which have for some time past been circulated about me are grossly untrue, and I stamp them, in general and in particular, as utterly false."

Between Mr. Beecher, Mr. Henry C. Bowen and Mr. Theodore Tilton, there is a pest of vileness which needs to be exposed in order to clear the innocent and convict the guilty. The long silence of these parties has been unwise for the innocent. At the last they are forced to speak. And it is another piece of ill fortune that this comprehensive denial should be made not till the effort to crush Mrs. Woodhull by a criminal suit which would save any trial of the slander had failed.

In Mrs. Woodhull's highly wrought romance of Henry Ward Beecher's licentious life there was a story of his having been almost persuaded to pronounce for her doctrine of the relations of men and women, whatever that may be, being convincing in his own mind of its truth, and hesitating to declare it only because of fear of the social consequences; and that at her request, and urged by Theodore Tilton, Mr. Beecher, after much reluctance, agreed to preside at Mrs. Woodhull's meeting at the Academy of Music, and to present her to the audience, but that at the last moment he failed to appear, for which reason Theodore Tilton took his place and presided at the meeting. We are not aware that it has been reported that Mrs. Woodhull had received any letter from Mr. Beecher, save in regard to this. Some one who speaks as his friend has published that a letter declining to preside at this meeting is the only one he ever wrote Mrs. Woodhull.

There has been among these parties much handling of pitch, and defilement therewith. Mrs. Woodhull's romance told of Mr. Beecher's violation of the marital rights of Theodore Tilton, and of Tilton's thoughts of vengeance therefor, until he was persuaded to be true to the doctrine of Free Love, whatever that may be, which he had freely accepted. Upon that conviction a calm came upon his troubled spirit, and he became reconciled to Mr. Beecher, and he invited him to console the stricken wife if he could. There might be sufficient reason why such a man as Mr. Beecher might decline to notice so incredible a calumny, coming from such a source as Mrs. Woodhull. But Theodore Tilton was made a party to it, and he was debarred from such a plea as to the source; for he had written Mrs. Woodhull's biography, and had written her up a pure and inspired woman. The public looked for a denial from Theodore Tilton, but he spoke not.

Meanwhile the woman, whose real offense was most flagrant slander, for which the laws of New York would afford summary and severe redress against such a friendless person, was being persecuted by the most arbitrary and criminal proceedings, under color of the law against sending obscene books and prints through the mails. These were instigated by a Mr. Challis, a person of wealth, who, in the same number of the Woodhull journal, had been charged specifically with lewd conduct. She and her assistants were arrested, and, as such friendless persons could get no bail, were cast into prison. Their paper was seized. George Train, who justified their publication against the charge of obscenity, was thrown into prison. The influences behind the administration of the criminal law made it so severe that there was a promise that Woodhull and her journal would be crushed by it, and that thus she would be disposed of without bringing Challis' slander suit to trial.

It is one of the bad-looking features of this unlucky affair that the dealing with the slander itself awaited the attempt to crush Mrs. Woodhull by an abuse of the criminal law. In the monstrous story against Mr. Beecher, Tilton and Bowen were made parties, and it was generally thought that they should speak at once. As to the slander upon Challis, it was so specific and flagrant that the law of libel offered him fair redress.

At length, near a month ago, the public was surprised by the publication of a most singular tripartite covenant, made by Beecher, Tilton and Bowen, April 2, 1872. It appeared by this that Bowen and Tilton had circulated reports against Mr. Beecher's moral character, and that there had been complaints, suspicions and causes of estrangement, and the three agreed to wipe out the past. This may have been a pure Christian covenant on all sides. It may have been penitence on all sides. It may have been a profession of penitence on the part of two, and an act of Christlike forgiveness on the other. The difficulty is, no one knows what to make of it. In its best view, it was a thing to do, but not to put into a written covenant. The writing could be of no use save to show, and the showing would subject it to misconstruction and destroy its virtue.

The smart person who sent this covenant to a newspaper to publish sent with it a letter from Tilton to Bowen, referred to in the covenant, repeating the reports against Beecher, which the editor said he would not publish, both because of its indecency, and because he would not give currency to what he believed to be filthy slanders upon the character of Mr. Beecher. The reason alleged for publishing this covenant is that Bowen has said that he has never retracted the charges he made against Beecher, and, therefore, the keeper of this covenant says it is time these slanders were stopped, and he has made this start to stop them.

And now, Mr. Beecher's permission to Mrs. Woodhull to publish, and his comprehensive denial, are drawn out by a report that Bowen called on Woodhull to procure any letters she might have from Beecher criminating him.

Surely there is a foul pool here, and it is time it were cleared up. Either these three persons have been living in a sink of moral pollution while keeping up a pretence of high Christian character and exercising the office of Christian teachers, or two of them have been guilty of pouring forth a stream of filthy slander upon the other, which he has suffered with most wonderful forbearance. The matter can no longer be kept silent. That which has come to light makes it incredible that all of these parties can be innocent. The innocent is now suffering with the guilty. Forbearance is no longer a virtue. It is time that the innocent were relieved from this bondage with corruption, and that the guilty were brought to the bar of public opinion.—*N. Y. Sun.*

[From the Brooklyn Sunday Press, July 6, 1873.]

