



VOL. 4.—No. 3.—WHOLE No. 81.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 2, 1871.

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Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of each month.
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This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLECTIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.
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OFFICE OF
**FISK & HATCH,
BANKERS,
AND
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,**
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We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange, miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commission, for cash.
Communications and inquiries by mail or telegraph, will receive careful attention.
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Order for Purchase and Sale of United States Securities, Stocks, Bonds and American Gold promptly executed at the usual commission.

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103.

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THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST
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Interest, payable August and February, in New York, London, or Frankfurt-on-the-Main, free of United States taxes. Present market quotations, 97 1/2 a 98 3/4 c. and interest.
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SIX PER CENT GOLD BONDS.**
Twenty Years to run.
We offer \$400,000 at 98 and accrued interest.
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STATE RAILROAD BONDS.**

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FIRST MORTGAGE
GOLD BONDS
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RONDCUT & OSWEGO
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Principal & Interest Payable in Gold.
Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 190 miles of the most direct possible line, between the Great Lakes and deep water navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of which will be completed and in operation on or before October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any line that can be found.
It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lumber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricultural bottoms of Delaware and Greene Counties, all of which have not heretofore been reached by railroad facilities, and from which sections, the formation of the country prevents the construction of a competing line.
The 36 miles of road operated for three months is already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent. gold, on its cost of construction and equipments. The issue of Bonds is limited to \$20,000 per mile of COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in this city.
PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.
Full particulars of the above may be had of, and the Bonds for sale by

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Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company. 81
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Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.**
Interest commences on the 1st of each month.
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Secretary. 60-86 President.

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

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

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

Terms, \$100, with modifications.



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

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It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
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Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washington and Baltimore to Cincinnati without change. Louisville in 29 1/2 hours. Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have choice of routes, either via Columbus or Parkersburg. From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line Railroad. Avoid all dangerous ferry transfers by crossing the great Ohio River Suspension Bridge, and reach Louisville hours in advance of all other lines. Save many miles in going to Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans. The only line running four daily trains from Cincinnati to Louisville. Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splendid Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day trains. Remember lower fare by no other route. To secure the advantages offered by this great through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line R. R. Get your tickets—No. 57 Washington street, Boston; No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of Cortlandt street, New York; Continental Hotel, 828 Chestnut street, 44 South Fifth street, and at the depot corner Broad and Prime streets, Philadelphia; S. E. corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad Offices in the East. SAM. GILL, General Supt., Louisville, Ky. HENRY STEFFER, Gen. Ticket Agent, Louisville, Ky. SIDNEY B. JONES, Gen. Pass. Agent, Louisville, Ky.

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

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THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE

Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,
and will prevent the hair from falling out. It has no poisonous caustic or irritating ingredient whatever. It is as harmless as water, and **WHOLLY UNLIKE** any other preparation for the hair. It never fails. It has produced a fine growth of hair upon those who have been bald for twenty-five years. All who have used it, without exception, attest to its great merits. Persons in New York or Brooklyn wishing to test the ZOECOME, can either personally or by note make arrangements to have a hair restorer sent to their residences and apply it. MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY, 64 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn.

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GOETHE'S Elective Affinities:

With an Introduction
By VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.
PRICE, \$1 50.

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

"It is very true that ideas of social freedom and of inevitable law governing the actions of humanity are rapidly spreading in the world at this day, and that I may have done something to aid their growth. Perhaps my name may not, therefore, be inappropriately associated with this reproduction of the work of the greatest Genius of Germany, the first who promulgated the thought that there is a chemistry of the mind, and that Elective Affinities are as powerful and legitimate in the realm of human sentiment as in the realm of matter."
"Themes of freedom on all subjects form the staple public sentiment of the world at this age. A doctrine like that of Goethe's is therefore eminently calculated to make progress even unconsciously in this century."
"But in any event Genius has its prerogatives, and the genius of Goethe is incontestable and uncontested. The American public are entitled to know what this great leader of modern thought, one of the founders of Comparative Anatomy, has thought on the more recondite subject of the Chemistry of the Mind. The question is not, in the first instance, whether his views were right or wrong, true or false; but simply, What were they? and in none of his works is that question so effectively answered as in 'Elective Affinities.'"
—Extracts from Introduction.

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE,
AN EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION,
By C. S. JAMES,

Author of "Manual of Transcendental Philosophy."
For Sale by the Author, post paid, for 25c.
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Alma, Wis. 75

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT, FOR TWENTY YEARS,

With the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at APOLLO HALL, OCTOBER 20, 1870, From 1850 to 1870, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT DURING THE WINTER OF 1871, IN THE NATIONAL CAPITOL, Compiled by PAULINA W. DAVIS. For sale by all Booksellers. Price 50c. A lucid and liberal account of the most important political movement of the day.—W. & C.'s W.

EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIS C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

It would seem as though everything conspired at once to bring them and their views before the public. First, the Tribune paraded them as the champion free-lovers by way of attacking its old enemies, the woman suffrage women; then one branch of the suffragists attacked them, while the other wing as vehemently upheld them, and lastly they were brought bodily before the public in the recent trial. These conflicting elements of notoriety were enough to have made any one famous for the moment, and ought to make their books sell. The chief element of curiosity, however, was in the fact that they were denounced so bitterly by the Tribune as free-lovers, while they were, on the other hand, indorsed so enthusiastically by a lady so universally respected as Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books fails to show anything so very startling in the doctrines put forth in them, however distasteful they may be to many. They advance many strong arguments for giving the women the right to vote, for a remodeling of the marriage laws, and, in fact, for the general renovating and making over of society. Some of these are new, and some not so new, but they are very well put, and will be found not uninteresting, even to those who are opposed to the doctrines advocated.—Newark (N. J.) Register.

THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

This remarkable book, just from the press, contains a graphic consolidation of the various principles involved in government as the guarantee and protection to the exercise of human rights.

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

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

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

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

MUTUAL BENEFIT SAVINGS BANK,
SUN BUILDING,

166 Nassau street, New York.

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

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

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

CHARLES K. GRAHAM, President.
G. H. BENEDICT, Secretary.

PATENT STOCKING SUPPORTER

AND LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

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

The trade supplied at a discount.

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OR MRS. C. A. GAYNOR, 824 Broadway, New York.

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(Successors to D. Marley.)

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A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.

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

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LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAIN BRAIDS, LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS, and everything appertaining to the business will be kept on hand and made to order.

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

HARABA ZEIN,

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

WM. DIBBLEE'S,

854 Broadway, up-stairs.

"THAT TERRIBLE QUESTION,"

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

BY WARREN SMITH. OUTSPOKEN, FEARLESS AND RADICAL. Price 10 cents; \$5 00 per hundred. Address Box 2723, Cincinnati, O. 74



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

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL'S ENGAGEMENTS.

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

SUFFRAGE CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

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

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

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President.
 ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, Chairman of Ex. Com.
 JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Nov. 25, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11:30 A. M., on Wednesday at 12 M., on Thursday at 11:30 A. M., and on Saturday at 11:30 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

It ought to be known that this association is not secret—it does not aspire to the honor of being a conspiracy. Its meetings are held in public; they are open to all comers, though only members are permitted to speak (unless by special invitation), and none but members are allowed to vote. The several sections in this city and vicinity meet as follows:

Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 P. M., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.

Section 2 (French).—The second Sunday in each month, 2 P. M., at No. 100 Prince street (especially to accommodate female members) and every other Sunday, 9 A. M., at the same place.

Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 P. M., at No. 10 Stanton street.

Section 8 (German).—Sunday, 3 P. M., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.

Section 9 (American).—Wednesday, 8 P. M., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.

Section 10 (French).—First Tuesday and third Saturday in each month, 6 P. M., at No. 650 Third avenue, between Forty-first and Forty-second streets.

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

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

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

NOTICE FOR INTERNATIONALS.—Section 9 on Wednesday evening, Nov. 22, discharged its delegate to the late Central Committee, and re-elected him to aid in the formation of another. Let now Section 12 and the other sections, willing

to unite upon the principles and rules of the General Council, do likewise, and the I. W. A. will not be without a proper Executive Committee in the United States. It should be understood, however, that neither the majority nor the minority of the defunct committee have any power to act independent of their sections. A preliminary meeting of delegates is to be held on Sunday, the 26th inst., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, and merely for the purpose of consultation it is desirable that it should be as fully attended as may be practicable.

Section 12 will meet on Sunday evening, the 26th inst., at 44 Broad street, and all members are hereby invited to attend.

WILLIAM WEST.

SECTION 12 SUSTAINED—THE DECISION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

The subjoined resolutions of the General Council at London, and the letter from the Corresponding Secretary for the United States, will speak for themselves or tell their own story. It is a pity that they did not come to hand two days earlier than they did. Their presentation in the Central Committee on Sunday, the 19th inst., might possibly have prevented its adjournment *sine die*, without provision for its successor, as proposed by the delegate from Section 12, in the following words:

Whereas, the functions of the Central Committee terminate by limitation on the first Sunday in December next; and
 Whereas, it is not proper that the several sections of the I. W. A. in this country should ever be without representation in some Central Executive Committee; therefore be it

Resolved, That the officers of this Committee be directed to issue a call upon the several sections to elect members of a new Committee, to assemble on the first Sunday of January, 1872, the conditions of membership, etc., to be precisely the same as those which govern the Committee.

Under the rule of men entirely foolish, and very small, indeed, namely, those who have no higher conception of the qualifications necessary to membership of the I. W. A. other than that the applicant shall be an alien, of the masculine gender, and a slave, at that, the friends of Section 12 were forced, as the least of evils, to take an appeal to the sections and vote for the adjournment of the committee. Happily, the sections survive their Agents and may call into existence another Agency. Meanwhile, however, it seems proper to notify all concerned that the officers of the defunct committee have no power to act independent of the sections. Any of the sections may take the initiative in the organization of another committee, and there is reason to believe that the English-speaking sections will do so. Especially since the General Council has provided that in England the English people shall take charge of the movement, and in France, the French people, etc., it certainly cannot be possible that the United States of America, where there is more freedom than anywhere else on the face of the earth, has been excepted from the general rule.

Those citizens of the United States who have responded to the "Appeal" of Section 12, printed in the WEEKLY of September 23, may, therefore, take courage and go on with the work they have undertaken. The necessary documents and authority promised to them, as will be seen from the letter of Mr. Eccarius, will soon be forthcoming. The new sections that may be formed will, however, see the necessity of communicating with the undersigned instead of the officers of the defunct committee.

WILLIAM WEST, 30 Bowery, N. Y.

New York, November 20, 1871.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, }
 256 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W. C. }

Resolution of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in reply to an application of Section 12 of New York:

Considering—
 1. That every Section in America has the right of being represented by a delegate at the New York Federal Council for the United States, which by this acquires the character of a truly representative body.

2. That the organization and progress of the International Workingmen's Association is, to a great extent, due to the exertions and efforts of the New York Federal Committee.

3. That there is nothing, either in the rules of the Association or in the special organization of it in the United States to prevent any Section from extending the Association amongst their own nationalities;

The Council advises that the New York Committee for the United States be maintained until the extension of the International in America may render the convocation of a Congress of all the branches in the United States advisable for the purpose of electing a new Federal Committee.

By order of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association,

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS,
 Corresponding Secretary for the U. S. A.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, }
 256 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W. C. }

November 6, 1871.

DEAR SIR: The answer to yours of September 27 has been delayed for various reasons. The first was that it arrived too late on a Tuesday evening to be brought before that week. When I brought it on the following week there was too much business before the board to enter into the question. It was therefore remitted to the sub-committee to examine it and report to the Council. There was likewise a question in which the Central Committee had gone too far, and that had to be taken into consideration. The decision arrived at respecting your proposal of section 12, taking the initiative, is contained in the inclosed resolution.

As to the documents of the association, I should have furnished you with copies at the receipt of your letter had it not been that some are wholly disposed of, the inaugural address, to wit, and others, the new ones, are not ready yet.

The recent Conference (a brief report of which, written by

myself, has appeared in the *World* of October 19) instructed the Council to print a circular containing all the Conference resolutions which it was desirable to publish; and also to issue a new edition of the rules, including the various statutory resolutions passed at the recent Congresses. These things have taken longer than we calculated, but I hope to be able to forward you a parcel of each at the very latest in the course of a week.

Your offer to reprint them and to multiply them for circulation is appreciated, and will do good service. As far as I can judge, I cannot see any reason whatever why the English speaking sections, if they put their shoulders to the wheel, should not in a short time, with the present temper of the public mind, succeed to bring about such an augmentation of the native American force as would effectually remove any possible cause of complaint that may with or without reason be brought against the committee on account of the prevalence of foreign notions. A separation of any section that is represented on the committee by an accredited delegate would, in my opinion, be a starting point for future quarrels. Suppose that a few months hence the delegates of English-speaking sections should become a majority in the committee, then the delegates representing sections consisting of recent immigrants would have to fall in with the majority. But suppose, on the other hand, that Section 12 succeeded now, and really succeeded to establish a sufficient number of sections to form a native committee, or Federal Council, the foreign born citizens might claim the right of an independent course of action, and nothing but confusion and animosity would ensue. This is the point of view which has led to the passing of the inclosed resolution.

In the old world we make rapid strides. The latest acquisition we have made is Garibaldi and his followers in Italy. Mazzini's denunciations of the Commune and the International, instead of turning the workingmen of Italy against them has had the opposite effect, and Garibaldi has publicly declared his separation from Mazzini and his adhesion to the International.

In conclusion, I beg to thank through you, Mesdames Woodhull & Claflin, for supplying me regularly with their interesting journal. Yours faithfully,

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS,
 Cor. Sec. for the U. S.

31 Broadway, Westminster, London, S. W.
 MR. WILLIAM WEST.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Our correspondence column admits every shade of opinion; all that we require is that the language shall be that current in calm, unfettered social or philosophical discussion. It is often suggested that certain subjects should be excluded from public journals. We think that nothing should be excluded that is of public interest. Not the facts but the style to determine the propriety of the discussion.]

We are in no wise to be held answerable for the opinions expressed by correspondents.

N. B.—It is particularly requested that no communication shall exceed one column. The more concise the more acceptable. Communications containing really valuable matter are often excluded on account of length.]

The following is a fair sample of hundreds of letters we are receiving from the prominent Spiritualists of the country:

MY DEAR MADAM: Since the publication of your Address to the Spiritualists of America, I have been often moved to write to you, yet by some cause, until now, prevented.

I do not suppose that in any of your movements you are at all influenced by the thought that you will, in this or that direction, have the sympathy or the apathy of others; yet I feel that it is your right to receive the encouragement that comes with the knowledge that others see and know that you are right, and do not hesitate to express their appreciation. Hence I say, "Thanks to you for the bold, radical advance you have made, the New Departure you have opened, and the high vantage ground ahead upon which you have planted the standard of Reform."

The principles enunciated in your Address have been adopted as the voice of the American Association, and their action will be ratified by an overwhelming preponderance of all Spiritualists who fully deserve the name, to be followed, sooner or later, by those whose timidity and ignorance of what manner of spirit they are of, have thus far prevented their perfect emancipation.

The last paragraph in the body of your address is almost a transcript of my own thoughts during the hour that followed your election by the association. As a whole the movement was a spontaneous one, and the majority of those who voted for you were not conscious but a short time previous of any intention so to do. But for myself, the suggestion as soon as made met with an affirmative response; and although but few moments were left for deliberation, they were sufficient to enable me to see all that you have yourself alluded to, in the part rallying on yourself as a centre, and to foresee the more potent concentration of forces in the mighty future. Therefore, although the time for deliberation was short, my act was a deliberate one, the result of rapid yet mature reflection, and I tread no step backward. I cannot clearly see all the consequences to my personal future, but I shall meet them as they come.

To me the signs of the times indicate the coming of a great politico-ecclesiastical struggle. Religious bigotry is gradually but rapidly entrenching itself on the politics of our country, and even at this hour is making in safe directions experimental tests of the strength of its hold on the political machinery and judiciary. Successful in these, bolder efforts will follow. Are we ready to meet the issue? This is the question of questions with me to-day, and I do not see a satisfactory answer. What of organization? I know from what height our banner waves, but in what form shall we rally around it? To-day I can see a great but unorganized multitude, some semi-organized battalions, but no evidences of inspection or drill.

And now to you, in whom I recognize not only a chosen leader, but also the voice of an inspired intelligence, I turn for counsel and direction—What is there for me to do?

Loyally yours, for the right of all. M. K.

MARION, Ohio, Nov. 10, 1871.