THE BEECHER SCANDAL.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has succumbed to the compulsion; he has spoken; but even in doing it, he vindicates all as to his holding himself not amenable, for he would not have spoken if he had not been absolutely forced; and his very words, with an effrontery infinite, ignore and mock all amenableness. "In this connection, and at this time, I will only add," as if it happened to occur to him, and he would incidentally mention it as a thing of no consequence! It out-Herods everything before in the history of mankind!

No, he did not mean to respond, and would not have done it if Comstock had not fallen through. If Mrs. Woodhull had been convicted and her WEEKLY suppressed, he would have gone on scorning the people's call on him to speak, as he had done before. Even the investigation in Plymouth Church would not have opened his mouth yet, and with Mrs. Woodhull forever silenced, perhaps that would soon have been hushed.

But he has not dared to say that word "No" now, and he has not said it. He does not say that the charges against him are false, nor anything that need to mean that. He hides himself behind talk about "stories and rumors," which he "stamps as utterly false," and then the colloquy is this: "Yes, Mr. Beecher, you can say I stamp them false, but say in that one word that they are false," and Mr. Beecher does not respond. So he has not satisfied the public, for he has not replied to it. Not till he writes or utters, "The charges against me are false;" will he say anything.

But he is never going to say no—he dare not! By this time he sees that everything is coming out, that it has got to, and then if he says no, he will speedily be proved a liar; and he won't relish seeing it in every newspaper in the land, that Henry Ward Beecher is a liar!

After the fact of the sexual relations is proved, Mr. Beecher could laugh at anybody who should claim that in his card he had denied it, and therefore was a liar; he could say: "You must be green to think that card asserted any such thing." He is not going to deny the sexual relations. He'll deny committing adultery, and fool as many as cannot see that he thinks, because it was love, it was not adultery.

And why did Mr. Beecher sign that "covenant" with Tilton and Bowen, but because both those men knew too much? And then he will not go on and deny what would compel either of them to bring him out in that lie.

And the canting *Eagle* prostituting itself to say of such a shameless impostor and hypocrite, "A man who has worn his life on his sleeve asks his accusers to step to the front." And that, too, when the same paper had pursued Mr. Beecher in this very matter, even to setting up the scandal once and again for its columns. Herod and Pilate at last shaking hands!

JOSEPH TREAT, M. D.

[From the Brooklyn Sunday Press, July 6, 1873.]

MR. BEECHER'S LETTER.

The Brooklyn *Eagle*, which has long and openly been an adversary of Beecher, not only in the field of politics, but as well in religious controversy, has been adopted by Beecher as an organ of personal defense; that is, Beecher, apparently indifferent to the vehement demands of the press of the country when a simple denial would have somewhat availed him, now deliberately and with shrewdness selects the *Eagle* as the instrument whereby he can present his first defense to his prosecutors.

There is nothing very inconsistent in this. It is indeed a fresh proof of Mr. Beecher's inconsistency and adroitness. Just as he attempted to bind Mr. Bowen and Mr. Tilton by the strong ligaments of their consenting signatures, and the less tenacious ties of smooth verbiage. So Mr. Beecher has stopped the only daily newspaper in his own city from continuing its assaults upon himself, by boldly throwing himself on the mercy of that newspaper. And to show how analogous are the two covenants—the covenants between Beecher, Bowen and Tilton, and the covenant between the *Eagle* and Beecher, it is only necessary to point out the gross selfishness of either compact. We have already indicated the pecuniary and other conditions which environed the first. Let us see how some of these conditions are repeated in the second with all their original insincerity.

The *Eagle* was at its last extremity, and the *Union* had it by the throat in a desperate struggle, when, more careless than it now pretends to be of Beecher's credit, it boldly copied Tilton's incriminatory letter from the *Sunday Press* as the basis of an indictment for perjury and treachery against Mr. Bowen. The *Eagle* never troubled itself to consider how far the train was laid, nor the extent of the explosion certain to ensue. All it wanted was to "get square" with the *Union*, at Beecher's expense, if that were necessary. Revenge and a diversion of the pursuit at all hazards, even though that diversion be Beecher's destruction. Boldly assuming, therefore, that Beecher had been guilty of the rank offenses with which he stands charged, and of which we promise he shall in proper time be convicted, the *Eagle* rang the charges, not on Bowen's promise to condone Beecher's crime (for the *Eagle* is not so morally nice), but on Bowen's alleged violation of that promise. In other words, accepting the theory of Beecher's guilt, the *Eagle* did not arraign Bowen for calling that guilt innocence, as he did in the covenant, but for his alleged recantation in afterward admitting that what he had promised to recognize as innocence was, in point of fact, the blackest guilt. The cry of the *Eagle* was as the cry of Fagin: one of the victims of a criminal had consented to compromise the

crime, but had eventually "informed." Bowen's villainy consisted in "squealing," not in signing the covenant. And because, as the *Eagle* alleged, Bowen had not kept his word to hide Beecher's deformities, Bowen and the *Union* were to be driven from Brooklyn, and Beecher was to remain under the contemptuous protection of the *Eagle*.

But did Bowen break his ill-judged promise to enter into a covenant of peace with Beecher, and that purchasable article of office furniture, Theodore Tilton? Did Bowen ever vent his mortification at being entrapped by such a wily reprobate as Beecher, and such a cowardly scoundrel as Tilton, in a repetition of the charges against Beecher to the long list of which the wretched Tilton had contributed the most loathsome personal specifications? Did Bowen ever "turn informer?"

Not once. To this day, while the air has been full of shameful slanders against him, while Beecher and Tilton have been working through their agents, to achieve his ruin and his overthrow, this stern old man, true to his word, amid all his offenses, is as silent as the grave in which Beecher and his sexual lieutenant would fain bury the offspring of their joint crimes. Bowen kept his word, and it was after the two rogues had discovered the tenacity of his purpose that they set to work to destroy him by his own faithfulness to a vain and infamous promise. Bowen was the party to the covenant whom Beecher and Tilton dreaded. Bowen was the witness whose testimony in the future they desired to paralyze. Bowen was the victim whom they, accomplices, desired to stifle forever. And when their latest associate, the *Eagle*, attempted to divert Bowen's pursuit of itself by publishing Tilton's foul letter of blackmail to Bowen, and quoting it as a proof of Bowen's vileness, it was the critical opportunity for Beecher and Tilton to assist in Bowen's ruin, by giving to the world, as one of their emissaries did to the *Eagle*, that unutterably despicable "covenant."

Let us formulate the conspiracy:

Beecher, the ravisher and adulterer. }
Tilton, the cuckold and sycophant. }

The *Eagle* hard and fast in the grip of }
the *Union*, and sorely in need of aid }
from whatever source. }

Versus Bowen.

The programme of the conspiracy was this:

1. The publication of the "covenant," regardless of the quasi confession of guilt it contained, because that confession should be afterward neutralized, at a proper crisis, by Beecher's denial. The publication of the "covenant," intending to show only Bowen's one time compromise of Beecher's crimes against his family, and the sordid Tilton's venal acceptance of cuckoldry.
2. The publication of the "covenant" to be effected by a strange genius brimming over at an early stage of the conspiracy with alternate blubberings and maledictions.
3. The repression of the *Eagle's* instinct to devour these rotten vitals of Tilton and Beecher, temporarily open to the day, and the assistance of the *Eagle*, gladly rendered against Bowen, to take the form of execration on his alleged infidelity to the covenant.
4. A public conjugation of Beecher and Tilton—the self-asserted cuckold, strained to the breast himself had called adulterous, so that these twin "stirpiculturists" should be as closely mated, by apparent affection, in public as they are conjoined by mutual detestability in private.
5. An examination into the risks of a direct challenge to investigate.
6. If safe, a false announcement of an investigation.
7. The estoppel of such an investigation, on its very threshold, by that *dernier resort* of the scoundrel pair—a blank denial by Beecher and a muddy apology for his delay, in the *Eagle*.
8. No further action to be taken, no investigation to be allowed, no suit for libel to be brought, a philosophic endurance of the storm until such time as the storm shall blow over, all incriminatory letters to be pronounced forgeries, and a final tableau of Beecher and Tilton conjugated, and mutually bespoused, chuckling alternately in the sacramental cup, while the *Eagle* shrieks "victory" overhead, to be exhibited with infinite pomp in the Plymouth moral conservatory.

Each "feature" has been carefully disposed of down to the denial—that slender stratagem which should obviate any such "investigation" as that the *Eagle* was doltish enough to announce, being but slightly in the confidence of its present allies, and which the *Sunday Press*, knowing the rascally prospectus, dared Beecher's henchmen to commence. The denial which had been kept back for the reasons we have specified, popped out at the critical moment, and forthwith the "investigation" died in its birth.

Here is the trumpeted "denial:"

To the Editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle*—In a long and active life in Brooklyn, it has rarely happened that the *Eagle* and myself have been in accord on questions of common concern to our fellow-citizens. I am for this reason impelled to acknowledge the unsolicited confidence and regard of which the columns of the *Eagle* of late bear testimony. I have just returned to the city to learn that application has been made to Mrs. Victoria Woodhull for letters of mine supposed to contain information respecting certain infamous stories against me. I have no objection to have the *Eagle* state in any way it deems fit, that Mrs. Woodhull, or any other person or persons who have letters of mine in their possession, have my cordial consent to publish them. In this connection, and at this time, I will only add that the stories and rumors which have for some time past been circulated about me, are grossly untrue, and I stamp them in general and in particular as utterly false.

Respectfully,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

We will spare our readers the preparatory bewilderment with which the *Eagle* adroitly prefaced and followed this letter. It must have been a strong mind that, after tangling itself in the mazes of that editorial, survived to comprehend the fly that was cased in so much amber. The "denial" itself is as absurd and as false as the "covenant." Beecher, dumb while being posted as an adulterer in every township in the United States, wakes to speech when Mrs. Woodhull and her letters are touched upon, and, deeming these the only evidence against him, simultaneously gives his "cordial consent" to their publication, and stamps the stories about him as "grossly untrue." That is, he makes the publication of the letters criterion of his innocence or guilt. We are content Mr. Beecher has not read all his adversary's cards.