Mrs. Miriam Cole, Sidney, Ohio:

It was not my privilege, pleasure or pain to be present at the Arnia Convention, for which I suppose you and some others will thank high heaven and Almighty God. I anticipated your attack on Mrs. Woodhull, and for that reason was the more anxious to be present. I was anxious to know the character of the charges preferred, and was not in the least surprised to find bigoted and unjust denunciations, with-

out reason and without mercy. Upon what evidence you pronounced Mrs. Woodhull and her paper infamous neither the convention nor the public was informed. I demand testimony, in the shape or form of actual facts, as to her daily walk and conversation. Tell us just here when and where Mrs. Woodhull is or was infamous. That convention should have been informed, and had I been there it would have been informed, unless it assumed inquisitorial airs. You know as well as I that when such charges are made against any human soul, good or bad, reason and justice demand the proof, and the proof you had not, and you knew it. The best and purest minds of earth have been similarly treated in every age of the world. You were born a bigot, and need to be born again, for no bigot can inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. You may denounce, condemn, crucify and bury Victoria C. Woodhull for the brave thoughts she utters and pure life she leads, but she will rise again the third day, ascend into Heaven, and from there proclaim the words of eternal life and liberty to enslaved womanhood. "Mark my words." "I mean all I say." The stone you builders reject to-day is Monogamic Free Love, which is simply love freed from law. But it was foreordained from the formation of the world that this stone is to be the chief corner in the new Jerusalem which God is preparing for a regenerated and redeemed humanity. The Nazarene philosopher once said: "In heaven they are neither married nor given in marriage," and then taught you and I to pray, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." All this is bold, radical socialism, two thousand years old. Ages have rolled away, and we are just beginning to comprehend the strength of the "Judean Peasant." He made as short work of priest's oaths, obligations and legal marital ceremonies as Bolingbroke did of creeds, and that is all we of the Free Love faith have proposed to do. Condemn Jesus as well as Mrs. Woodhull. Demonstrate that this pure idealism of his is calculated to promote and propagate vice, before you denounce our teachings as infamous. Before the courts of heaven, we have vowed that love shall no longer be the subordinate of law, for out of such a slavery grows lust, and out of lust immortal souls are conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, until sin, poverty and shame cover the face of our fair earth. If children were born out of loving hearts, they would never need to be born again. Through marriage under law we breed vice by the wholesale, and deluge the world with free lust. When love is free, it will be so no longer.

Yours truly,

THOS. W. ORGAN.

CHICAGO, October 26.

To the Editor of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

My last letter, dated October 10, closed up with this remark, in regard to the munificent donations which were being received on all sides: "The kindness and sympathy proffered will bless the givers as well as the receivers." If it is more blessed to give than to receive, our poor ill-fated city has adopted an extraordinary means of dispensing blessings, this time, however, too greatly at her own expense. About fifty miles of streets, 12,000 buildings and \$300,000,000 is a pretty safe estimate. None of the rumors afloat as to the origin of the fire are to be relied on. We have a great many reasons to suppose that it was merely an accident; we have also as many more to believe that it was the work of incendiaries. My own house is three miles from the burnt district. Immediately after dispatching my last letter to your paper on Tuesday, I had to assume the new role of self-constituted policeman to guard my own property during the daytime. At night we were well guarded, the patrolman coming to guard us about eight in the evening; that is, we sent to Sheridan's headquarters on Wednesday, and obtained a guard for the remainder of the week. Monday and Tuesday night the citizens patrolled the streets. My next neighbor is a German. Himself, wife and a famously savage dog which he owns were our patrolmen on Tuesday night. Across the way is some property owned by a German woman; it consists of a cluster of low outbuildings, which might be easily fired, at five minutes' notice. We had no water, and fire once lighted by an insignificant cigar-sump would have caused a conflagration. The old woman guarded her own property all the week, during the fire, night and day, armed only with a pitchfork. But she was a terror to incendiaries, and our district escaped unburnt, or at least it has escaped. Just in the rear and at the north of my house are no less than ten old barns, dry as tinder, two of which are filled with hay. It was on Tuesday, October 10, about noon, that this German woman discovered two suspicious-looking men lurking about her premises. She routed them and followed them across the street, until she saw them enter the alley in the rear of my house, and then came in and gave me warning. We had taken the precaution to have the protection of firearms. Our revolver was loaded and in readiness for instant duty. One of the men passed on into an open field, crossed over to Forest avenue, and came back south to Douglas place, the street which he had just left on entering my alley. The others came back through the alley. Both of these men were carefully scanning every inch of ground about the old barns. Two of us were waiting on the back piazza for the man who returned. One held the revolver ready to take aim, provided the man was insulting in his replies, while the other was questioning him in regard to his intentions. Taking a deliberate aim not only quickened his intellect but retarded his footsteps, and his second reply was somewhat more to the purpose. He was informed by your correspondent that the house was amply protected by firearms, and that there were women, too, who knew how to use them, and that if his head or any other was seen in that alley for the next twenty-four hours there would be a bullet through it. This was womanlike, to be sure; but the result was that he stood a little "shaky in his shoes," and made a desperate attempt to walk deliberately out of the alley. We followed him, saw his comrade join him, and learned that a fire had just been set immediately back of my house on Forest avenue, by his comrade, at the very time that this parley was going on from my piazza. I learned, too, that an attempt had been made on Monday night previous, by some suspicious looking person, to get possession of the empty barn for the night. On Thursday of the same week two men were again discovered under similar circumstances. There were no questions asked of them, and no threats made, as in the former case, but we followed them, my sister and I, accompanied by our revolver. These two were young men, well dressed, evidently not over twenty years of age. They had been loitering about for an hour or more, and were taken by some one to be theological students from a neighboring seminary, whom I met, employed as guardsmen during the day. I have been thus par-

ticular in relating these circumstances on account of the tragedy enacted in my immediate neighborhood in regard to Colonel Grosvenor, who met his untimely fate at the hands of a guardsman. There has been the most urgent necessity laid upon every person in this vicinity to guard the city from the fires of incendiaries—both night and day—for the last week and a half. For several days past the fire-bell has alarmed us, on an average, five or six times during the twenty-four hours. It has sometimes seemed that it would require but a very slight stretch of the imagination to conceive of a final conflagration. During the week of the fire these thoughts were continually hovering over me, and again the line, "And the lightning's red glare painted hell on the sky," was my constant companion.

We have a great city without gas or any means of lighting the streets at night. Only a century past London was in the same condition. Torch-boys were then at the service of the nightly pedestrian. It is only about a quarter of a century since gas was used for street lights, and we naturally ask, how did great cities exist without it? Were there fewer deeds of darkness between the setting and the rising of the sun then than now? Is gas a moral force in a great city?

A singular feature of the leveling effects of the fire is that of the opening of the churches. "The poor, the maim, the halt and the blind" are seated within those luxurious specimens of architecture "without money and without price." Perhaps it is the first time since they were erected that these churches have really been employed in the service of the Most High.

H. S. BROOKS.

When woman is enfranchised she will learn to think. A new and important responsibility will devolve upon her. She will begin to learn more about the enlarged field of usefulness for which she is to prepare herself and children. She will enlarge her views; be more charitable toward the failings of others. Tracing effects back to causes will cure certain unpleasant evils by doctoring the next generation in "its earliest infancy," as well as "providing a balm for every mind." She will find other trains in competition for the destination of the onward progress, which will stimulate her to exertion in the race. She will have less time and taste for extreme fashion, and more for the duties of the hour. She will not necessarily "neglect home duties," because it is there that the next honest and capable political representatives are to receive their normal education. She will consequently cultivate her own mind and faculties in preparation for the foundation of a sounder political and better domestic "economy." She will take pride when her duties conscientiously call her there, in acting as "moderator" (of the bad and boisterous element) at elections, "leavening and purifying the whole mass." It is time she has a voice, when she chooses to exercise it, in the laws by which she is taxed, wronged, governed or benefited. Her reasoning faculties being newly awakened, she will regulate her family and its numbers, with a view to future usefulness; undertaking only what can be well performed under favorable circumstances. If she learns to acquire, she will know the value of economy, and become a practical "helpmeet," a wise counselor, companion and true friend to man as well as able to help herself.

Philadelphia.

M. E. WADE.

SENATOR CARPENTER'S ARGUMENT.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: Permit me through your columns to express some views on the argument of Senator Carpenter against the right of women to vote under the Constitution and laws at present in force. I think the honorable Senator deserves well of the women of the country, for having reduced the political inequality of citizens, by asserting "the power of a State to deny the right to vote to any citizen, for any cause whatever." It may, therefore, deny the right to all male citizens because they are not females, thus placing a negative equality upon the entire population of a State. It is a matter of historical fact, that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, women in New Jersey, one of the original States, were votable citizens and did exercise the elective franchise. They held that right and exercised it under the Colonial government, and when New Jersey adopted the Constitution of the United States, her women citizens came into the Union, under her State Constitution of 1776, as completely and fully clothed with the right to vote as did her male citizens. These female citizens, then, became complete political citizens of the United States. Says Chief Justice Taney, in *Scott vs. Sanford*: "It is true, every person and every class and description of persons, who were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution recognized as citizens in the several States, became also citizens of the new political body." The Constitution of the United States then, at the time of its adoption, did not only contemplate, it recognized female suffrage. We are bound to assume that those who framed the instrument were fully aware of this fact, since female suffrage entered into the creation of it. This fact, or this principle, became thoroughly incorporated into the Constitution, I hold, in a manner never to be gotten rid of while the present structure of our government lasts. Women were qualified electors under the Constitution of New Jersey for members of the popular branch of the State legislature—they were, therefore, qualified electors for members of the Congress of the United States, and eligible for membership of the National Legislature. Nay, more! A female citizen of New Jersey could have represented her State in the Senate of the United States, while no language in the Constitution would have excluded her from the highest office in the gift of the people.

I mention the above because Mr. Carpenter alleges that females were not admitted to suffrage in those State Governments of which the Union was originally composed. Let me say further, under the provision, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," there was not a female citizen in the United States who could not have voted, by

removing to New Jersey, residing therein until she acquired a residence, and otherwise complying with the qualifications required for an elector by the laws of the State. Under this section, female suffrage had a national status, as to its enjoyment, of which any female citizen could have taken advantage.

Let us take a step behind the Constitution, and see whether the idea of female suffrage does not pervade the whole instrument. The common law rights were the inheritance which every colonist from Great Britain brought to this country, at the period of the settlement of the respective colonies. (See Declaration of Rights resolved in Continental Congress.) Among these rights was the right of female suffrage, as recognized and enjoyed in the mother country. In support of the fact that female suffrage did exist in England, and from a remote period, I refer to the cases of *Catharine vs. Surry*, *Coates vs. Lyle*, *Holt vs. Lyle*, and *Olive vs. Ingraham*—referred to in the "Minority Report on the Woodhull Memorial"—which fully sustain me. Of woman's present right to vote in England there is no doubt.

Says Mr. Sheppard, on page 9, section 9, of "The Constitutional Text Book": "The charters under which the colonies were settled (except that of Pennsylvania) expressly declared that all subjects of the King, and their children inhabiting therein, should be deemed natural-born subjects, and should enjoy all the 'privileges and immunities' thereof." The right of women to vote and to hold office was contained within these terms at that time.

It is true, the right of suffrage in England was, and is, based upon property; and so it continued here in the colonies, so long as the colonial system endured; but when we changed our form of government we adopted a broader system of rights, abandoning none, but basing that which before had rested upon property upon the person instead. It was in full view of all the common law rights and doctrines that the Constitution was framed. It was intended to secure them, extended and enlarged it is true, but still those same rights. There does not arise to-day a legal contest as to the matter of a personal right, where no statute is made to control it, that is not elucidated, complicated or settled by common law alone. How came it, then, that this particular right—one of the most important—under our changed form of government was lost? There is not a word in the Constitution itself that will sustain such an idea. The Constitution is our great national statute law, and it cannot be interpreted, as to personal rights, without reference to the common law doctrine of those rights. So interpret it that it shall reflect fully every right that entered in its construction, and you will find indelibly stamped therein and thereon the principle of female suffrage.

Non-user of a political right works no forfeiture of such right, nor are there political statutes of limitation. The common-law right of female suffrage, we believe, inheres to-day in every woman of the land, based upon a personal instead of a property representation, in accordance with the genius of our government. In full accord with the above views is the decision of the court in the case of *Corfield vs. Coryell*, as pronounced by Justice Washington, he holding that—*inter alia*—"to enjoy the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised, is one of the 'privileges and immunities' conceded by the Constitution of the United States to citizens of the several States." This decision is something more than mere *obiter dictum*, as affirmed by Mr. Carpenter. The point raised before the court was a question of "privileges and immunities," and the enumeration of the rights embraced within the term came fully before the court. The doctrine in this case has been approved by Chancellor Kent, and by him incorporated into the elementary law of the land. I fully agree to the proposition that "women have always been citizens," and I affirm that, having always been such citizens, they have always been entitled to vote, that is to say, to one and all of the "privileges and immunities" of citizens.

Mr. Carpenter thinks it safe to say that the cases decided subsequent to the decision in *Corfield vs. Coryell* "had so far followed the theory of Mr. Justice Washington," that "down to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment" the Supreme Court would have held it as law, that is, would have held that the term "privileges and immunities" included the "elective franchise"—the right to vote. "But," he says, "the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments seem to sanction the idea entertained by the court in *Campbell vs. Morris* that the right to vote was not included in the phrase 'privileges and immunities of a citizen.'" In other words, Mr. Carpenter would seem to assert that the Fourteenth Amendment, in utter disregard of the settled construction of the term "privileges and immunities of a citizen," is to be construed by some overruled and abandoned construction of the term. Now, it is fair to hold, and I believe it is well-settled law, that where a term used in an instrument has been defined by the courts any subsequent use of the same term, in the same instrument, must be taken, held and used as so judicially defined.

If this view is legally correct, and I hold that it is so, then the term "privileges and immunities," as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, must be taken and held to include the right to vote, which is exactly the reverse of Mr. Carpenter's conclusion. If I am correct in the above the entire structure of Mr. Carpenter's argument falls, for it rests upon this single point. The language of the Fourteenth Amendment is:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside." So far the amendment settles beyond cavil or doubt the fact of unqualified female citizenship. The equal legal and political rights of citizens is a well settled doctrine. The amendment continues: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the 'privileges or immunities' of citizens of the United States." Let us write this latter clause as it stands interpreted by the court: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the 'privileges and immunities,' which are in their nature fundamental, and belong of right to the citizens of all free governments. Such are the rights of protection of life and liberty, and to acquire and enjoy property, and to pay no higher impositions than other citizens, and to pass through or reside in the States at pleasure, and to enjoy the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised." Will anyone pretend that the term "privileges and immunities" in the amendment does not cover and protect the right to vote when thus stated—thus defined by law? What is the "elective franchise" if not the right to vote? But right in the face of the constitutional declaration that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the 'privileges or immunities'"—one of which is the right to vote—of citizens of the United States, Mr. Carpenter says: "The second section clearly recognizes the right or power of any State to exclude a portion of the citizens from the right to vote;" and when he has thus construed the amendment to its utter stultification he tells us that, therefore, it is "that the right to vote is not one of the 'privileges and immunities.'" I submit that such a view is neither professional, logical nor legal. But suppose "the second section clearly recognized" the right or power of any State to exclude a portion of the citizens from the right to vote, would it not present the anomaly of an article of the Constitution empowering a State to deny to a citizen of the State a right secured to him by the United States?

In other words, the Constitutional power of a State to impair a right would be greater than or superior to the power of the United States to protect and enforce the right. This cannot be.

The Fifteenth Amendment, beyond all question, as it seems to me, confirms the view I have taken as to the right to vote having been recognized as one of the rights of a citizen, *i. e.*, as having been embraced or included within the term "privileges or immunities," as used in the Fourteenth Amendment. It is clearly mentioned as "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote." Mr. Carpenter saw and felt this difficulty, and only avoided its consequences by reiterating his already exploded theory, that "the Fourteenth Amendment recognized the power of a State to deny the right to vote to any citizen." Until he can reconcile that position with the plain statement that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," he must abandon his position. I know that he has claimed that the right to vote is not covered by the term "privileges and immunities." Then I reply again, *the term has been defined by law; he cannot affix to it another interpretation.*

The right to vote being one of the "franchises or immunities" of a citizen, which no State shall abridge, and women being citizens, they possess the "franchises or immunities," and therefore have the right to vote. This right of all citizens to vote—for it has been held that "all citizens are equally possessed of every civil and political right"—can neither be denied nor abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Once the United States did deny to an entire class of persons, born in the United States, not only the right to vote, but every other right, by declaring them not to be citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment clothed these persons with citizenship, and the Fifteenth has prevented them from the loss of not only the right to vote, but all other rights embraced within the term "privileges and immunities" of citizens of the United States.

J. F. BYRNES.

THE Brooklyn Eagle says: "V. C. W. wants to vote, not because the law says explicitly that she can, but because she thinks the law neglected or forgot to prohibit her voting," and adds that "Paul wouldn't be thrust out of jail in that manner." What Paul would or would not do is not much in the argument. But for what it is worth Paul's example is in V. C. W.'s favor. He relied on the letter of the law. That is precisely what V. C. W. wishes to do. The government in this country is a thing of written creation and ordination. Whatever is not written is without authority. Under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments V. C. W. says that all persons born, and so forth, are citizens, and all citizens are entitled to vote. Whether Congress intended such a construction when they passed the law is not the point. The law is passed—and must be taken as it is written. If, on the other hand, suffrage be a natural right of man, and, like every other free expression of opinion, inalienable to the born American, then the woman has it as well as the man, because Americans are not politically bound by European precedents or by Biblical interpretations—and what the written laws do not provide for is determined by natural law.