Mr. West, one of the most zealous and enthusiastic of

Beecher's friends, on Monday last, called at this office and assured us that an investigation will be held into the matter despite of Beecher's denial. We challenge this investigation. We are ready to corroborate Mr. Bowen's testimony when Mr. Bowen shall have been on the stand. Let Mr. Bowen be impeached, as Mr. West promises he shall. Let Beecher, instead of "giving his cordial consent" to the publication of the Woodhull correspondence, insist on an examination into his own career. Let Bowen and Beecher charge and counter-charge, and we will support the truth in an open inquiry. But to any secret examination, to any abortion of evidence, to any ecclesiastical feticide we shall lend no aid. Let Beecher or Tilton try their hands on a suit for defamation of character. In this we are also ready.

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 REFERENDUM;

OR, TRUE VERSUS FALSE DEMOCRACY.

A Proposition to place the "Sovereign Power over the Laws" directly in the Hands of the "Whole People," where it rightfully belongs.

This will convert our present aristocratic form of Republic, where the people vote for men only, into a truly democratic Republic, where the people vote for, and also veto, not only "men, but measures." And the voice of the people made the highest tribunal and last appeal in all matters of importance becomes literally the voice of God.

If this plan of conducting the government by "printing instead of speaking" be too far advanced for the civilization of the present age, the plan could yet be applied to our present form of legislature, as legislators could still be employed instead of the printing press to draft the laws previous to their being submitted to the vote or veto of the people, exactly as committees at public meetings are now employed to draft resolutions and prepare measures for the meeting, always, however, to be submitted to the examination, acceptance, or rejection of the meeting at large, the people using legislators for convenience sake, but retaining the sovereign power of final decision on the laws in their own hands.

This process would so simplify the machinery of government that one-half our present number of representatives could be dispensed with; for as the power would then be all with the people, and little or none left with the legislators, the "House of Representatives" would be quite sufficient for all necessary purposes, and our present "Senate," which is but a restraining check upon the undue power of the Representatives, could be entirely abolished, as the people could perform that office for themselves.

This would greatly simplify and economize the process of government, and throw all the responsibility and consequences of good or bad government directly upon the people, making them alone answerable for enlightened, just and universal laws, or benighted, unjust and oppressive ones. And, as it would be impossible to bribe, corrupt and debase the whole American people *en masse*, though found easy enough to do in the case of individual legislators, it is believed that the dire evils of our present imperfect aristocratic form of republic would be in a great degree corrected, and the people soon become an enlightened democracy, instead of being a benighted one as heretofore.

Also, if this system should be adopted, the appointing power, one of the greatest evils of our present system, might be taken away from the President and State governors, and given to the people, who should themselves directly elect for a given time, or during good behavior, all officers, from the President and governors down to the lowest government officers.

The executive department of government would then be confined to the execution of the laws, but have nothing whatever to do with making them, when the President would become simply the "Chief of the National or United States police," and the governors, or State presidents, the captains of the separate State police for carrying out the behests of the sovereign people.

CORA A. SYME.

A PART OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Victoria—The subjoined is a copy of a letter rejected by the New York Herald, which you will please publish in the columns of the journal which alone dare speak of things as they exist.

Yours for truth,

JOSEPHINE GIFFORD.

In the Sunday Democrat of the 22d we find an article, headed, "The Working Girls of New York," in which occurs the following paragraph: "It is not surprising that, now and then, one of these girls is enticed and pushed across the line of virtue. The wonder is that so many keep themselves above reproach, and bloom and fade, like lilies in a pool, pure in the midst of corruption as the heaven that bends serene above their heads while they labor and over their graves when they sleep. It is for this class that we make a most earnest appeal."

Well, all that sounds very nice, and the entire article, so far as it goes, is a good one; but why not make an appeal even for her who has been "enticed and pushed across the line of virtue?" Why leave her to survive or perish as best she may? Why not comprehend the whole class of hard-working, homeless, weary girls in this "appeal?"

Because some loitering, despondent, hungry girl sells herself to some creature calling himself a man, in order to obtain a few of the decencies of life, must she be cast out of the catalogue as one deserving of no sympathy, no assistance, no "appeal?"

God knows the life of any of these girls is miserable enough, but is the life of her who sacrifices her finest and

tenderest feelings to the demon Necessity an enjoyable or comfortable one, and needs she no champion?"

Men, receiving twice as much as women for the same amount and quality of labor, write humanitarian articles on the condition of girls who have not been "pushed across the line of virtue," utterly ignoring her who has, and think they are the most philanthropic of individuals.

Let me put a question to these humanitarian gentlemen. Let me ask them how long they would go hungry, poorly clothed, homeless, if they were able to sell themselves? Stinging reply may be found by glancing at the daily newspaper records of men who, in comfort and comparative ease, barter their honor for increased wealth, position and power. Out upon the philanthropy of most of the present-day philanthropists! It is a libel on humanity.

If the dominant class, the men, will underpay and overwork women, what can the world expect but that these same miserable women will sell themselves for a price? and, being "pushed" into the vortex, are they blamable?

Six dollars per week for the commonest kind of board and lodging, and six dollars per week salary!

From whence come clothes and numberless incidental expenses? Whence, I say? Know you not, oh, long-faced, sanctimonious Christian (?) world, building your proud synagogues in which to worship the Christ who ate with publicans and sinners, erecting your unnumbered charitable institutions for the "respectable" poor—know you not it comes from the traffic of women in what you call virtue? You merchants, ministers, bankers, brokers, with your thousands of dollars on subscription lists for charitable purposes, why not divide up this money and add it to the salaries of these poor working girls, and save them from the "sin" which excites in godly breasts so much commiseration!

Better prevent the increase of outcasts and criminals than to build houses of punishment and refuge.

Set women free from necessity—set girls free from want (and I do not use the term "want" as applying merely to physical necessity, but to the hunger and nakedness of the soul as well,) and behold a regeneration of womankind, and thereby mankind!

Shame on the thinkers and writers and speakers who dare not touch a subject which lies at the foundation of all Christianity as taught by the gentle Nazarene eighteen hundred years ago.

Let us have justice for all, or there cometh a revolution which will shake the nations to their foundations.

NEW YORK, June 30, 1873.

To Jesse B. Beune, John Mills, Isaac Rehn and other Members of Section 26, I. W. A. of Philadelphia:

Ladies and Gentlemen—After having seen the decided defeat of every kind of organization which subordinates some persons to other persons through the interpretation of verbal formulas, I have for forty-five years persistently refrained from joining any organization whatever; but having just read your wise, simple and deep-reaching programme, I see that it is exempt from this fatal defect, and I wish to express my hearty sympathy with you and my readiness and desire to work with you according to my best judgment.

I should rather prefer to see the words after the word "world" (in your 2d article or section) omitted, as I don't think that you wish, any more than I do, to have it understood that we aim at subordinating capital to labor any more than we do the enslaving of labor by capital.

I should also be glad to see the word reputation inserted after the word "property" in the first section of our Declaration.

One other little item. Your programme, in my view, is so entirely superior to that which has heretofore borne the same name, I should think a change of name almost a necessity.

With much sympathy and respect, yours,

JOSIAH WARREN,

Princeton, Mass.

Friend Milo A. Townsend in his very admirable letter to Mrs. Woodhull, among many truths, utters this most important one: "Before we can hope for any great change for the better, the whole structure of society and the present plans of doing business, which engender antagonism and venality, must cease."

But, alas! does our good friend Townsend any more than our great and grand friend Geo. Francis Train point out any practicable remedy for the awful "venality" of the present age? The venerable Lewis Tappan, a true lover of mankind, and one who manifested that love by its truest test, the willingness to suffer for it, a few years before his death published a book with the title "Is it Right to be Rich?" and in that book he very clearly proved that it was "not right to be too rich."

But did he point out a true remedy for the greatest evil of the times, the concentration of wealth in a few hands.

The evils that most afflict society it is in the power of society to remedy by means at once peaceful, equitable and benign; remedies that will relieve the poor from galling oppressions and make the rich man virtuous and happy.

And what are those remedies; what are those simple and just and safe changes that you, oh wise and unknown friend of man, would propose? And suppose in irony you, Mrs. Woodhull, who are struggling for woman's rights, shall put this question to one so humble and unknown as your present anonymous correspondent, is that a good reason for my not answering it? Certainly not. And therefore I tell you in all the confidence implied in writing a letter to a newspaper, that equitable and progressive taxation put upon the surplus wealth of the country and entire exemption from all taxes on property necessary for the proper support and education of a citizen's family, will, with universal suffrage, suffice to save it without a bloody war, now so imminent between the rich and the poor—those evils which friend Townsend deplores. And to this I will only add, that when your great paper (and that is not said in irony, because its objects and the

heroism which pursues them make it great), that advocates the radical's remedy of equitable taxation on surplus wealth, and on it alone, your paper will soon be as great in influence and popularity as it now is in its advocacy of only a few truths, great as they may be.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN—WHAT THOSE WORDS MEAN.

Government is the assertion of ownership. The assertion of the will of the owner as the law of the owned; that law must be the will either—

- 1st. Of the people governed; or,
- 2d. Of somebody else; an individual, or a body of individuals.

If the body of individuals be the people governed, then the people could be said, to own themselves, to be free. There is no such people. All governments, are of the second kind; the government of the people by somebody else.

"There seems to be but two general kinds of government in the world; the one exercised according to the arbitrary commands and will of some single person, and the other according to certain laws introduced, by agreement, and not to be changed without the consent of many."—Temple.

It is evident that these two governments of Temple are both, of the second kind, with which we started: The government of the people by somebody else; an individual, or a body of individuals. These two governments are again described in the quotation following:

"In all tyrannical governments, the supreme magistracy, or the right of both making and enforcing the laws, is vested in one and the same man, or one and the same body of men, and wherever these two powers are united together, there can be no public liberty. The magistrate may enact tyrannical laws and execute them in a tyrannical manner, since he is possessed in quality of dispenser of justice, with all the power which he, as legislator, thinks proper to give himself."—Blackstone.

These governments of the people by somebody else, an individual or a body of individuals; are both in principle the government of a king.

King.—An individual invested with absolute power as governor of a people. Kings are known by different names, as Sultan, Czar, Emperor, King, President, or plain governor.

Kingdom.—The government of a king. Kingdoms, as kings, are known by different names, as empire, dominions, plain government.

Prerogative-royal.—That is, individual will; bestiality.