"Keep your mouth shut and your eyes open."
"The absent feel and fear every ill."

"SIC ITUR AD ASTRA."

BY OWEN RICE.

Hard by the brook, whose cooling waters lave
The throbbing temples of the wrinkled town,
In physique lank, and temp'rament anneal'd
To chronic mildness, lifts the visage brown
Of gnarled oaks, whose age distemper'd wears
The knotted scars of palt'ring griefs and cares.

Anear at evening, while the shadows gray,
And the lithe breezes troll the lolling air,
And quaint old burghers of the quaint old town
Disport their venerable limbs achair,
While gusture of the pipe and calm of mind,
Heroic patience plead for fellow kind,

From out my casement, while in twitt'ring flight
The swallows cleave and fret the drowsy air,
And all abroad across the glooming fields
Lies the calm twilight, and the shadows bear
Resemblance vexing to the fantasies
Which glamour'd Hope erst height realities.

I hear a clamor as of scolding dames
Distract the patience of the languid night,
And perk conjecture for a while ensnares
My wonderment, 'till learns my quest aright,
Forsooth that near the hedge, in conclave vex'd,
The oaks assembled predicate a text.

And sooth the churl, beneath whose threat'ning limbs
The unleash'd children tame their wonted glee
In eke'd restraint, lest from the rugged girth
Should mome an erlish visage's mummery,
Commands the rostrum, and the rev'rent boles
To silence awe the breeze that frets their polls.

"In recluse days," quoth he, "when curs'd my sap
With thrilling impulse and untamed force,
At russet tide, the voices of our hills
Grew tremulous with borrow'd accents hoarse,
And erst the striplings of the wondering plain,
Their untaught natures lent to wild acclaim.

"But in the forest cow'd their froward glee,
When din'd the echoes the fore-reaching whoop
Of the fierce Mohawk in his painted rage,
And the soft murmurs of the wild land troop'd
To frighted covert, when the sullen glare
Of rites barbaric scorch'd the affrighted air.

"Fierce as the swoop of eagle empyreal,
Terrific as the stroke of cumber'd cloud,
Wild as the shriek that rends the cowering night,
Dread as the husbandry of flame and shroud,
Fell the wild tocsin of the swarthy sept
Upon the joyous song of vert erect.

"But the day sadden'd, and the madden'd rites
Revoked their frenzy, when the Sagamore
To unnerv'd slumbers bade the sodden braves,
And in the dark-brow'd bidding proud he wore
The majesty of conscious nature's seal
Upon a crest to nature's impulse leal.

"Then clasp'd the sod the knurly chief of all,
In form a new life from the breath of God
In its expansive power omnipotent,
But the crush'd petals which he proudly trod
To suffering fragrance, through'd his rest forlorn
With images which bow'd his spirit's scorn.

"The bruised flowers beneath his savage tread
Rose in prophetic visions,—such as these
Should be his peop'e's sorrows; and afar
Came surging with the requiem of the trees,—
A chant of death, vague sounding through the wail
Of troubled dreams,—this ashen woe's entail.

"No more the camp and lodge should wreathe the grove,
Nor in the wild the whoop terrific rend
The savage rest, but from each bruised leaf
Evolved in imag'd grandeur, proud ascend
The pale face forms of cunning art, and grace
Of cultur'd glebe adorn the mountain's face.

"A stricken chief bow'd to the light of morn
And shadow'd sorrow on the bruised sod,
Where on each mangled holm of vert was writ
This new evangel of the wild man's God:
No more the path of blood shall track my fields,
But husbandry of nobler life revealed.

"Two hundred years have ribbed these rugged hills,"—
Fierce from the awful arsenal of the clouds
Empyrean forces rush, and pencil'd bolts'
Spontaneous terrors speech and visage shroud
In whelming glare, and the brave oak composed
To silence all his memory enclosed.

Two hundred years, quotha! The fires of death
Flare not the shealing of the frontiersman,
But cities deck their spires with splendid peace
And crown the rugged chasm with dizzy space,
And o'er the nodding fields the gilded plumes
Of thought the empire of the glebe illumine.

No longer in the void of Ether gropes,
Or paints fantastic terrors o'er the pole
The counterpart of mind, nor in the deep
Of earth's cimmerian blackness yearning roll
The reserv'd energies of God alone,
And falls their rhythmic clangor, eke their groan.

Nor lone midst awful solitudes which gulf
Around the spheres immeasurable, blend
Respiring forces in the harmony
Of reflex worlds,—but to our walks extend
The mechanisms wrought by th' eternal mind
And pattern'd for the help of creature kind.

Nor in the rotting molecules of ores
Are hidden fabled monsters, but afield
Are thews of iron link'd to subtle might,
And gossamer of steel anew reveals
The grandeur of the better life array'd,
The giant's strength by pigmy's form display'd.

And o'er the clashing waters skimming wild
With Freedom's self-command and airy flight,
Or through the dizzy landscape thundering loud
And changing night for day and day for night,
All hail, expansive sprite, thou of the cloud
Or depths of earth, ennobled conqueror proud!

And from a thousand hills curls to the morn
The tributary fragrance of the zeal
Of groaning industries, nor shrouds the night
A trackless path, while blithely scudding keel
Or night-bound train surveys the wilderness
Of waves or forest in their loneliness.

No clash of arms contentious fields withal
Deck with the bays of internecine lust,
But fame of noblest rivalries appeals
To nobler man e'en from the conqueror's dust,
And crowns itself immortal, where amain
An empire's dust alone provoked a name.

High in the senate of this nobler life,
Instinct with Thought's commanding stateliness,
Thy presence crowns the glory of thy days
With painless sovereignty and high address
Of gentlest comity, whose boyhood free
Expanded with the vastness of the sea.

Child of no titled lineage, thou self taught
Hast climbed the dizzy height of noblest fame,
Where, like a beacon cliff upon the shore,
Thou rul'st the tumult of the surging main
Vex'd by the storms of trade, and stand'st erect
While in the gulf of waters whirl the wreck'd!

Ont-titan'd Titans yield thee mastery,
Ruling a continent! Thine iron arms
Embrace its fruitage; thy far-reaching thought
Essays th' antipodes with guileless charms
Of kingly commerce 'neath the flag which bears
To farthest Ind the sovereignty of prayers.

Thou great pathfinder for the enterprise
Of princely capital, munificent
Of effort and result, in homage lead
A nation's heart crowns thee beneficent;
When at thy bidding every landscape smiles,
And thrift of peace the passion's sway beguiles.

In the broad commonwealth of commerce great
As kingliest scion of the nation's dead,
The unnamed fame of gentle deeds shall crowd
Perennial blessings o'er thy dying head,
And Parthenon of fame in deathless gilt
Emblazoned bear the name of Vanderbilt.
Rome City, Indiana, May, 1871.

SCRIPTURALISMS—"FOUND ADRIFT."

"Ye gods, Captain, that was a pull, an exhaustive pull—a pull for life."

"Yes, Marvin, it was indeed a life effort. Yet a little while and that slab of ice, with its precious human freight, would have been dashed amid the seething foam of the angry ocean breakers. But thanks to her good angel, the strong arms and stout heart of my sturdy, faithful mate, the pretty gem is saved. How do you feel, Marvin, after so exciting a chase?"

"A little stiff in the arms, Captain, but all right here." Placing his hand over his heart, Roger Marvin, with slightly moistened eyes, continued, "Indeed, Captain, as you have rightly intimated, the little one does appear to be a rare jewel. Come, let us catch again those gleams of bright sunshine emitted from her sparkling, jetty eyes. I've just left the laughing sea nymph stirring from a balmy sleep."

This conversation between Captain Wesley Wilson and his shipmate occurred on board the packet Grey Eagle as she was slowly making her way through the broken ice of Delaware Bay, heading toward the city founded by the peace-loving Quaker William Penn.

There had been a fearfully destructive freshet along the upper country, carrying away not only fences and trees of great size and strength, but in some instances entire houses floated down the swollen stream, away and out to sea. The little flaxen-haired girl, still enwrapped with her bed clothing, had by a sudden whirl been thrown upon a large slab of ice, and was drifting rapidly out to sea when discovered and saved by Roger Marvin. True, when found she was almost frozen; the warmth and cordial care imparted by him soon restored her; and though she never found her parents, she found a sympathetic home of comfort without ostentation with the family of Captain Wilson.

Years after the occurrence of this little incident, and when Philadelphia had trebled in area and population, in an upper room in which are three or four men there is an earnest, sad commotion. A man of medium height, iron-like frame, and well formed head crowned with a thickly crop of jetty hair, interspersed but slightly here and there a strand of gray, is stretched full length upon the bed; near him the heated physician who has at length succeeded, after much labor, in withdrawing the poison from the stomach of the would-be suicide. The door opened, and the invalid turning partially round on the couch extended his hand toward the new comer, and with a half smile of scornful contempt for life, remarked:

"Well, Thomas, failed again. I'm glad you've come, though I had hoped to have been done ere now with this aching, disappointing thing called life."

"Why, Marvin, what does this mean? What have you been doing?" the other queried, glancing from his friend round the somewhat disordered room.

"Ha! doing but little, Thomas, too little to be effectual; I never did do much; my whole life is a bald failure, I have

long felt this keenly. So I thought I would just take in a reef, tack about, and take another course. But as has ever been my destiny I have failed again, and still am with you."

"I am glad, Marvin, you are yet here, and believe it is that you may yet learn that life, all life, notwithstanding much of apparent incongruity and certainly not excepting human life, is and ever will be a beautiful success."

"Ah, Thomas, that may answer very well as a picture, to look upon, and perchance, if possible, persuade yourself to believe that it is even a weaker reflection of the greater, more luminous fact. For there is hope of a tree if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branches thereof will not cease. But man dieth, and wasteth away—as the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up; so man lieth down and riseth not. Is man less than a tree then? is he no more than a sheep?"

"Old Job had considerable experience according to the record, and his answer appears to be 'Yes,' 'No.' 'The waters wear the stones, and the hope of man is destroyed. His flesh upon him shall have pain, and his soul within him shall mourn.'"

"Why, Job appears in some of his moods to have been a confirmed fatalist, with hopes of the race as limited as that of the Latter-day 'Second Advent' Materialist. But these people in number are as the grains in a handful of sand compared with the millions of men and women whose experience, to say nothing of their intelligence, learning and moral worth, is at least as trustworthy as that of those who traduce them and scoff at their coveted evidence of human immortality."

"Granted, and Thomas, you are aware of my uniform urbanity and tolerance, if not respect for the religious notions and feelings of all differing from me. But the fact of immortality granted, still what is all this to me, if I do not know I shall continue to live on forever as an individual. The doctrine of immortality affords but little or no consolation, unless I feel that I shall retain thereby my individual identity through an endless life."

"Without referring to the Bible, every page almost of which discloses evidence of spirit and its power over and control of matter, there are thousands of living witnesses among us whose conclusions, based upon the every day fact of their communion with their friends already passed on, are as clear, tangible and satisfactory as the existence of their physical wants recognized by the constant consciousness of their five senses."

"And I, Thomas, will not be so rash, not to say unkind, as to dispute their evidence nor mar in the least the exquisite happiness such joyous faith must certainly afford its possessor. But tell me, why, oh! why, it is that one who has striven to live the blameless life I have, has been so long denied the faintest spark of this happy evidence of my continued existence—through the spheres in which there may be opportunity to make amends for the mistakes of this, where we may, by a clearer vision and greater spiritual strength, redeem and purify our life from the errors and failures here?"

"And is it so, Marvin! Can you with calm, quiet reflection say you have never received something like evidence to you of a future happy life? Assurance that if a man die he shall live again."

"None. And it is not my indolence surely that has denied to me the precious boon. My own consciousness repels such a conclusion, for from my early youth, left an orphan, there are none who have been more industrious, either physically or mentally, nor less addicted to indulgence in the social faults and vices of the times. From the sturdy industry of a farmer's boy to the busy life of a mechanic, that gally-slave of modern days, anon out on the old stirring ocean. And, then, by dint of my own unaided efforts launched boldly and busily into mercantile life. Here, yes I must say it, I was successful, rather, for a time only. Rebellion, secession, civil war, shrouded the nation in sackcloth, and all seemed engulfed in failure. I failed certainly; business, family ruined, broken up—scattered. Oh, God! death is preferable to the contemplation. For years now, Thomas, I have existed, lingered within a living tomb."

"I can easily understand, Marvin; may comprehend to a degree the depth of suffering to which a soul so exquisitely sensitive has been goaded and tortured by the uncongenial, unsympathetic conditions cast about you. But how it is that one of your intelligence, moral cultivation, emotional and susceptible nature possesses no satisfactory evidence of continued human existence I cannot conceive. And yet your proverbial deference toward opposing opinions reflects more beautifully the nobility of your nature."

"Soft, Thomas, you will make me vain, and yet persuade me that I deserve the Christian heaven. But, seriously, you know what has been done through me to forward the spiritual cause, and though I prefer even now not to refer to it, it is only for the purpose of saying, that if the spiritual philosophy is what you make and what I have desired to believe, why I must think it at least very ungrateful in the band of spirits and a remarkably strange way to reward their patron, by overturning his affairs, stripping him clear and clean of all he possessed, and then leaving him in the lurch to die or shift as best he can. May be, however, it is done out of revenge by a league of bad spirits getting control. But are the evil stronger than the good?"

"Our passions are the scourges by which we call up spirits of good or evil. Cheer up, Marvin. Be a hero in the strife."

"Would you intimate that it is not heroic to die? Pshaw! What is there in death to fear? I can fearlessly die even without the least future hope. And this I call brave, is it not?"

"It has been said that suicide is cowardice. 'Tis cowardly to flee from the trials, arrows and flings of life rather than to face them."

"And it is no less cowardly to shrink from death. Striven as I have to live a clean, conscientious, upright life, I do not fear to die, nor yet fear to fall into the hands of the Christian's God nor any other, and feel equally safe still even if things are not what they seem and life is but an empty dream:

"Safe in the hands of one all-disposing power,
In the dying as in the natal hour."

"But life, Marvin, with all its conflicts and ills, appears preferable to the uncertainty of a future yet untried—this something which makes us rather cling to the ills we have, than fly to others we know not of."

All owing to the peculiar elemental tendency and character of the individual organization. There are men who possess greater, a more tenacious, inherent hold on life, requiring greater force to fell them. I am not one of those, nor was I consulted in the circumstances of my birth."

Time passed on, and Roger Marvin, entering slowly again the busy world, possessed greater strength, doubtless, in the mental composure he now seemed aided to maintain, and more success in the calm, beautiful patience of his chastened spirit. Yes, it was true he had been long drifting on the shoreless sea of bold and liberal thought. Was his troubled, labored life of soul-trying vicissitudes a reflex simply of his mental liberty and change?

Out one day on the bay, a storm coming up suddenly, his boat was overturned, out of sight almost of land. After buffeting the seething waves in the darkness for many hours he was drifted, in the gray of the dawn, quite exhausted, ashore within distant sight of a little seaside cottage. Thrown by the waves high up on the beach, he lay helpless and weak for an hour or more, while the waters receded and the sun glistened the wreck-strewn beach with his welcome, warming beams.

In the rosy flush of the youthful morn a tall, beautiful figure, attired in white, threaded her way toward the place where Marvin lay. Pausing at a short distance the astonished maiden gazed in deepest wonder on the death-like form before her, and then, as she took a single step forward, Marvin unclosing his eyes met hers; and as if magnetized by their piercing gleams, the sudden and pathetic recollection of a former happiness swept his soul with an angelic thrill.

With an ecstasy inexpressible he murmured, "O God, thou hast blessed me—I ask for no more;" and as he again remembered the golden gleams of grateful sunshine cast upon him from the jetty eyes of the little one at sea—she comes again, now grown to beautiful womanhood, to confer a like blessing on him who, having rescued, warmed her into life and joy on the drear, bleak morning he found her so dangerously adrift.

REICHNER.

WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

We are very much gratified to see the rapid acceptance of the fact that women, as well as men, have the right to the ballot. The proposition that the late amendments secure this end only requires to be considered to be accepted. It is an unavoidable conclusion, and is so being received everywhere. Many who disdained to listen to our arguments when first made, and who laughed us to scorn because we made them, are reconsidering the matter, and are really asking themselves if they were not wrong. No single fact has done so much to invite attention to this position as the late decision of Justice Cartter. His opinion virtually settles this question, though he makes a weak attempt to blunt the force of his own conclusions.

We are specially pleased to see the *Woman's Journal* fall into line. We have always looked forward to the time when as a unit all who favored woman suffrage would join in a concentrated demand upon Congress to compel the States in favor of the woman as they did in favor of the negro. But it is idle to say that the women in the States are differently related to the Constitution from women in the Territories. If, as "Warrington" says in the extract below made, "the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have given women the right to receive suffrage from the Legislature, they have conferred the right itself, so that it can only be taken away by further Constitutional action," which is the position to which we have always held.