A kingdom is the government of a king. The principle of the government is, that the king is the sole proprietor of the land of the kingdom, and all things on it and in it, all vegetation on it, all animals—man and beast—on it, all minerals, coal, etc., in it. As he owns the land he owns all waters on the land and all things therein, fish, etc. As he owns the land and all things thereon and therein, all vegetation thereon, all animals thereon—man and beast alike—so he owns all produce of the labor of man and beast, all buildings, goods, wares, merchandise, all houses and furniture, raiment and food.

This right of the king to the land of the kingdom and everything on it and in it, animate and inanimate, to take it when and where he pleases, to use it as he pleases, is known as the prerogative-royal. Let us now examine what, in detail, this prerogative-royal means:

1st. The king is the source of all judicial power in the kingdom, chief of all tribunals; the judges are but his substitutes, the officers of the law his subordinates. All judgments are his judgments, given in his name, sealed with his seal, and they can be enforced only by him through his subordinates the officers of the law. So without the king—without his substitutes the judges, without his subordinates, the officers of the law, law cannot be enforced.

2d. The king is the sole proprietor of the kingdom; he owns all real and personal property therein. The so-called property of the subject being but the property of the king in the hands of his servant the subject, at the will of the king and by him to be retaken when and as he pleases.

If the king in person take, he must not be stopped or interfered with; for to lay hands on the person of the king is treason, death. That the person of the king is sacred and inviolable is an axiom of the law of a kingdom. If another take by order of the king, that other becomes by such order the officer of the law, for the king is the law; and to stop or interfere with the officer of the law is a crime. The king or his officer cannot be stopped or interfered with legally, for all the legal force of the kingdom must obey the king alone; the king or his officers cannot be held to account legally, for the king is the law.

3d. The king has over the person of the subject, the right of an owner over a slave or beast; and more, the law does not permit the owner of a slave to kill him or cruelly use him; nor the owner of a beast to cruelly use him (though he may kill him); but the king can kill, maim, outrage or imprison the subject at will, and the subject is helpless; for, as we have seen, the king cannot be stopped nor held to account.

The relation of owner and beast best illustrates the relation of king and subject in a kingdom, as to those acts, which, when committed by a subject, the law denominates crimes; for the king cannot commit a crime. It is an axiom of the law of a kingdom that the king can do no wrong.

Suppose beasts, with understanding and speech, to state their case. If a beast be injured he can do nothing about it (legally), for a beast has no rights or standing in a court of

law—there he can be recognized or considered but as the property of his owner.

His owner can maintain his action for the injury and compel satisfaction to himself, or he can forego the claim altogether. But it all rests with him—the owner—for the law recognizes the matter solely as an injury done to the property of the owner of the beast, and the same if the beast be killed.

The family relatives or friends of the beast killed can do nothing about it legally, for they are only beasts, and beasts have no rights.

As of owner and beast, so of king and subject.

The king can punish crime, or forego its punishment as he will; he can do as he will with the subject without the reason of the crime, and he can do no more.

If the subject is to be prosecuted for crime, the prosecution must be in the name of the king, and he can at any time arrest it, or he can withdraw it entirely. If the accused be convicted the king can commute the sentence or he can pardon the convict absolutely.

4th. The king is the master of all officials—ecclesiastical, civil, judicial, military, naval. They all hold office at his gift and at his will, and they are responsible to him, and to him alone.

So all law is executed or not, is law or not, as the king wills.

As the entire force of the engine is at the command of the engineer, so is the entire official force of the kingdom at the command of the king, and he can assert himself the sole supreme governor when he will.

Disobedience is treason, and treason is death.

5th. The king is the superintendent of commerce. He has the prerogative of regulating weights, measures, coining money, etc.

6th. The king is the supreme head, the pope, of his church. He appoints all bishops, priests, etc.

7th. The king is the generalissimo of all land and naval forces. He alone can levy troops, equip fleets, build fortifications, fill all posts in them, etc.

8th. The king is to foreign nations the sole representative and depository of all the power and collective majesty of the state. He sends and receives ambassadors, public ministers and consuls. He contracts alliances, and has the prerogative of declaring war, making peace, and deciding the terms thereof.

For detail of prerogative royal see also the constitution of the United States setting forth the powers of the President, or any State constitution setting forth the power of the governor.

Any exercise of power, dominion, government, by one individual over another is the exercise of prerogative royal; and such exercise is the assertion of proprietorship, slavery.

These governments of the people by somebody else—an individual or a body of individuals—are both in principle the government of a king.

The first is where the king has the prerogative to himself; as in Turkey, in Russia and other States.

The second is where he shares it with others; as in England and in the United States. In England, those others hold by grant of the king as tenants of him; but in the United States the king and those others hold as joint tenants together.

Government is a vitality—a self-acting machine, the essentials of which are a machinery being governed and a law governing that machinery.

There is but one government—nature; all matter the machinery; the will of the Creator the law. The action of the solar system—the changes of matter named the laws of nature—are but the will of the Creator.

"In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God and the word was God." All things were made by him, and without him was not made anything that was made. All mind, all matter, all power, all government is of the Creator—is the Creator.

Every individual animal or atom existing exists but as the subject of its creative coexistent government—the Word.

Man is the subject of nature. When she calls for rest, food, excrement or sleep he is powerless. If he could be a governor, his government would end. In an interval of these calls he might kill, maim, outrage or imprison another animal, but he could not govern him, for the body of an animal can recognize no power but its own individual will—the Word. Lions, tigers, etc., can be killed, maimed, outraged, imprisoned, but man confesses them ungovernable, for they will not submit to govern their bodies to the dictation of man. With them the Word is supreme. The universe is the government of the Creator, because every atom of it, animate and inanimate, is instinct with his will. Of this government of the Creator an animal is a subject; a sub-government the will of the animal, the word, the law.

And now we have had all that there is of government. Of those sub-governments, man captures a beast of the governable species, so-called—an ass, for instance—ties him up in harness, and beats him till he submit to govern his body as his captor dictates.

Again, of these sub-governments, men conspire together to get to their use either men as beasts.

To conspire—conspiro, con, with; spiro, to breathe; to conspire is to breathe together, therefore secretly, to communicate together, secretly to agree.

A conspiracy is a combination of individuals in secrecy, a secret agreement; secrecy implies deceit, falsehood, wrong, crime. Truth, honesty has no secrecy; secrecy implies another or others to be secret from, therefore against whom the combination is.

A conspiracy is thus an agreement of breathers, blowers, liars.

A government is a conspiracy, because it is—1st. A combination of individuals; 2d. Acting together; 3d. In secrecy.

Well, we have seen that an individual cannot govern another or others, and we know of no government composed of one man, nor of even a few—say a dozen, more or less; and,

2d, we know that those men who compose a government necessarily act together, for a man composes a government only as he acts with it; and,

3d. We know that in the conduct of a government the people, the subjects of it, have no knowledge, no understanding, no will that they are in the hands of their governors, as is a beast in the hands of his; that the only knowledge that the people have of the government of which they are the subjects is the results of that government to them, and that these results are two:

1st. Money payment.

2d. Personal bodily service.

1st. Money payment called taxes in such amount as the members of the government agree to demand to supply themselves and their families and friends and tools and pimps with all the necessaries and luxuries of life; and

2d. Personal bodily service as laborers, soldiers and sailors in armies and navies, whenever their governors and families and friends and tools and pimps agree to have a war.

We have seen that secrecy implies deceit, falsehood, wrong, crime, and we know that government as it always has been and now is carried on, depends for its existence on deceit, falsehood, wrong, crime and the ignorance of the people of its deceit, falsehood, wrong, crime, and that it is tolerated by the people solely because of their ignorance and of its secrecy.

We have seen that secrecy implies another or others to be secret from, and we know that government is a matter secret from the people.

We have seen that when a matter is kept secret from another or others that it is by implication against that other or those others, and we know that government is against the people; that it involves the lives, bodies, limbs of the people in death, torture, pain from starvation, privation, ill-usage, wounds, bruises, manglings, imprisonment, and that it strips from the people their substance.

In the United States the conspirators post up the notice of secrecy: "The people must not come in here," "The people must not read these books," "The people must not speak to us."

Witness the conveyances by which these conspirators claim title: The Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the State of New York, etc.

Art. 1, sec. 5, sub. div. 3 of the Constitution of United States:

"Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy."

That is, keep secret what they please.

Sec. 6, sub. div. 1 of same article: "And for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place."

First Constitution of State of New York, sec. 15: "That the doors both of Senate and Assembly shall at all times be kept open to all persons except when the welfare of the State shall require their debates to be kept secret."

That is, they will close them when they please, and this is the practice in all legislative bodies "except when the welfare of the State shall require their debates to be kept secret."

And who decides on the requisiteness of secrecy? These servants, of course! The welfare of the State that requires that the people—the principals—shall know nothing about their own business! The people, it seems, don't know what is good for them, as we sometimes hear parents say of children; so, at least, this is a parental Government. Is not this trash sickening?

So these public servants, when they will close the doors against their masters, keep books secret from their masters, and are not to be questioned by their masters!

What king, what potentate on earth, can be more supreme, more absolute, more exacting?

They close the doors, keep secret books, and are not to be questioned!

Our kings are unapproachable gods!

A government so called is an artificial animal, the conspirators the body, their agreement the law. The government of the natural animal depends on its life—of the artificial animal on the agreement of its members. Disagreement is dismemberment—death.

There are two ways of existence for this monster: The one is to exist through one of its members. Let him individually personify them, and let his will be the law. The other is to let the agreement of the members be the will, the law.

A government has one of two origins:

1st. Natural growth.

2d. Force.

The first is that that grows in every community with it, and composed of its members—the natural development of the anthropophagi.

The second is conquest.

To conquer.—To overcome, to subdue, to vanquish, to gain by conquest.

"They had conquered them and brought them under tribute."

"The logic of a conquering sword has no propriety."

Conquest.—The act of conquering, subjection.

"A conquest of a country reduces all the people to the condition of subjects, *i. e.*, captives, prisoners, slaves.—DAVES.

Conqueror.—One that subdues and ruins countries.

"Deserving freedom more than those their conquerors, who leave behind nothing but ruin wheresoever they rove."—MILTON.

Captive.—One taken in war, a prisoner to an enemy.