The opinion of Justice Cartter, that if all persons possess the natural right to vote, it will destroy our civilization, is simply absurd. Such an opinion can only be conscientiously held by a natural-born aristocrat. The whole history of civilization gives the lie to it. It is a libel upon freedom and upon human nature, which no free people will tolerate for a moment. We dismiss the statement with indignation, and so, too, will all honest people who have an idea of freedom above the brute.

We repeat that we are gratified, and especially at the following extract, which we make from the last number of the *Woman's Journal*:

THE BALLOT A NATURAL RIGHT.

While it is generally admitted that the ballot is a political right, it is denied by some that is among the inalienable or natural rights of man. We claim that it is both, but shall di-

rect our comments now to the point which is denied. The line of argument for the natural right of the ballot is based on the inalienable rights of man, without regard to condition or sex, as set forth in the "Declaration of Independence" in the following language:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The rights here specified are not all the inalienable rights with which man is endowed by his Creator. The right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are only "among" them, as is here stated. He has a right to trial by jury, a right to earn and own property, to participate in the government, to representation, and to many other things. But it is sufficient for our purpose to limit our discussion to the "inalienable rights" spoken of in our "Declaration."

"Inalienable" is defined by Webster thus: "Incapable of being put off, alienated, or transferred to another." An "inalienable right," therefore, is a right which is "incapable of being put off or transferred to another." The inalienable rights to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," inhere in the individual, irrespective of sex. These rights are the natural claims of immortal beings, men and women alike. They cannot be alienated by either man or woman, neither can they be transferred to another. They are not the outgrowth of governments, but come from God, and being inalienable, they exist in the individual, as birthrights irrespective of sex, before the organization of government.

If there is no government in existence, each individual has the right to protect himself to his utmost ability. If each has an inalienable right to "life," each has an inalienable right to defend and protect that life whenever it is endangered. If each has the right to "liberty," each has the natural right to defend and protect that liberty whenever it is threatened. Where there is no efficient government to protect the individual, each person has the right of self-defense. This right to protection and self-defense belongs to men and women equally.

But for the good order of society, to advance civilization, and for the better protection of all persons in the exercise of their inalienable rights, governments are established. Our government was established "to secure these rights," to use the exact language of the "Declaration of Independence." As men and women were equally endowed with these "inalienable rights" by their Creator, our government was established to "secure" them to the parties to whom they belonged. It was supposed that government could better protect individuals in their God-given rights than could the individuals themselves, therefore government exists.

The people composing a government, instead of using their individual strength in the protection of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," enact laws for the protection of their rights. Men and women are equally entitled to protection in their God-given and natural right to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness."

In ordaining government, the people do not surrender their right to protect their life and liberty—that is a divine right, and cannot be alienated; but only indicate the way in which their natural rights shall be better defended. Instead of depending on physical strength, they decide that the law shall protect them.

The ballot is the symbol of government and of law. It means protection by law. As the government, through its laws, is to protect all persons, without distinction of sex, in the exercise of their inalienable, or natural rights, hence, every individual has the natural right to a voice in the administration of the government, that they may determine how they shall be protected and what laws shall govern them. The ballot, therefore, is a natural right, inasmuch as it stands for government and law and protection of the natural rights of all, irrespective of sex. The argument is irresistible, and commands the assent of some of the most eminent writers on political economy. Says John Stuart Mill:

All human beings have the same interest in good government; the welfare of all is affected by it, and they have equal need of a voice in it to secure their share of its benefits. If there is any difference, women require it more than men; since being physically weaker, they are more dependent on law and society for protection.

Madison says "the right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of republican government, and ought not to be left to be regulated by the Legislature. A gradual abridgement of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built on the ruins of popular forms."—*Elliott's Debates*, vol. v., p. 388.

James Madison, in an address to the American people, at the close of the war of independence, said:

"Let it ever be remembered that it has been the pride and the boast of America that the rights for which she has contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessing of the Author of these rights, they have prevailed over all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent States."—*Journal of Continental Congress*, April, 1782, vol. viii., p. 201.

According to these statements, the rights for which the American people contended were the rights of human nature, the natural rights of all; the right to representation, and consequently the right to elect the representative.

But there is another line of argument equally conclusive. The third charge in our "Bill of Rights" brought against the King of Great Britain is this:

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only."

Representation is here called a "right inestimable to the people," which they would not surrender to the king. The people in this country claimed the "right of representation in the Legislature." As they were governed, they claimed a right to a voice in the government, a right to say what laws should govern them. They had a natural right to express assent or to dissent from the laws by which they were to be governed. As all people, without distinction of sex, were to be governed, all had a natural right to be represented in the Legislature. Women are governed precisely as men are, are counted in representation, are subject to the laws made, pay taxes to support the government as men do, and have the same natural right as men to a voice in the representation.

In our republican form of government representation means the ballot. Through that men elect their representatives. And woman, like man, can be actually represented only by the exercise of the ballot. Representation means

the protection of the inalienable rights of the individual, and as the ballot is the symbol of that representation, it stands for the divine, or *natural rights* which the representative in the Legislature is in duty bound to protect.

Kant, the German philosopher, says truly that "a republic is that form of government where every citizen participates, by his representative, in the exercise of legislative power."—*Wheaton's History of Law of Nations*, p. 751.

James Otis said, "The Supreme Court cannot take from any man any part of his property, without consent *in person or by representation*."—*The Rights of the Colonies Asserted and Proved*, p. 37.

This comprehensive and forcible statement of James Otis is equally applicable to woman. If the law cannot take from any man any portion of his property without his consent *in person or by representation*, it cannot justly do so by any woman. And yet it does precisely this thing by thousands of women.

Benjamin Franklin said, "Every man of the commonalty, except infants, insane persons and criminals, is of common right and by the laws of God, a freeman, entitled to the free enjoyment of liberty. That liberty or freedom consists in *having an actual share* in the appointment of those who frame the laws."—*Franklin's Works*, Vol. II., p. 372.

By a parity of reasoning, women, by common right and by the laws of God, are entitled to the free enjoyment of liberty. That liberty, as Franklin says, consists in *having an actual share* in the appointment of those who frame the laws. Women, therefore, have a right to the ballot.

Mrs. Woodhull, in her argument delivered in Lincoln Hall, Washington, February 16, 1871, said: "It is said the amendment does not give any one the right to vote. Suppose we admit that for a moment, I think men will desire to disown it. If the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments give none the right to vote, let me ask them where they obtain their right to vote? Do they get it from the Constitution? Nowhere does it say 'the right to vote,' except in this Fifteenth Amendment. Do they vote by right, or is this another usurpation which they exercise? Where do they get their right to vote? I will tell them where they get their right to vote. They inherit it from their God, and every one of the sovereign people inherits it from the same infinite source, who knows no such ignoble limitation as that of sex. The right to vote is *higher* than State laws, *higher* than countries' constitutions. It can neither be given nor taken by laws or by constitutions. These are but means for its exercise, and when our laws and constitutions shall have been reduced to *this* standard we shall have a republican form of government, and not till then."

In the same number of the *Woman's Journal*, H. B. B. says:

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.—The Woman Suffrage party, like an army besieging a fortress, should assail the weaker points in the fortification.

Hitherto our two points of attack have been the Constitutions of State and nation. It has been taken for granted that amendments to both are needed in order to establish Woman Suffrage. Such amendments will undoubtedly be needed for the completion of the work, unless the Supreme Court decides that woman is entitled to suffrage as a citizen of the United States—a question already submitted to the courts for adjudication.

But no sooner has legal investigation been turned to the subject than it becomes apparent that there is important work to be done both by Congress and by State Legislatures *under the Constitutions as they are*.

The Constitution provides that "Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations for the Territories." Under this provision, Congress enfranchised the negro men of the District without waiting for any constitutional amendment. Therefore Congress has an undoubted constitutional right to enfranchise woman in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. Accordingly, Hon. Henry Wilson brought forward a bill for this purpose, two years ago, and we hope he will not fail to renew the proposition next winter. The admirable results of the experiment in Wyoming will be a powerful practical argument in its favor. It is also with the power of Congress to refuse to admit any new State, unless its Constitution guarantees impartial suffrage without distinction of sex.

Now, to confer suffrage upon woman in the District and in the Territories requires *only a majority of a quorum* of the Senate and House of Representatives. But to amend the Federal Constitution requires two-thirds of both houses and a subsequent ratification by three-fourths of the State Legislatures. Let us undertake the easier work first. It is idle to expect to carry a Sixteenth Amendment until Congress is willing to exercise the power it already possesses. Therefore, we hope that the prominent demand made by the American Suffrage Association at Washington will be the immediate passage of a law prohibiting political distinctions on account of sex and conferring equal suffrage upon woman in the District of Columbia and in all the Territories of the United States. H. B. B.

We reply that nobody but H. B. B. and those for whom he speaks have taken any such thing for granted. Such amendments will not be needed. We already have the necessary amendments that have wiped the obstructions to the right of women to the elective franchise out of existence, and to-day they stand a dead-letter upon the Statute Books of our States. The people of the whole country have granted women the fullest powers of citizenship, and that, too, by express declaration in the Supreme Law of the land. What business have the States to stand in the way and nullify that power? Will H. B. B. please inform us? People seem to imagine that the days of State's rights doctrine have not passed. We know they have.

It is, then, the supremest folly to say that we must do this, or do that, or that, to evade the direct issue. Women in all the States now have the right to vote. What Constitutional rights have women in the Territories that women in the States have not? It is weakness to ask for less than the Constitution grants, and Congress cannot refuse to enact laws which will protect women in the exercise of their right to the ballot, since they have done the same for negroes. It is an insult to American women to say that under the same amendment that recognized both negroes and

women as citizens Congress had the power to protect negroes but not women; and they will not dare to maintain it much longer. The amendment itself confers the power to enforce its provision by appropriate legislation. We have asked for appropriate legislation, and we shall demand it. A Declaratory Act is all we need. A Declaratory Act the next Congress can give; and it is their solemn duty to do so, whether on the eve of a presidential election or not. This is a matter of right, of justice, before which the hopes and fears of mere political aspirations of the party in power *must bend*. Let the Republican party remember Tammany, and be just, in time.

We append extracts from Warrington's letter in the same number of the *Woman's Journal*, which require no comment:

This is all true enough. That is to say—although by natural law, one sex has an equal right with the other to vote, or, to put it in better shape, an equal right to exercise political power in whatever form the weapon or tool of political power comes, yet men, having made all political institutions to suit themselves, have heretofore excluded women from government and the tools and weapons of government. So far from denying this, we admit it, and say this is just what is complained of and must be remedied. Judge Cartter's historical statement is of no more value as an argument than was the statement of Judge Chapman and his associates in this State, that women never had been justices—made as a reason why they never can be! Those who believe that the right to vote is given by the new amendments say that the "conventional power" *has now* been exercised for the benefit of woman. To say that the "authority of political power" *now* declares in favor of both sexes, being equally citizens; and that although "the express authority of political power" in the States has heretofore made regulations excluding women, those regulations are *now* abrogated by the higher authority of the United States Constitution. What answer is there to this? None at least from Judge Cartter.

Now, did Judge Cartter ever hear of a Constitution in this country, which in dealing with the right of suffrage was interpreted to have declared that any class are of "capacity" to become voters, but are not voters? We venture to say, never. The Constitution, State or national, invariably fixes the qualification of voters. It is never a subject of legislation. If there are any exceptions to this, they must be rare enough to make it a rule. The government could not be carried on unless the qualifications of the voter were fixed so that the dominant party could not change them by legislation year by year. The idea is preposterous. If the U. S. Constitution then has gone so far (as the Judge admits) as to make women *capable of being voters*, it has made them voters, that is, it has so fixed their status, as citizens and as persons having constitutional rights, that no legislative body can deprive them of this right. The result of the court's reasoning would be that Massachusetts could in 1872 give the women the right to vote, and the next year take away the right from them, or from the men, or do any other preposterous and revolutionary thing, and repeat the process in the form of some new absurdity in 1874, and again in 1875. No such thing. If the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have given women the right to receive the suffrage from the Legislature, they have conferred the right itself, so that it can only be taken away by further constitutional action.

TAXATION A TYRANNY.

SYNOPSIS OF A PAPER LATELY READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK LIBERAL CLUB BY WILLIAM B. SCOTT.

A tax is a sum of money taken without the owner's consent, and by armed force if need be, to support the government. The possession of the power thus to take property is a fruitful source of evil, and is the root of a very large share of social troubles.

Suppose that A wishes a basket of champagne. He earns \$12, with which to pay for it, and through ordinary business agencies he can remit his money and receive his basket of champagne. But at our wharves the basket is seized by an official who refuses—backed, if need be, by the army and navy—to let A bring his property into his own country till he has paid \$6 for that privilege. A must hence earn \$6 more and hand it to the official before he can get an order on the custom house for his beverage. If he adds the duty to the price and sells the champagne to a neighbor, the buyer must pay for it out of the results of his toil or the toil of others. This principle holds in large and small transactions.

In this city real estate is taxed about \$20,000,000 yearly. The capitalist pays the tax, but he always reimburses himself by including in it the expenses of business, so that it comes out of the production in the end. If taxes tend to diminish capital, capital will depart to more favorable places. If they go beyond incomes and trench on real estate, improvements will cease. It is through taxation that laborers are robbed to enrich a few speculators; and nothing short of the abolition of the power of government to collect money without consent of the owner (that is, by force) will destroy official patronage or corruption, or stop this robbery of the workman.

Nor is taxation needful. What people desire they will individually and freely combine to get; and as long as people desire government they will pay what they think is needful. When government uses this power to effect social results, it costs more to reach them, and they are reached in a hurtful mode and order. When this government was organized it refused to subsidize a church party. Well would it have been if it had also refused to subsidize a political or a financial party. Let us hope it will yet do so. A party in power requires subsidies from foes as well as friends. No true title to property can be gained except by producing, or by exchanging product for product, service for service, by consent of both parties.

When all forms of taxation are removed, our commerce will increase tenfold, and we shall be ten times as able to create a navy in case of need.

We want freedom to do what we will, if we do not trespass on the same freedom of others; but even for this purpose legislation is useless, and all that is needed for social happiness is to observe freedom as a rule of life.

"All women, let them be ever so homely, are pleased to hear themselves celebrated for beauty."

THE COMING FIGHT.

[From the Irish Republic.]

Hurra! hurra! for the coming fray, let your banners be unfurled!
In the truth and strength of our loyal souls lie the hopes of the darkened world,
Let the fearless North send her legions forth to the roll of the voiceful drum;
And the West ring out her thunder shout, 'till the parricides grow dumb.

Across the land God's glowing hand doth wave us to freedom on;
Let nations sink in our shoreless souls and races blend in one;
Let us chant this song as we march along and God smiles over all,
"If Freedom lives, all lands shall live; if she fall, all lands will fall."

The might of the Lord upheld the sword that smote them hip and thigh;

Our cause was flanked by deathless Truth, theirs by a crimson lie.
In vain they met the fierce onset, all banked by the devil's shields—
The great red roaring sea of war swept over their ruined fields,
And cleansed their plains from the gory stains that cried 'till the outraged land

Rebuked the worshipers of crime with a devastating hand.
'Twas they filled up the burning cup from the slaver's poisoned bowl,
That brought hot horror to the breast, damnation to the soul.

The storm is past, and the waves at last sink into quiet sleep,
And the cloudless stars, in their olden light, flash out across the deep:
Love lays his hand on the throbbing land and bids her passions cease,
And the winds that fan her fevered brow seem whispering words of peace;

The nation sings, as she proudly flings back grief from her vocal throat,

A victor song that thrills along to the nations most remote;
Our children's graves, like a sea of waves, stretch red at our bleeding feet,
But Freedom's fruit springs from their blood for the suffering world to eat.

When the cannon's breath belched fiery death, and the hordes of treason came,

Like the red waves of the desert whipped on by tongues of flame,
In the horrid front of the battle's brunt, with shouts that rent the skies,

The Spirit of Hell rode jubilant, flanked by a thousand lies;
For the olden fight of Wrong and Right seemed sloping to defeat,
And the conquered world, a captive bound, seemed rolling to his feet.

But Freedom's host, like the rock-ribbed coast that fronts the angry waves,

Met the roaring force and flung them back to their unrepentant graves.

Oh, ye who led the mighty dead—in their graves of victory—
Who gave the current of their lives to nurture Liberty,
From whose hot graves Secession's waves were back into darkness hurled,

That, unsubdued, in their onward flow would have swept the wakening world;

Now Labor calls from her outraged halls, and her voice rings through the land

Like the trumpet-call of the menaced days. Obey her high command;
Fall into line with nine times nine and banners to the wind.

That was the tug of bone and thew, but this is the fight of mind.

Come hand in hand, from Fatherland—fling out your flag as of old,
And by its side shall float in pride old Erin's Green and Gold;

And France shall soar her Tricolor in Freedom's cause once more;
Like lovers 'round the Starry Flag, come, rally as of yore.

The weary lands, hands clasped in hands, like stars about the sun,
Swing 'round this land. Oh! let us keep her burning brightly on;

For if her fires are Freedom's fires, the lesser lands must die,
And darkness fold the suffering earth beneath a sunless sky.

Now, mighty hearts, act well your parts in this dread hour and rise
Above your little spots of earth, your flags and heraldries.

There is no place for creed or race within our giant souls.
Where the great sea, Humanity, in boundless beauty rolls,

Cold Prejudice—a sea of ice—melts in the genial sun
Of Freedom, and our wakening souls into each other run;

We soar above all racial love—our creed is Liberty—
Our nation is the boundless earth—our race humanity.

Hurra! hurra! for the coming fray, let your banners be unfurled;
In the truth and strength of our loyal souls lie the hopes of the darkened world,

Let the fearless North send her legions forth to the roll of the voiceful drum;
And the West send out her thunder shout, 'till the parricides grow dumb.

Across the land God's shining hand doth wave us to Freedom on;
The hordes of crime must be rebuked, the world's salvation won.

Let us chant this song as we march along, hand clasped in brother's hand,

"Our race is all humanity; the earth our native land." M. S.

TO THEODORE TILTON.

BY MISS N. S. EMERSON.

In the name of all womanhood brave and true,
Of mothers and sisters and daughters, too,

In the name of all names that are dear to you—
All names that to us are dear—

We thank you, friend, for each earnest thought
Your pen has written, your brain has wrought;

For the logical truths your words have taught,
That he that hath ears may hear.

For now is the hour of our danger and doubt,
The battle is opened with ruin and rout;

Our protest is given, our banner flung out,
Old theories are dying or dead.

Our women are few who have courage and power,
And many who shrink from the struggle and cower

To the men who are strangling themselves every hour
By eating the words they have said.

But we know there is work in abundance to do,
And we need all the hearts that are loyal and true,

Therefore, oh friend, we have need of you;
And we thank you again and again,

In the name of all womanhood, far or near,
Who rise in triumph or shrink in fear,

In the name of all names to true manhood dear,
For your brain and your heart and your pen.

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

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN HUMANITY.

There is scarcely a soul so constituted as not to have involuntary longing for something above itself, some inherent and unaccountable outreaching for the better, the beyond. Every heart feels it has unseen connections, and frequently lives in and obtains comfort from them. There is an involuntary reverence for the majesty and power exhibited in some of the more startling manifestations of nature. The roaring tempest, mingled with the muttering thunder; the terrific outpouring of the pent-up furies of the earth through some volcanic escape; the rendings of the earth's crust by the movements of the powers it confines—all speak to the soul in unmistakable terms, and it bows before them and worships. And there lives not the man or woman so self-sufficient in his or her denial of a supreme power, but will stand awed before these mighty exhibitions which no materialistic theory has yet satisfied the consciousness about. It is this sentiment universally existent within mankind that we call the Religious Element. It is necessarily a component part of their being. A personality with this sentiment utterly divorced, would be merely an intellectual machine, without soul, without any of the higher attributes of our natures. It is equally true, however, that if this sentiment is not united and modified by the intellect, the possessor becomes an idolater.

The religious sentiment is inherent in man. It does not require to be planted, nurtured and fostered to have an existence, though its highest action is only possible when the intellect shall guide it to rational ends. The world believes that Tom Paine was an infidel; that is, that he did not believe in the Supreme Power. But it seems to us that he had a deeply religious notion. He had a consciousness of a power that manifested itself through nature by fixed laws, though he did not accept the Christian's God of his day, seated on a great white throne, nobody could tell where. He regarded people who without reason worshiped a god of their own make, as idolaters, as Christians regarded those who made unto themselves gods of wood and stone; and we say he was right.

The true and healthy religious element of man does not require that he shall worship the God of orthodoxy. But it compels the adoration of that God, omnipotent and omnipresent, who is seen everywhere—in the sunshine as well as in the tornado; in the lovely violet as well as in the haughty red-rose; in the sleeping child as well as in the raging madman; in the refreshing shower as well as in the elements that sweep a city out of existence.

When the human mind attempts to reduce God to a form, or to limit Him to comprehension, that moment the true idea of God is destroyed; since the finite can neither grasp nor

contain the infinite. We know that we cannot know God. We know that his existence is utterly beyond us, yet we have a consciousness that tells us that He exists; and we know it in the same way that we know that we exist; but we can prove neither absolutely. We cannot even prove that we know anything, since no man has been able to show how the simplest fact rises into his consciousness. Yet we rest content upon the undefined presence within us of the consciousness that our faith is not in vain; and this is the result of the presence of the religious elements. There are a class of philosophers—professed scientists—who appear to desire to prove that the intellect is the greater when compared with the religious nature; but they forget that intellect divorced from this nature is a form without a soul. They are both equally important parts of humanity. The existence of either, with the other absent, gives a poor sample of God's handiwork. It is when there is a perfect unity and balance between them that wisdom is developed. Wisdom is the result of a marriage between the affectionate and the intellectual, and is the ultimate condition in which man shall develop.

Therefore the purely intellectual man, though he be a God among men, is not the ideal man. We must unite his wisdom to the great sympathetic inspirational soul to ever render his intellect available to humanity. Separate it from that, and his life will be vain. It is the living of but one half the real man. It is the male element of humanity separate and acting apart from the female. It can never conceive and bear fruit meet for human needs.

Every human soul must be met and counterparted by its opposite in sex, before the highest mission of either can be fulfilled. Nor do we mean this as related merely to present opposites sexually. The counterpart may be, as it often is, in spirit life; and yet it breathes into its other self all the modifying power and influences it demands. Undoubtedly, however, the greatest and best results must flow from counterparted existence in the same sphere. And this condition is what the world is unconsciously striving for to-day. From all quarters the wail comes up out of the heart of humanity for something, they cannot tell what, Freedom has germinated within its womb, and the premonitory labor pains are even now beginning. But those subject do not yet know what is to be born unto them. They know they are pregnant of some great idea, but with this the knowledge of most ceases. Yet they endure with a firm faith that they shall see the travail of their souls and be satisfied. This faith is born of the Religious Element and succors the human spirit when all things else fail.

Behind everything we are, and everything we do, then, stands this part of us. Though neglected and overgrown with weed—with briars and thorns—it nevertheless cannot be quenched out. When all things else come short, to this infinite source we fly and rest our wearied, careworn souls. Shall we, then, trample upon Religion? Never! Let us the rather cherish it as that which is nearer and dearer to us than all else we possess. "But desire wisdom. Get understanding." These built upon faith will make you perfect, even as the angels in heaven are perfect. But let no effort be spared to dethrone Man-made Gods.

BALAAM OR BALAAMS; WHICH?

Whenever persons in responsible positions are called upon to decide questions that deeply and gravely affect the human family, for weal or woe, they either rise into greatness and to grand humanitarian heights, or sink to the level of and into the mud, and they either develop the proportions of a man or descend to that of the animal. Justice Carter, of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Columbia, was called upon to perform a duty, which gave him his opportunity. But he failed to comprehend it; or he prostituted his position to unworthy uses. No one can have observed the late movements of the Republican Party and be unconscious that they are preparing to play a deep and bold game, which to one who loves liberty must be prophetic of national woe. What have the Republican Party done? They opened wide the gate of freedom—indeed so wide that those whom they had not considered were likely to get within the fold. Finding out too late that they had overreached themselves, they seized upon the only pretext possible to remedy the error; and that pretext was the stultification of every act they have ever performed. But it was necessary that something should be done. Not to act was, as they thought they foresaw, destruction. It became necessary that the legitimate fruit of their self-proclaimed theories should be averted. First they thrust Senator Carpenter into the gap to announce a new departure, and then Justice Carter followed up the vantage by a decision which attempts to completely overthrow the doctrine of individual or popular sovereignty. These efforts, considered with the bid for the support of the "Church" by the Utah movement, plainly indicate a matured plan to ultimate in still greater trespasses upon the rights of the people.

But we propose to discuss this at another time and give attention to Justice Carter. In giving the decision adverse to the plaintiffs, Sara Spencer and Sarah E. Webster, he quotes from the Organic Act, to show that it only permits males to votes. But he forgets that there is a higher authority than that act, even if Congress did establish it; and which he is oath-bound to support, as against every other. If this act was found to be antagonistic to the Constitution, it was his duty to have decided it unconstitutional. No one

can know better than Justice Carter should know that what the people of the United States have ordained in their Constitution cannot be nullified by any lesser authority. If the people have declared that women are citizens, as they have, and as Justice Carter himself admits they have, and a higher judicial authority than he has held that one of the citizen's rights is to exercise the elective franchise, how can Congress step in to nullify it: and how dare Justice Carter to uphold them in such transcending of authority?

Justice Carter must know, or ought to know, that the doctrine he attempts to overthrow is that upon which our government was built—the sovereignty of the people, not of a portion of the people. The right to vote does not "rest upon the authority of political power." Instead, it created all the political power there is, and it rests upon this right. This right may be regulated and qualified, but not out of existence or into dormancy.

The idea that a part of "We the people" have granted to another part rights for which there never was any authority for discrimination and, then, that those rights must remain dormant until the same part of "We the people" shall see fit to call them from their involuntary resting, is an admission of ignorance and stupidity that, to us, seems impossible for any sane professor of democracy to entertain. It is at once assuming to be republican and advocating its opposite. Do away with the principle of self-government, and what have we left of our theory? Do away with the proposition that a just government should exist by the consent of the governed, and what have we left to which to cling? If we, at this age of representative government, admit the idea of exclusiveness into our practice, the next age may extend it until there will be no government by the people and for the people. In short, Justice Carter has made a departure endangering the safety of our institutions. But if his exposition of the law relating to the subject is dangerous to our institutions, the proposition upon which he decides as to the existence of the right to vote is simply ridiculous. It has been left to Justice Carter to discover that "the legal vindication of the natural right of citizens to vote would, at this stage of popular intelligence, involve the destruction of civil government" as well as that "the result in our large cities is political profligacy and violence verging on anarchy. The influences working out this result are apparent in the utter neglect of all agencies to conserve the virtue, integrity and wisdom of government and the appropriation of all agencies calculated to demoralize and debase the integrity of the elector. Institutions of learning, calculated to bring men up to their high state of political citizenship, and indispensable to the qualifications of the minds and morals of the responsible voter, are postponed to the agency of the dram-shop and gambling-hell; and men of conscience and capacity are discarded, to the promotion of vagabonds to power. This condition demonstrates that the right to vote ought not to be, and is not, an absolute right. The fact that the practical working of the assumed right would be destructive of civilization is decisive that the right does not exist."

That specimen of reasoning should be preserved in some art museum as about the most curious thing that ever had existence. From the first sentence to the last word it is one tissue of misrepresentation and illogical statement. In the first place, there has never been an opportunity for a vindication of the natural right to vote. The very fact that exclusiveness has been practiced, when impartiality should have ruled, has contributed largely, if not wholly, to the conditions cited in proof of his statements. There is not a sensible child of twelve years of age in the city of New York but knows that the demoralization of Tammany is the result of the exercise of the greatest talent and learning, which framed laws under which a few men could rob the people and almost certainly escape detection. But the history of the downfall of that monster seems to have dazed Justice Carter, since he forgets that when the people took this matter in hand it was remedied just as soon as they could exercise this right, which he says does not exist, because there were previous frauds and abuses.

The fact is, and unless Justice Carter is insane he knows it to be so, that the people have had too great confidence in those who, while it was supposed they were serving them, were ruling instead. Instead of being servants, they sought to be and came near being masters. And just this is what the Republican Party are endeavoring to accomplish to-day. They are determined to divert the will of the people to their own ends, aims and to the maintenance of themselves in power. But let them beware lest, like Tammany, the people learn their intention, and, as they did with that gang of thieves, thrust them out of power and compel them to retreat to their holes. It is not true that men of conscience and capacity are discarded for vagabonds. If such cases do exist, they are the exceptions. It may be one of these in the case of Justice Carter. If he urge that it is, we shall not attempt to deny it. But we do most emphatically and unequivocally deny, and we hurl it back at the Judge in his seat, that the abuses in political circles are the result of the extended exercise of the suffrage. Justice Carter knows better, and this lie with which he insults the millions of honest voters will some day strike him a blow that will kill him judicially.

But the true and full character of this indignity with which Justice Carter has insulted American male citizens, becomes doubly base when we remember that he makes use of it to prove that women ought not to have the right to

vote. That is to say, Justice Cartter says, that already politics are debauched enough by men, but if women were to be added our civilization would be utterly destroyed. Look at this, would-be-free women and American citizens; take it up carefully and analyze it closely, and then see in what company you are placed by this latter-day Daniel. It is the most atrocious libel that could have been invented. Men are bad enough, says this personification of wisdom, but women, oh, no! that never will do; they will ruin us. Since some people abuse their stomachs through their appetites, therefore the right to eat and drink ought not to, and does not, exist, argues this learned Judge. Since some people commit suicide, therefore the right to life ought not to, and does not, exist. Since some people steal, therefore the right to own anything ought not to, and does not, exist. This method of arriving at conclusions has at least the advantage of originality, since it was left for Justice Cartter to invent. Let him now hasten to put all jurisprudence upon the basis of this new method, and we shall hastily arrive at the ultimate of justice and equity.

But this expounder of constitutional law has discovered that the three amendments about which there has been so much said—that they had no application to women—have affected them. It has done so much as to distinguish them from aliens: that is to say, women were not distinguishable from aliens until the amendment was added to the constitution. "To be an alien," Webster says, "is not to belong to the same country or government," "belonging to one who is not a citizen," "estranged," "foreign," "not allied," "adverse to," "one not entitled to the privileges of a citizen." Now Justice Cartter says, by this amendment women are distinguished from aliens. But we submit that his statement makes them aliens, since he says women are not entitled to the privileges of citizens, which describes an alien. Instead, then, of being distinguished from aliens, women are nothing but aliens. So it appears that an analysis of each of his propositions, taking them up one by one, elucidates the fact that the reasoning powers of this jurist are inverted.

We desire to call Justice Bradley's query to the attention of Justice Cartter. He very impudently asks, Are these privileges merely capacities? Are they not also rights? To clinch the argument, which he seems to have thought conclusive, Justice Cartter reminds us that the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment ends with the declaration of their citizenship, which declaration, he assumes, has "advanced them to full citizenship and given them the capacity to become voters." Women previously, then, did not have even the capacity to become voters. Remember that, women of the United States, and what you owe to that amendment! And he goes on to add: "It is a constitutional provision which does not execute itself. It is the creation of a constitutional condition that requires the superintention of legislative power to give it effect."

Against all this verbiage we have only to oppose all the theories and decisions of courts in which the rights of citizens were involved; and first, last and always these have been that to be a citizen is to be a voter, unless forfeited by the action of the individual himself. But this decision of Justice Cartter, ignoring all precedent, has evidently been made in the interests of those who desire that women shall be prevented from voting at the next presidential election.

DEMOSTHENES ONCE MORE.

To the Editor of the Brooklyn Eagle:

I thank you for having published my reply, but ask a little space for a rejoinder to your "Demosthenes at Bay." You say: "We propose to refute Mrs. Woodhull out of her own mouth. She says: 'There must be laws to regulate the exercise of the right of citizenship.' Granting this, she burlesques her claim to vote in this State whose Constitution in article 2d, section 1st, says: Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one, &c., &c. This is the law which regulates and establishes the elective franchise in the State where Mrs. Woodhull claims to exercise it. Her own premises and her pet decision, whose language she quotes, fall together." Has any law been passed excluding me from the same rights secured to yourself?

There is nothing so graceful as when in argument a person is fairly hedged, as for that person to squarely admit it, instead of ignoring the very points which decide the questions involved; which I think I can, when you have done your siege upon my declaration that suffrage must be regulated, and claim that it is regulated by the clause "male citizens;" but you neglected to quote me, giving the definitions of these words—regulate and establish. The suffrage in the case of women is regulated out of existence, and established by being nullified and denied. If that is really regulating and establishing suffrage, I say let it be applied to men as well as to women, so that we may have equality somewhere and some way. But how is it that the same law makes one class of citizens voters, while it disfranchises another equally worthy class?

You also ignore the logic of exclusion. I say when I am excluded from the suffrage, that it is not by a regulation. You say that I am excluded from suffrage by a regulation. Either you or I am wrong. Now there is nothing better established in law than that a thing given in positive terms cannot be taken away by implication. According to your argument, the rights granted to all members of the State by article 1, section 1, of the Constitution of the State, in

positive terms, can be taken away by article 2, section 1, by implication. The first says all persons, women as well as men, shall have equal rights. The second says males may exercise these rights. It by no means follows that women shall not also exercise the same rights, because in the last instance it is not said that they may. Try the same question in some other matter, and its ridiculousness will become transparent. Suppose an incorporative company is organized, having men and women stockholders, whose constitution should provide that each stockholder shall be entitled to vote the number of shares respectively held; but that in a succeeding section the men should club together and introduce the regulation that all male stockholders shall be entitled to vote at elections. Do you think that would be a constitutional right sufficient to deprive the women stockholders of their votes? And now be candid, Mr. Editor, for once in this business, and tell me what you would say of such an operation?