"This is no other than that forced respect a captive pays to his conqueror, a slave to his bond."—ROGERS.

Captivity.—Subjection by the fate of war, bondage, servitude to enemies.

"There in captivity he lets them dwell."—MILTON.

Captor.—He that takes a prisoner, a captive, a prize.

Tribute.—Payment made in acknowledgment of conquest, subjection.

The present government of Great Britain had its origin in the conquest of England by William of Normandy, known as the Conqueror. A conquest is the work of the conquering army, the head and his subordinates. If the army be subject to the order of a government, then the conquest is the property of that government; but if it be an independent force, then the conquest is the property of the force, as the spoil of robbers is their property, and the prey of a beast is his. William and his army were subject to no government; they were an independent force, a band of robbers. They took possession of England in the name of their chief as sole proprietor. He divided up the lands between himself and his subordinates, the subordinates holding as tenants of him, the landlord.

The present nobility of England are the descendants of these subordinates.

Conquerors on conquest become landlords, and landlords are governors, and government is so a matter of subsistence merely for landlords, conquerors, or successors of conquerors; for all governors not personally conquerors are the successors of conquerors, and derive title from conquest. William and his subordinates became the landlords of the country, and the people became the tenants, and tenants must subsist their landlords. Conquerors, on conquest, can take the land and all things thereon—buildings, people, cattle, all—but generally they let the people remain, retaining the use of their lands, buildings, cattle, etc., on condition that they pay to the conquerors money as tribute-rent, called taxes. Conquerors, on conquest, so become tax-gatherers, and government a machinery for the collection of taxes. In the United States the governors are governors by the gift of the people without the peril or trouble of conquest. Favorites of the politicians and the mob are by the politicians and the mob selected for governors, and the people endorse the selection; and so these favorites are presented with the rights of conquest—*i. e.*, the right to levy tribute, to collect taxes. But to return. The people are conquered by force—force of the conquering army, an artificial animal, a monster; and this monster, on conquest and submission of the people, held up and agreed to abstain from further force on condition that the people subsist it by payment of taxes. This monster is composed of chief and subordinate. The chief is but one and the subordinates are many; the chief the head, the subordinates the body, and the agreement of chief and subordinates the will; the chief the mouthpiece, the utterance of that will, the subordinates the force for the enforcement of that will.

Now the people pay taxes out of respect to the force of this monster, and the force depends on its agreement. The government of the natural animal depends on its life; for death ends its government. The life of the monster depends on the agreement of chief and subordinates. Disagreement is dismemberment, death. The subordinates are the actual tax-gatherers. Each tax-gatherer represents the monster; and the people pay taxes out of respect to the representation, destroy this representation, and no payment would be made; for the people pay for the abstinence of the monster. As payment is made, the monster feeds, and is quiet; non-payment interrupts the feeding, and arouses the monster to the aid of his representative. The people pay out of respect to the monster, and not out of respect to the tax-gatherer; for the people respect force alone, and the tax-gatherer, of himself, has no force that the people would respect; the people would make common cause against him, for people do not willingly pay taxes; they pay taxes out of respect to the force that in their judgment can enforce payment; that can, in the event of non-payment, take from them their possessions, reconquer them. A combination of tax-gatherers without organization of chief and subordinates would be a mere mob, and a mob has no force. Organization is essential to the success of a mob. Organize a mob with chief and subordinates, and you have an army, and if the army conquer a people you have a government, for a government is but an organized successful mob, as was William and his subordinates; or it is the successor of such a mob as is the present government of England; or it is an offshoot of the successor of such a mob, as is the present American government.

Well, we see that the people pay taxes out of respect to the monster chief and subordinates. The chief, the mouthpiece, the teat through which the monster sucks the people; the subordinates, the force, holding the people subject to that suction.

The chief is but one and the subordinates are many. The chief is not in contact with the people, and the subordinates are. They are the tax-gatherers, the middlemen of chief and people.

The business of government in time of peace is the collection of taxes. The tax-gatherers are the collectors. They are the principals in that business; they are the government. The people are at the mercy of their agreement, the chief the utterance of that agreement.

And here we have the two natural workings of government—peace and war. In peace the chief is chief in name only; but in war then the monster arouses himself to his natural individuality, and his will is the law.

So we see that the government of a State is but the adaptation of the principle of the government of an army as a contrivance for the collection of taxes. In the army the principal is a reality and the chief in name is the chief in name; but in the government, in time of peace, the principle is but a power, for in peace the chief is chief in name only, and his subordinates are the principals in the government; but in time of war the war is always made a pretext for the extension of the government of the army over the State. As witness, that whenever war existed in England, Lords, Commons, all, Magna Charta bills of rights, all were put aside and the King was the supreme governor; and witness the late rebellion, when senators, representatives, constitution, all were put aside and Lincoln was king.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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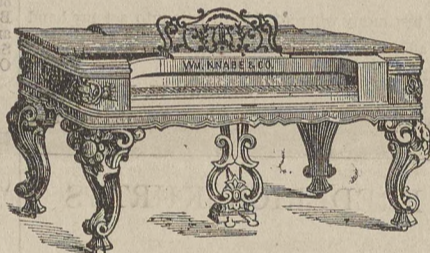
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(New-York Herald, April 16, 1870.)

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