Our government is a stock company in which every citizen has an equal interest; and our State Constitution provides not only that all members of it shall have equal rights, but that they shall not be deprived of any common right or privilege secured to any citizen unless by law or a judgment. Nevertheless men have banded together, and, without consulting women, have enacted that males shall be entitled to vote under certain conditions, but neglecting to say even so much as that women shall not vote, completely ignoring their existence, but on election day preventing them from the exercise of rights secured to them, and in no wise impaired by any laws, as I shall hereafter show. I do not know what you may call such an operation, but I call it an unwarrantable usurpation of power even more intolerant than that against which our fathers rebelled, and against which I do rebel, and will incite rebellion until men are compelled to admit that women have some rights which men are bound to respect. But admitting that women may be excluded from suffrage, it must be done by positive law, and not by inference. And here we also have numerous decisions of the courts. I will quote but one, and leave the subject to "the jury." In an opinion rendered by Justice McKay, he laid down the following law:

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

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

Now I submit that suffrage is one of those rights; that there is no law, National or State, that excludes me from it according to that rule.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

44 Broad street, N. Y., November 15, 1871.

[From the Hartford Times.]

LETTER FROM VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

HER STATEMENT OF DOCTRINES—"FREE LOVE" AND THE FREE LOVERS—THE "PROGRESS OF THE AGE."

44 BROAD STREET, N. Y., Saturday,
Nov. 4, 1871.

To the Editors of the Hartford Times:

GENTLEMEN—Trusting to your liberality and respect for fair play, I transmit to you, with this, a letter in reply to the late attack of the Hartford *Courant* upon me—respectfully asking for it a place in your columns, for the following reasons: My reply was forwarded to the *Courant* office, and after two or three days' delay, is returned to me accompanied by a note from the Editor, in which the offer is made to "extract fairly such parts" of my letter as give my views on the suffrage question, the marriage question, and any editorial responsibility; and, publish such "extracts"—or to give me space for a reply one-half as long as that which I have thought best to make. This is all perhaps which the *Courant* can afford to do. (I do not know its circumstances.) At any rate I do confess that is a quite fair offer to proceed from a source which does not hesitate to vilify and traduce others from differences of opinion with it.

I would not charge that the *Courant's* "fair offer" is only a piece of "gallant diplomacy" to practically forbid me the hearing which is my right under its attack—but as I have expressed myself in my reply as I desire to be understood, in as short a manner as possible, to cover the whole ground, and preferring my own manner to any condensations of my reply by the *Courant*—I am obliged to decline its "fair offer;" and I write to ask of you the courtesy of publishing in an un-garbled form my reply to that paper, in order that it may be read by the immediate community into whose midst the *Courant* launched its late bitter and unwarranted attack upon me.

Very respectfully yours,
VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

To the Editor of the Hartford *Courant*:

I seldom depart from the even tenor of my way to notice, or to attempt to answer or refute the abuse with which so many newspaper columns have been loaded since my advent as an exponent of the principles of Social Freedom. To abuse, I am indifferent. For all honest criticism, I am thankful. For all ignorant misstatement, I hope to be charitable. For wilful misrepresentation alone, do I care to render justice. A person who, out of pure malice or to injure a cause with which he does not agree, willfully, deliberately and intentionally *lies*, deserves the worst of all fates. Such a crime as that is as much worse than physical murder as the loss of that which is murdered by it, is more than the

loss of life itself. A person who will publish to the world that a brother or sister is morally an abandoned person, when he can by no possibility know but celibacy itself is lived instead, is, to my mind, as much below the murderer in the scale of being as he is below an angel. The Hartford *Courant* regularly receives the paper which I edit, and you have no possible excuse for ignorance of what has appeared in its columns. If you are really ignorant of what has been said, time and again, you are still more culpable for your late attack upon me. But having stated my opinion of the various phases of tirade which it has pleased my most honorable brothers of the press to level at me, I do not propose to repay the *Courant* in its own coin, nor by any mere passage of words. But I do propose to place recorded facts side by side with your assertions, and then let the public decide which is the more "disreputable" journal—the WEEKLY or the *Courant*.

We challenge you to produce a single editorial article from the columns of the WEEKLY that is immoral in its teaching; that is false and wicked in its social theories; that is "blasphemy of religion and the exaltation of impiety;" or one to show that our "columns are open to anything, without regard to decency;" and I deny that the "editor practically or theoretically repudiates marriage." These are the points of your impeachment, and upon their maintenance you must stand and prove us guilty, or fall and be condemned as set forth above.

To support your allegations you make a quotation from a correspondent, and hold me responsible for her statements. How disingenuous this becomes palpable when I call to your mind that I have again and again stated editorially that I am only responsible for the sentiments and principles of articles appearing as editorial or without signature. I have often invited the most adverse opinions that I might the more pointedly compare the higher with the lower truth. And I now say, to make my position impossible of misconception, that the columns of the WEEKLY are open to the communications of even a Madam Restell to advocate the beneficence of her institution, of which so many of my self-constituted judges have occasion to make use, and of which, if they were to tell the truth, as they feel it, they would be obliged to say it has been a blessing to them.

I should not, however, feel called upon to follow such communication with a lengthy editorial, lest I might be held as advocating the practice of abortion; since whoever has read the WEEKLY knows I hold abortion (except to save the life of the mother) to be just as much murder as the killing of a person after birth is murder. This was made the subject of a special editorial in the number of date August 8, 1870, entitled, "When is it Not Murder to Take Life?"

Neither should I feel especially called upon to give editorial dissent should a mistress of one of the fashionable houses of prostitution frequented by Doctors of Divinity, Medicine and Law, present the beauties of a life of prostitution in its columns, since I have too frequently endeavored to show that "prostitution is anarchy" to leave any doubt as to my position upon that question.

Therefore, when the *Courant* makes this single quotation, and bases its sweeping denunciations upon it, I am compelled to think it dishonest and desirous of unjustly prejudicing its readers against me. And with the more apparent candor and fairness the attempt is made, the more dishonest do I hold the intent; since you know you must make use of them the more completely to mislead your readers.

Let it should be said that I shrink from the point you attempt to make against me by this quotation, I reproduce it entire:

"As far as any accusations of rebellion against the ordinances of society can be brought against me, I will wrench from my accusers their own weapons by acknowledging them all. If my ideas are to-day abominated and execrated, I must, as did my patron saint, Madame Roland, unflinchingly work on and appeal to posterity.

"How grandly you are laboring in the cause! Angels are directing your every step. Have courage, sister! The true women who are to come in the true age will call you blessed. What we have to suffer to-day is the natural lot of those who are before their age.

"From one imputation I desire to defend myself. I am aware that a certain lady said of me to you that I was a sensualist—attaching the low meaning to the word which is common to ordinary minds who see not the deeper and more spiritual significance of words. I am a sensualist in no other sense than that I worship the senses, as the only outward means by which the soul reaches perception; but I am more sensuous than sensual. I love, like every poetic spirit, whatever is grateful to the senses and exquisite to the taste, the aromatic and luxurious deliciousness which nature offers to every appreciative consciousness.

"The gentleman to whom Miss McDowell refers in one of her notices of me I have known for some time. I love and esteem him. He is one of the noblest and most cultivated persons it has been my good fortune to meet. If all men were as good as he, this world would be peopled by gods. The statement in regard to him is, to my knowledge, a tissue of libelous falsehoods, as the lady may learn by asking any one who knows the truth of the story. He never deserted his wife. She refused positively to live with him on account of his belief in Spiritualism and his friendship for a lady, which never exceeded the limits of the purest Platonism. So much did he, from a pure sense of honor, obey the conventionalism of continence, that he was true to it up to the age of thirty-seven, when his guardian spirit taught him its absurdity. In parting from his wife, he gave her every cent of money he possessed in the world, about two thousand dollars, and the income she now has was a deliberate gift from him, and not a legacy from his mother.

"For my part, I would rather be a true-hearted Magdalen of the most despised type, than a woman chaste as ice, but with so little charity, the only real virtue, as to defame by false statements in a public print. This chastity which Miss McDowell considers "the best gift of God's Providence," I consider the greatest curse of the Devil, Ignorance. Chastity is not a virtue. It is rather a crime against nature—

—feeding life's flame with self-consuming fuel,
Making a famine where abundance lies.

It is peevish, proud and made of self-love, the most inhibited sin in the canon. It is either want of capacity or opportunity, want of a heart or a bigoted prejudice, or else a mere sham and pretence, a cover for the grossest crimes against the body."

The first paragraph is an exact statement of my own feeling. I do rebel against all the social ordinances by which society seeks a seeming it has not, and which would compel me to conform to ceremonies which I deprecate. But the desire evinced by the writer in the third paragraph to defend herself against the charge of being a sensualist, is evidence complete that the rebellion against ordinances does

not in her mind, any more than it does in mine, cover justification for sensuality, or an acknowledgment of any charge of that character. And I join with her in her worship of the sensus. They are our God-given means of happiness; and he or she who cannot or will not discriminate between a high and low development of them is not fitted to sit in public judgment over those who have risen into their spiritual appreciation, in contradistinction to the merely animal.

And this interpretation is still further maintained by the succeeding paragraph, in which she extols the virtue of him "whose friendship never exceeded the limits of the purest Platonism." So far, then, I conceive there is nothing but the most poetic expression of purity and holiness; and the highest devotion to truth, honor and principle, which, standing alone with no deprecatory or insinuating remarks appended, would be considered in this light. But you know how to act upon the minds of those to whom you are constantly addressing yourselves, and who involuntarily come to see through the spectacles you present to them. Hence your introductory denunciations that our readers should become thoroughly imbued with the idea that they were to read something terrible beforehand; as well as the cutting off of the quotation at the only possible point where an unpleasant indifference is possible; which is done most ingeniously to effect your purpose. I grant you all the cunning you may claim. But let me restate this paragraph: "For my part I would rather be a true-hearted Magdalen" (does not say she is) "than a woman chaste as ice, but with so little charity as to defame by false statements in a public print." This chastity (this defaming), which—considers "the best gift of God's Providence, I consider the greatest curse of the devil, ignorance." (I wonder she did not say maliciousness.) "Chastity"—"Celibacy"—"it is rather a crime against nature"—

"Feeding Life's flame with self-consuming fuel,
Making a famine where abundance lies."

"It is peevish, proud and made of self-love, the most inhibited sin in the canon. It is either want of capacity or opportunity, want of a heart or a bigoted prejudice; or else a mere sham and pretense, a cover for the grossest crimes against the body."

Now, if for the word "chastity" you substitute celibacy, which, from all that precedes, as well as from all what follows, it is perfectly plain is the sense in which the word is used, what becomes of your indictment? It melts in thin air; it vanishes as a mist before the hot sun, leaving the animus stripped of all pretense and cover, standing in its true light, a hypocritical skeleton.

But, admitting the construction which you would have put upon it, your first remarks completely stultify what you would stamp upon me; they destroy your whole case. You say, "There is never in this WEEKLY, which prints this stuff, an editorial dissent from it. It not only goes unchallenged, but with color of indorsement in the editor's lax social theories."

Now, here is a positive assertion, which is either true or false. If true, and your inferences are warrantable, then you are justifiable in making them. If false, whether your inferences are justifiable or not, you stand convicted of a willful falsehood, uttered for the purpose of deception. Nor will I, as you do, assume this without the proof to sustain it. As long ago as October, 1870, I had occasion to reprove the press in general in the following terms, which appeared in the paper of date October 29, 1870:

"No such forced associations as present systems compel can ever receive the sanction of God's marriage law. 'Whatever God hath joined together let not man put asunder' applies to no such abortions of nature as compel a delicate, sensitive natured woman to endure the presence of a beastly constituted man. Many men are really brutes in nature, and what woman, except she, too, is a beast, can be by God joined to any such? This matter might just as well be considered now as to be forced off; but the attempt may be made to put it off, but individuality is being developed in woman too rapidly to make it successful.

"While assuming this ultra position we also occupy the other extreme, and declare that of all relations that exist in the universe there are none that should be so holy—so sacred—so revered, honored, worshipped—as the true unity—the true marriage—the marriage by God—of two pure, trusting loving, equal souls. Before the shrine of such devotion no impurities can kneel; within the influence of such holiness the highest angels come, and around its temple heaven lingers. Never were any more wide of the mark than when they think we would reduce the relations of the sexes to common looseness. To us, there is nothing more revolting in nature than such a condition implies. What we would do, and with all our might is, to bring the attention of the world—and especially of women—to the realities of marriage, that no relation it presupposes should ever be entered upon except after the maturest deliberation and the acquisition of the perfect knowledge that God will officiate at the nuptials and approve the union. Of what necessity would laws, then, be to compel people to live together.

"Are we understood? If not, let those who open their mouths to condemn, or those who use their pens to defame, show that they possess the least bit of consistency, by withholding the evidence of their ignorance and incapacity. The time is passed for any to manufacture lasting capital by resorting to such methods in the place of reason; and let those who call this a 'dirty sheet' examine their specs to see if their surface is not somewhat soiled. 'To the pure in heart all things are pure; to the vile in heart all things are vile, and to the 'dirty' in heart all things are dirty. Take this home and consider it, and sleep over it, and wake to the conclusion that we can neither be frightened nor injured by the dirt thrown at us. We shall continue to deal with the conditions of society which we consider behind the times, though its self-constituted conservators do array themselves in opposition and denounce us according to the most approved and respectable style of pharisaical godliness."

If you had any right to make the sweeping allegations you have published to the world, you had read the above article. If you have not read it, then you had no right to make such statements, and you may accept either horn of the dilemma you choose. One you must accept, and either is your discomfiture. If I do not "dissent" from the inference you would have drawn from the quotation you make, then it would be difficult to frame words and sentences that could be called dissent. If such writings as these are licentious, I submit that the world would be the better were they repeated every day to everybody. "Marriage is the holiest of all relations in the universe." "Before its shrine no impurities can kneel; within its influence the purest angels come; and around its temple heaven lingers."

Ponder these words well and then republish them to the

world, and add that I hold to lax social theories—that "we are lewd women"—"far gone in the downward road of social demoralization," and be justified by your readers if you can.

But your ignorance or maliciousness about my morality might be easily forgiven on the score of hoary-headed and time-honored bigotry, which admits nothing as truth except its dicta; but when you make assertions which the common public know to be false, I must think you presuming almost too much upon the credulity of your readers as well as upon my forbearance.

You repeat, in substance, what the Springfield Republican some time since said: "The time came when the woman suffrage movement could not afford to carry this woman and her load of vicious thieves." I am inclined to the opinion that this assumption was rebutted rather severely by a simple array of facts, taken from the public journals, a copy of which I shall take pleasure in handing you.

But your discretion passes all limit when you assert that the time came when the suffrage movement could not carry me. I pray you tell me when the suffrage movement ever carried me. But since you are as ignorant of facts as you are incapable of principles of freedom, I would take the trouble to inform you upon this subject.

The original Suffrage or Woman Rights movement has been in existence for about twenty years. Up to one year ago I was not known to the movement. It did not recognize me as belonging to it; and with the exception of Miss Anthony I was never even honored with the acquaintance of its leaders. Certainly the suffrage movement was not carrying me then. It became a duty that I owed to humanity, however, to go before Congress last winter with a demand for my rights as a citizen under the Constitution, guaranteed by the amendments. To that position thus first brought to the attention of Congress and the country the more intelligent part of the woman suffragists, in fact all except "the Boston exclusives," have come. It has received the support of many of the best informed members of Congress, as well as decision in its favor by a chief justice of the United States Court, and the unofficial opinion of Justice Underwood, of Virginia, of the United States District Court. And to-day the suffrage movement owes the rapid advance it has made during the past year, as well as its present promising attitude, to this movement thus inaugurated by me in Congress. If this is being cast overboard as dead-weight by the suffrage movement, we hope the operation will be repeated frequently. A few times, with like results, will enfranchise women.

Now, can you review your course and not feel a contempt for yourself. You have not injured me, but you have injured yourself just to the extent you hoped to affect me. Verily, you shall have your reward.

But lest you may say that I have attempted to condemn you by facts that are too old, I will recall to your memory a very recent utterance of mine made before the Convention of the American Association of Spiritualists, at Troy, N. Y.—a body of honest and earnest citizens of the United States, whom the *Courant* has abused as it now abuses me. The *Troy Times* made my election to be their President the occasion of an attack similar in manner and character to this you now make. Under any other circumstances than the special ones that existed I should not have replied. I do not care to spend my time in answering slanders. I have all I can do to advocate principles; besides, I know that is the best refutation slander can possibly have, and I am willing that every act of my life shall be tried by them. But I did reply to the *Times*, as reported in the *Troy Whig* of September 18th, as follows:

"I thank the *Troy Times* for the opportunity it has given me to say a word to this convention, which has honored me so highly. Agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom. Hence I like it. Whatever others may think of it, I know that the social question lies at the base of all reform. It is the great question and we can't shrink it if we would; and I wouldn't if I could. But our friends of the press cry free love. Yet it doesn't frighten me, for I have never known any other love than free love. They may be acquainted with some other kind. We have laws that give the lie to it, but for all that sensible people know that it is the law that lies and not love. I spoke to you yesterday of children. I now add that we can never have perfect children born in hateful conditions, and we might just as well meet this question right here and now, as to delay it, since it must be met sooner or later. I have boldly proclaimed these doctrines ever since we started our paper. The *Times* may call them "nastiness," but I call them religion, and I am as ready to die for it as were the early martyrs for their religion. If proper generation is not a good religion to preach, what will you say for regeneration, which is widely discussed? I tell you, my friends, that they who preach regeneration are afraid that their occupation will be gone. If I am asked do you believe in promiscuous intercourse for the sexes, I reply I don't believe anything about it. I know that it exists to an alarming extent, and more I know, that many of those editors who write me down are among its best representatives. But if you ask me if I believe such a condition a high one, I will say, I think it to be that which the *Times* calls "nastiness." I hope it does not view my doctrines through colored glasses. I believe promiscuity to be anarchy, and the very antithesis of that for which I aspire. I know that there are all degrees of lust and love from the lowest to the highest. But I believe the highest sexual relations are those that are monogamic, and that those are high and spiritual in proportion as they are continuous. But I protest, and I believe every woman who has purity in her soul protests against all laws that would compel them to maintain relations with men for whom they have no regard. I honor that purity of life which comes from the heart, while I pity the man or woman who is pure simply because the law compels it. If to hold and practice such doctrines as these is to be a Free Lover, then I am a Free Lover."

I also spoke to similar effect before 4,000 people in Cleveland, Ohio, and my speech was reported at length in the Cleveland papers; also before a large assembly at Plymouth, Massachusetts, which speech was also reported to the public, and with that from the Cleveland papers has been widely copied; and especially by those papers whose columns are governed by a sense of honor, including such papers as the *New York World*, the *Troy Whig* and the *Springfield Republican*. You must have seen it in some of them. It has been too widely circulated to permit ignorance of it to be set up as an excuse. And yet you seize upon the pretext you have to stab at me. The stab cannot harm me. Beware lest it wound yourself.

Of one thing, however, you may rest assured:

If my enunciation of the principles of Social Freedom are illogical and untrue to the common order of the universe, they will come to naught. If, however, they are derived

from the immutable laws of God, your worst denunciations of them and me will only assist in making them apparent to the world. But I trust you may see the propriety of addressing yourself to rebutting my arguments, rather than to traducing me for entertaining the ideas upon which they are based, which are as honestly and conscientiously mine as any that you hold are yours. It is this spirit of slander of which I complain as ungenerous, unmanly and cowardly. If I see propositions set forth which I feel conscientious are erroneous and damaging to the public welfare, I do not denounce their holders as all that is bad, but fairly and squarely oppose argument to argument, quoting them and leaving my readers or hearers to decide for themselves which is truth and which error. I think the general press would make a better exhibition of the Christ-spirit which they so loudly profess to follow, were they to adhere a little more closely to the same rule. If a person lie, I do not hesitate to call his conduct by its right name, as I have in your case; but I will never descend to vile names to arouse prejudice, even if they are warranted. As much as in me lies, I desire to deal with others as I would be dealt by, and I have never made a personal attack upon anybody in the columns of my paper. I do not claim any credit—I only assert the power of principles—the power of the greater over the lesser truth—when I say that some of the most stubborn and bigoted opponents of the principles of Social Freedom have been converted into advocates, by my presentation of them; who were also men and women, the peers of the best people in the world. And I have not the slightest doubt that even you would be compelled to admit their truth, if you would for once remove yourself from intolerance and examine them as you do other subjects. Truth is mighty and will prevail whenever admitted to consideration. And the greater the truth the later it comes for consideration. First was Religious Freedom; next Political Freedom, now Social Freedom; and each evolves by like means; while all constitute one General Freedom, which forms the basis of my religion. For its advocacy I have been dragged to the stake by my self-constituted judges. True, I have not been burned by literal fire; nevertheless by a fire from which people shrink with quite as much dread as from that. And you have added fuel to the flame to increase my torments, but the manner in which it was done was cowardly and unworthy of a man holding your responsible position. You cannot justify yourself; but I intend that you shall make the effort and fail, as you have failed to damage the cause of a Common Equality, for which purpose you enlisted in this cause.

In conclusion, permit me to predict that you will be ashamed of this attack before the present decade is past, if indeed you are not so already.

Yours for the truth and right,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

44 Broad street, New York, Oct. 31, 1871.
—*Hartford Times*, Nov. 7.

STATES RIGHTS vs. HUMAN RIGHTS.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle.]

To the Editor of the Brooklyn Eagle:

I cannot pass unnoticed your articles of the 10th instant, entitled "The Law the Voting Women Evaded" and "Will Women Ever Vote in the United States?" since you endeavor to fasten upon "voting women" the stigma of defective intellect as the solution of their action. Permit me at the outset then to say that any defect there may be in this matter does not rest upon "our side of the house," but I will not be so unladylike as to prejudice you; yet, if you dare, will submit it to the decision of your own readers. Of the claim that all citizens are voters you say: "There is a plausibility about this which captivates all persons of ardent imagination and defective reasoning powers. The fallacy of it can be made plain in a minute if we consider that the same construction can be claimed in behalf of babies, criminals, paupers and lunatics. Are women born in the United States? So are babies." Now all of this may appear very charming to the opponents of woman's equality, but it seems to me it is

REMARKABLY BAD LOGIC,

and I will show you that it is. The same claim is made and nobody can dispute that babies, criminals, paupers, lunatics and women are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. But you forget that there must be laws to regulate the exercise of the rights of citizenship. The ballot must be guarded against abuse and misuse, and citizens must conform to such regulations as are necessary to effect it. These regulations should be such as to prevent "repeating" of any kind, either by citizens of the same or different States. Nobody that I know of objects to the State of New York requiring a year's residence before permitting the exercise of the right to vote. But this passivity

DOES NOT IMPAIR THE RIGHT.

It is for the purpose of proving that the removal is a genuine one—not made for the purpose of voting at a special election. The exercise of the right is simply held in abeyance until the object has shown that he is entitled to vote; since he may have voted in the State from which he removed the day previous to such removal, and hence would have no just right to vote again within a year. But the objection does come in, in this wise: Two citizens, a man and a woman, remove from the State of New Jersey to New York. After residing in New York a year, the man citizen is permitted to exercise his right to vote; but the woman is denied, not because she has not complied with all the requirements which the man has, but because she is not a man—a "qualification" she can never attain; hence it is not a qualification, but actual disfranchisement.

The Supreme Courts have distinctly passed upon this point. In the case of *Corfield vs. Correll*, Justice Washington, delivering the decision of the court, in enumerating the rights of citizens which could not be trespassed upon, said: "Such rights as those of protection of life and liberty, and to acquire and enjoy property, and to pay no higher imposi-

tions than other citizens, and to pass through or reside in the State at pleasure, and to enjoy the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the State in which it is to be exercised." Now let us see what it is to regulate and establish the elective franchise. To regulate is, "To put in order," not to put out of existence. To establish is to make stable and firm, not to withhold and deny. To regulate the elective franchise, then, is to put it in order, and to establish it is to make it stable and firm. Women, equally with men, enjoy each of the other rights enumerated by the court; but the elective franchise, the most potent of them all, she is deprived of altogether. Can you, Mr. Editor, show your readers "the defective reasoning" in this? It seems to me like an egregious inequality, unworthy of a free government—one which pretends to be Republican in form. But

THE FALLACY DOES NOT STOP HERE.

Infants consist of male and female persons. You leave it to be inferred that there are no male infants, since you ask, "Are women born in the United States?" and reply, "so are babies." Male and female babies are both born in the United States, and consequently both are citizens, and each possesses the right to vote; but the regulations prevent its being exercised, until they have

RESIDED IN THE UNITED STATES TWENTY-ONE YEARS.

On arriving at that age they have the requisite qualification of age, and both arrive at that qualification by the same process—by living twenty-one years. But just at that point the discrimination between the male and the female, as against the latter, begins. The male is permitted to begin the exercise of the right to vote, while the female is quietly informed that no age to which she can attain will ever qualify her to vote. This is an unequal exercise of power against which I rebel. It is neither a regulation nor the establishment of the citizen's right to vote, but a flat and unqualified denial of it. Is this "defective reasoning?"

Again, criminals, paupers and lunatics are citizens, but by the common law by which all legal construction of law is governed, are held to be incompetent to exercise the suffrage. But there is no inequality here. All criminals, all paupers, all lunatics, be they men or women, are alike excluded. To make your logic sound you should have said that these classes of citizens being women should, while those being males should not, be excluded from suffrage. This would make your reasoning consistent, if not logical. Now, will you say that adult women are to be placed in the same category with these classes of citizens and excluded from the suffrage for the same reasons that they and infants are excluded? I scarcely think you will thus insult your readers, your women friends; your wife, mother and daughter. They may not feel the insult, but the greater the pity if they do not. But if they are not excluded for the same reason that these classes of citizens are, pray tell us what the reason is for which they are excluded. I have never heard one given. It may have been left for you to declare one, perhaps to invent one. For my part I cannot see if

A MALE BABY,

on arriving at the age of twenty-one, becomes entitled to the exercise of the suffrage, why the female baby should not also become entitled by the same reason. You may be sufficiently wise to give a good reason. I hope you may. I am sure none will be more ready to give you credit than I. But if you cannot give a good and lawful and constitutional reason why women twenty-one years of age cannot vote, then I shall hold that your assumptions do not amount to as much as my "defective reasoning," and I am inclined to think your readers will so regard it. But you say there was "no intent" to enfranchise women. There ought not to have been any need of intent, and I do not know how you can say there was any, but since, as you say there was, I presume both you and I will be compelled to leave that matter as the Supreme Court of the United States has decided it. Justice Bradley, in delivering the opinion of the Court in the case of *The Live Stock Association vs. The Crescent City*, said:

"It is possible that those who framed the article were not themselves aware of the far-reaching character of its terms yet if the amendment does in fact bear a broader meaning and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form, and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by constitutional enactment, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving it their imprimatur, understood what they were doing and meant to decree what, in fact, they have decreed."

You may have all the force of your argument of intent that this decision, which is a late one, will leave you, and still I am forced to ask you for the "defective reasoning" and the "inability to comprehend this meaning which has led to such deplorable and demoralizing effects."

PASSING TO THE SECOND ARTICLE,

I will presume to ask you by what authority you pretend to say that only the proportion of women you name desire to vote; and how do you know that Legislatures, Courts, Judges of Elections stand in the same proportion, "for and against?" Have you canvassed them, or have they all deigned to inform you? I am perfectly satisfied to stand classed among such people as Stanton, Mackinley, Tilton and Wilcox, whom you name as not commanding the respect of the American people, or singly and alone, if you prefer. But I would ask why you did not name some other well known persons who claim the ballot for women; for instance, Livermore, Stone, Burleigh, Ballard and Mott among women, and Underwood, Howes, Blackwell and Higginson among men, to whom I might add the 500,000 men and women whose petitions will be laid before Congress? I am fearful this part of your argument smacks almost too much of tirade to carry conviction. But you evidently feel the weight of "impending events" whose shadows have already fallen upon you. It is, therefore, disingenuous in you to affect to make it appear that

"PECULIAR SOCIAL THEORIES"

have damaged the cause of suffrage. If my memory serves me right, a year ago neither you, the *Nation* nor any other paper of importance, felt called upon to combat this "new heresy." But lately, almost every paper that can be taken

up has something to say on Woman Suffrage. What, my dear sir, has raised this question into so sudden and great importance, that you project two editorials in a single issue of the *Eagle* against it? "If these execrable people, who demand the ballot for woman" are so far from commanding the respect of the American people, as you have asserted, what is the danger you fear? Your vituperations about "slavery" and "bayonet force" are too stale to require comment. That question is given over by the party who fought it so long, as obsolete; it has no application to the present. What women demand and intend to have is Woman Suffrage—even if their reasonings are "defective" and their character so execrable as in your judgment ought to deprive them of the equal right to the ballot which you possess.

In conclusion, permit me to call your attention to a small matter which you have apparently overlooked, but which it seems to me has a slight bearing upon this question:

Article one, section one of our State Constitution says: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of the rights and privileges secured to any citizen unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers." Permit me to ask if I am a member of this State, and if any law has been passed excluding me from the rights secured to yourself?

The same Constitution secures to all male citizens the right to vote. If I am a "member of this State" and there has been no "law of the land" passed otherwise excluding me, is not the same right of suffrage secured to me that all male citizens possess?

If universal, or rather impartial suffrage, which is all we demand, is so prophetic of disaster, why will not a little

PRUNING AND EXCLUSIVENESS AMONG YOUR OWN SEX do something for the purity of the franchise exercise? Why not exclude everybody who gets drunk, who cannot read and write, who has ever tampered, either directly or indirectly, with the ballot-box, so that none but honest and honorable persons shall vote?

I do not care what regulations are enforced, or what qualifications; but I do ask that none shall be required of women that are not also required of men. I ask that every man shall be excluded for the same reason that a single woman is excluded; and that if a man is entitled to exercise the elective franchise by having resided a year in the State, and in the district a month, that every woman shall be entitled by the same reason. And that if males are only excluded from suffrage on account of being criminals, idiots, lunatics and babies, that women shall be excluded for the same, and no other reasons.

The admission of the above to your columns, with answers to my inquiries, so that your readers may not be compelled to accept your dogmatic assertions without the opportunity of comparison with opposite views, will prove your sincerity, while the refusal to publish it will at least leave room for the inference that your sincerity is questionable.

Yours, for equality, justice and right,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

44 Broad street, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1871.

QUERY.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: A writer in your paper says the precious metals are unfit for currency, needless as a basis for currency; and yet, in the same article, he contends that gold has a more uniform relation to the value of labor than other products, is easily transported, and should be recognized as a measure of value. All these, except the first, are meaningless assertions.

The difficulty with many persons appears to be to divest their minds of the prejudice acquired by habit. A little reflection should convince any one that gold has no more connection, necessarily, with currency, than any other product. Ninety-five per cent. of the circulation, as that writer admits, is paper, based on the credit of individuals and corporations. Why not, then, base 5 per cent. on the credit of the nation, whose wealth exceeds the amount by billions, instead of basing it upon gold and silver, the entire volume of which is only one-tenth of the amount of currency used, and not a twentieth of the amount required?

When, in '57, the banks suspended specie payments, and their acts were legalized by the Legislatures, we were without a specific basis to our currency; and if its temporary adoption prevented the ruin which followed a contrary course in '37, why could it not have been continued *ad infinitum*? The necessity of a specie basis is therefore disproved by experience.

The equilibrium between gold and labor is certainly an obscure suggestion; perhaps it means in one scale all the profits, and in the other all the work, to keep up the equipoise between labor and capital. The expense of transporting gold, in comparison with other more bulky products, is certainly favorable to the former; but if we estimate the losses by abrasion, and perils incurred by the folly of using this metal for currency, we should find that a vast amount of labor was yearly wasted to replace it.

The necessity of a standard or measure of value is a false idea; the permanent value of gold or silver is a fiction, the result of an arbitrary law making a certain number of grains of either to represent a unit of value. The price of the precious metals fluctuates in spite of all laws, and we have no more reason to say that one product appreciates than that the other depreciates, when they show values relative to each other. If we abolish the gold standard, any attempt to depreciate paper currency by monopolizing gold would be futile, and end in disaster, for the value of other products would advance in the same ratio with gold; and the reason is simple, for where several products are consumed for a certain purpose, and one of them fails, all the others appreciate in value; and if we dispense with gold in connection with currency, like all the rest of our surplus it will depend for its value upon the demand abroad.

All nations have the right to make their own money. Granted. The people may choose the material they prefer for the purpose. Yes. They will naturally select that which costs them least. Why not? And if all the people consent to use a valueless material for currency, whence comes the right to compel those to pay interest who desire to use this intrinsically valueless currency to prosecute industrial enterprises which are a public benefit? Capitalists foresee this, and while they can control the councils of the nation they will prefer that we should pay vast sums as a tribute to foreign nations for interest for the use of their capital rather than forego the specie basis, which secures to them a small share of the plunder.

It is a singular fact that the earliest reforms become fossilized as the movement they inaugurated progresses; and this is remarkably true with many advocates of money reform. Either interest is right or it is wrong. If it is right then

capitalists only contend for justice when they demand that usury laws should be abolished and every Shylock enabled to secure his pound of flesh; but the freedom they demand is all on one side. Yet we say abolish usury laws, but at the same time abolish the law which compels the payment of interest, and provide a national currency.

Many industrial operatives are unwittingly advocating the cause of capital, erroneously supposing that their interests lie in that direction. When the workingman begins to accumulate a surplus, he seeks for it a high rate of interest, not realizing the fact that while he only draws interest on his surplus wealth, and is receiving his industrial capital, and his labor is burdened with dollars to maintain in idleness the drones that infest society, and who but for this means of subsistence would be compelled to perform the obligations which all owe, to provide by industry a sum equal to their own support.

Every person is seeking a competence to provide against want. That accomplished for themselves, they strive to preserve their children from the degradation of labor. If there was no interest all persons would the sooner secure a competency by their own toil, by the increased reward of labor in proportion to the cost of subsistence, and labor would no longer be dreaded as an evil to be avoided. Work is not the degrading thing our social condition makes it. Its joys are not only pure, but necessary to the enjoyment of all the other blessings which a bountiful Creator has provided for our use.

The delight of the savage is the hunt, of the farmer his growing crops. The painter and sculptor become enamored by their own creations, and the heart of the mechanic throbs with delight to see the designs of his brain growing into shape under his hand. The tottering babe persists in assisting its mother at her labors. Then why should we pervert that beautiful allegory in Scripture which commands all men "to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows" to reconcile the degraded laborer to his servile condition by teaching him the monstrous doctrine that his sufferings are the just punishment of the sins of others.

The abolition of interest would necessarily follow the adoption of a paper currency. Having no other basis but the wealth of the nation, and secured by the consent of the people, it would bring us to a condition of national and individual prosperity never before secured by the people of any other country; and indeed it becomes a question of grave inquiry if we are not rapidly driving toward that condition which followed the centralization of wealth in the ancient republics.

The question is, shall we be warned by the fate of the Roman Republic? Have we not already arrived at a condition of serial corruption unequalled in Rome during many centuries of her existence? It is well known that in all countries the masses are the last to become corrupted. Throughout the civilized world they are making a mighty effort to throw off the incubus engendered by our servile condition. On them and them alone must we depend for our serial regeneration, and in this country only can its inception ever take place.

When the thirteen States of this Union separated from the mother country, the rights of human beings, though enunciated in that immortal document, the declaration of our independence, were imperfectly understood. Eighty years were required to throw off the yoke of human bondage, which had to be conceded to keep alive the young sprig of liberty. With the example before us of that dauntless band who have achieved their glorious purpose, shall we falter who demand the rights of labor? C. B. S.

SPARKS FROM A. F(IRE) BRAND.

No. 1.

There is nothing in our free America more false to the principles of justice and equality than our present social system.

It is hardly expected that a man will remain pure and virtuous until he marries.

It is not admitted that a woman is fit to marry unless she remains pure and virtuous previous to entering that state.

It is not conceded that a woman has reason to refuse to marry a man because he has been wild.

It is not expected that even a respectable (?) libertine would marry a woman who had been wild. Mark the difference!

A man wants a wife; various reasons may exist. His home needs a housekeeper; a wife can fill that office. A hired housekeeper must have a salary; a wife none. Certain houses have been freely patronized by him, for which entertainment he must pay well. A wife will remove that necessity without pay! Consequently a double purpose is served. Housekeeper and tool in one is more economical.

Besides, his shirts must be made, his meals prepared, his spittoon cleaned, his clothes washed, etc., etc., and to pay for each separate item would ruin him. A wife will do all this for what he chooses to give her, and be glad of the chance (?) What fools!

Illegal prostitution demands its price. A wife's demands must be governed by the husband's generosity.

A woman's work brings wages before marriage; after marriage none.

A beautiful woman who sells her body may command a remuneration that will bring every luxury.

A beautiful wife may command nothing.

A mistress lives in ease, surrounded by every comfort.

A wife may not only be wife, but mother, nurse, seamstress and common servant, and must not complain if she be deprived of comfort.

For a man to say "Marry me" means "Fulfill all these offices, and in return bear my name." Paltry gift! What a plea in favor of our marriage institution. Mothers of daughters, listen! Men with wives, beware! The world is waking! The fire is kindling! Even though love may instigate the marriage it brings no equality in law.

Is a woman more refined than man, less passionate, still marital rights must not be refused. Woe! be unto the wife who is not obedient.

Who rebels, she is a "terragant and shrew!"

Woe be unto the man who is obedient, he is "hen-pecked!"

Is a woman in business, she must give it up at marriage, or any time after that the husband requires. Her time, money, service, health, happiness, are all in his keeping and for his use. Should she demand the same of him society would combine to pity him because his wife's extravagance was seeking his ruin.

This is only a flash. More will be forthcoming. Who dares deny its truth?

SOCIAL FREEDOM.

If there were any evidence wanting to prove that the public are ready and waiting for a new departure in our social systems, it is found in the demonstration at Steinway Hall, Monday night, on the occasion of the delivery for the first time in this or any other country of an outspoken analysis of all our present social relations. That Steinway Hall should have been literally packed—no other word describes it—on a night when to go out was to be drenched by the pouring rain, by an audience at once intelligent and enthusiastic, is a fact that the press cannot but describe an extraordinary one. It is true there were a few people who went there expressly to create a disturbance, and also true that they signally failed. Fifty malcontents would fully number those who manifested disapprobation, while their efforts at each repetition were drowned by enthusiastic applause. In spite of all the prejudice and the pandering to supposed popular opinion on the part of the press, the following extracts from the Tuesday's papers, which were followed in them by copious extracts from the speech itself, must convince the most skeptical that even they see the beginning of the end.

The *World* said:

An overflowing as well as a dripping audience crowded Steinway Hall in every part last evening, on the occasion of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's lecture on "Marriage and Divorce, Free Love and Prostitution." The attendance was about as equally divided between the sexes as is usual on an inclement evening.

MRS. WOODHULL'S SPEECH.

Mrs. Woodhull was neatly attired in black, and read her address with great volubility from printed pages. The reading occupied about two hours, and beyond a few interruptions which will be noted, secured a marked attention from the vast audience. The passages in favor of the abolition of all legal restrictions upon the sexual relation produced mixed applause and hisses, until everything that could by possibility be turned into a double entendre was productive of laughter from a body of men who seemed to be rather pruriently inclined. They were evidently disappointed at the high moral ground, and rather chagrined at the limited license which the speaker's definition of free love would allow. Mrs. Woodhull opened as follows:

"MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I come before the public at this time, upon this particular subject, notwithstanding that malicious and designing persons have sought to malign and undervalue my private life and personal motives, in a manner that shall complicate the righteous sentiment of these all-important issues. You are all aware that my private life has been pictured to the public by the press of the country with the intent to make people believe me to be a very bad woman. I have troubled myself but little about it, since there may appear to be very good grounds for what has been done. I was rudely and brutally thrust before the public by those who should have been my friends, and who, had I been as bad as they desire it thought I am, should have shielded me from harm as they would their lives." [Applause.]

After a long and exhaustive exposition of the principles of social freedom, she said:

"An exhaustive treatment of these subjects would involve the inquiry what should be the chief end to be gained by entering into sexual relations. This I must simply answer by saying, 'Good children, who will not need to be regenerated,' and pass to the consideration of the relations themselves. All the relations between the sexes that are recognized as legitimate are denominated marriage. But of what does marriage consist? This very pertinent question requires settlement before any real progress can be made as to what social freedom and prostitution mean. It is admitted by everybody that marriage is a union of the opposites in sex, but is it a principle of nature outside of all law, or is it a law outside of all nature? Where is the point before reaching which it is not marriage, but having reached which it is marriage? If true, mutual, natural attraction be sufficiently strong to be the dominant power, then it decides marriage; and if it be so decided no law which may be in force can any more prevent the union than a human law could prevent the transformation of water into vapor, or the confluence of two streams; and for precisely the same reasons: that it is a natural law which is obeyed; which law is as high above human law as perfection is high above imperfection. They marry and obey this higher law than man can make—a law as old as the universe and as immortal as the elements, and for which there is no substitute. They are sexually united, to be which is to be married by nature, and to be thus married is to be united by God."

Further on she said:

"I know whereof I speak; I have seen the most damning misery resulting from legalized prostitution."

The passage which excited the most attention from the audience was the following:

"I would not be understood to say that there are no good conditions in the present marriage state. By no means do I say this; on the contrary, a very large proportion of present social relations are commendable—are as good as the present status of society makes possible. But what I do assert, and that most positively, is, that all which is good and commendable now existing would continue to exist if all marriage laws were repealed to-morrow." [Applause.]

The *Times* said:

One of the largest audiences ever collected together in a public hall in this city assembled last night in Steinway Hall on the occasion of a lecture by Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull on "The Principle of Social Freedom, Involving Free Love, Marriage, Divorce, etc." The assemblage embraced representatives of all classes and conditions of social life, but the vast portion of it, it must be confessed, was undeniably composed of the curious and indifferent. The novelty of the doctrines enunciated, and the still greater novelty of their expression by a lady, excited the highest amount of curiosity, and though not wishing to interrupt the continuance of the lecture, the audience was twice compelled to condemn the theories advanced in loud and continued hissing. But the most peculiar feature in the evening's programme was the violent interruption of the lecturer by her own sister, Mrs. Brooker, and her vehement denunciations of the principles advocated by Mrs. Woodhull. That lady occupied the front box in the middle tier, on the right

of the platform, and as she boldly stood to repudiate the sentiments of her sister, a perfect storm of cheers and counter-demonstrations greeted her appearance. For fully ten minutes the utmost confusion prevailed. Mrs. Woodhull, in despair at being unable to continue her lecture, retired from the platform, and Mrs. Brooker, still standing erect, demanded silence. A breach of order seemed imminent, and a police officer was compelled to advance to the position occupied by Mrs. Brooker and force her to resume her seat. Mrs. Woodhull was then called to the platform, and continued her lecture to the close without further interruption. The chair was occupied by Mr. Theodore Tilton, who, in introducing Mrs. Woodhull, observed that, notwithstanding all insinuations to the contrary, she was a virtuous woman, and he could vouch for it. The lecture, which occupied two hours in its delivery, was directed chiefly to an attack on the marriage system, as at present constituted, as an outrage on individual freedom and a barrier to general happiness. She maintained that it should not partake more of the character of a contract than any other legal agreement, and that its continuance for a lifetime was preposterous and an outrage. On the question of marriage, as in all others which affected private life, the Government should not be permitted to interfere; and to suppose that they were virtuous because of the restraints which it imposes upon them was an insult to American women. She believed and gloried in free love which bound the parties to each other only during its existence, and severed their marital relations whenever either of the parties desired. The offspring of such love was best and purest. Mrs. Woodhull here enumerated a host of distinguished personages whom she described as being born under such circumstances. She spoke at considerable length of the social evil, and sympathized with the unfortunate women while she condemned the men as infinitely more debased. In this connection she severely commented on marriage for position and social elevation as the worst of evils, and concluded her lecture by expressing her conviction of the final triumph of free love.

The *Herald* said:

Last evening the most astonishing doctrine ever listened to by an audience of Americans was broached to 3,000 people at Steinway Hall, by Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. The following circular had been scattered freely in all the benches of the hall—which is the largest of its kind in New York—before the audience had taken their seats:

"FREEDOM! FREEDOM! FREEDOM!

IN ITS LAST ANALYSIS:

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS.

If it is good in the Religious and Political sphere

who shall dare deny that it is good in

THE SOCIAL SPHERE?

"For the express purpose of silencing the voices and stopping the pens of those who, either ignorantly or willfully, persistently misrepresent, slander, abuse and vilify her on account of her outspoken advocacy of, and supreme faith in, God's first, last and best law,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

WILL SPEAK AT

STEINWAY HALL,

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20,

AT EIGHT P. M., ON

'THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL FREEDOM,'

INVOLVING THE QUESTION OF

FREE LOVE, MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND PROSTITUTION.

"She wishes it to be distinctly understood that freedom does not mean anarchy in the social relations any more than it does in religion and politics; also that the advocacy of its principles requires neither abandoned action nor immodest speech.

HORACE GREELEY, Governor HAWLEY, of Connecticut, and the Boston Exclusives

are specially invited to seats on the platform.

All her lesser defamers should secure front seats.

ADMISSION FIFTY CENTS.

Reserved seats can be secured at the Box Office from today without further cost."

At seven o'clock the *Herald* reporter arrived at the entrance to Steinway Hall. The night was wet and disagreeable, and very few people were met in the streets. But at Steinway Hall it was altogether different. Immense placards covering the bulletin boards and announcing the lecture of Mrs. Woodhull, printed on yellow sheets of paper, greeted the eye on every side. The entrance and vestibule of Steinway Hall were already crowded with people of both sexes, among whom were several children of a tender age. The stairs leading up to the entrance were thickly swarming with people, the strongest and most masculine being nearest the door, as is always the case. As it was half an hour before the doors were open there was considerable sky-larking and rough by-play among those who were compelled to wait, and as most of the ugly old women in attendance objected to this sort of jocularity, the fun became quite uproarious for a few minutes until the door opened.

Our reporter found his way into the hall, which was but dimly lighted at the moment. Several young ladies of very bold behavior passed him at the gate door, evidently professional and unfortunate in character. Then came a stream of very respectable-looking people—men and women—some few of the latter having cultured faces. A red-headed girl bounced in, saying, as she threw off her shawl, "I hope, by gosh! I haven't come here for nothing in all this rain," and then she bounced down into a seat and held her place. While waiting for the hall to fill, which occurred very rapidly, our reporter paid a visit behind the scenes to call upon Mrs. Victoria Woodhull. Going through a side door, he found that lady in a little room off in a narrow passage, standing talking to her sister, Jennie C. Clafin, with a roll of manuscript in her hands. The Woodhull had an inspired look, and it was very evident that the spirit of Demosthenes, a familiar of hers, was upon the lady. And now for a little brief description of a woman who must hereafter throw Anna Dickinson and Olive Logan in the shade by the boldness of her utterances. Victoria Woodhull is of medium extraction, about twenty-seven years of age, of medium height, small waist, little feet, white and regular hands and a pair of dark eyes burning with suppressed fire, and of a color that cannot be described when seen at night only. She was dressed very neatly in black, having a watch chain pendant from her fair neck; at her throat she wore a fresh tea rose, which enhanced the fairness of her skin and combated with the blushes in her cheeks for precedence.

"I am glad to see the *Herald* reporter," she said; "that paper has never misrepresented me and I know it will not now."

"No; I am not afraid that we will be misrepresented by the *Herald* at any time, least of all this time," said Miss Jennie Clafin, who was also dressed in black, and managed dexterously by an occasional movement, sudden as her speech, to show a pair of very small feet encased in gaiters.

Just at this moment, and as Mrs. Woodhull had presented a companion tea-rose of the one fastened at her throat to the *Herald* reporter, Theodore Tilton, the blonde poet, entered with a friend of his, a Mr. Moulton, being both desirous of encouraging Mrs. Woodhull, who was a little nervous and who at this moment had turned to take a look at the manuscript which she was about to read to the audience. A large number of Free Love ladies and gentlemen, most of the latter being very homely in feature, accompanied by Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews, the Great American Pantarchist, now entered the room to bid Victoria "God speed" before she went on the stage. Finally, all having been said, Mrs. Woodhull, followed by Jennie Clafin and the body of reporters and preceded by the god-like Tilton, marched on to the stage. As Tilton got on the stage his friend Moulton cried to him—

"Are you going to introduce Mrs. Woodhull to the audience, Tilton?"

"Yes, by heaven," said the flowery Tilton, "since no one else has the pluck to do it."

As Mrs. Woodhull walked on the stage timorously, everywhere a great shout of applause went up for her from the audience which had literally packed every seat on the ground floor, in the two galleries, and which occupied every foot of standing room in the aisles. A hundred ravenous male bipeds leaned over the platform, standing up in front of the audience, and not less than three thousand persons were present, nearly half of whom belonged to the gentler sex of the Free Love persuasion. The immediate friends, both male and female, of Mrs. Woodhull crowded the boxes on either side of the stage, and Miss Jennie C. Clafin courteously offered the *Herald* reporter a seat in the box with her, which he was compelled to decline, as he had to take notes on the stage.

Mr. Theodore Tilton led Mrs. Woodhull upon the platform and, in introducing her, said:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Happening to have an unoccupied night, which is an unusual thing for me in the lecture season, I came to this meeting, actuated by curiosity to know what my friend would have to say in regard to the great question which has occupied her so many years of her life. I was met at the door by a member of the committee, who informed me that several gentlemen had been applied to, particularly within the circuit of these two or three neighboring cities; to know whether they would occupy the platform and preside on this occasion. Every one had declined one after the other, for various reasons, the chief among them being—first, objections to the lady's character; and second, objections to the lady's views. I was told that she was coming upon this stand unattended and alone. Now, as to her character, I know it, and believe in it, and vouch for it. [Applause and a few hisses.] As to her views, she will give them to you herself in a few moments, and you may judge for yourself. It may be that she is a fanatic; it may be that I am a fool; but, before high heaven, I would rather be both fanatic and fool in one than to be such a coward as would deny to a woman the sacred right of free speech. [Applause.] I desire to say that five minutes ago I did not expect to appear here. Allow me the privilege of saying that with as much pride as ever prompted me to the performance of any act in fifteen or twenty years, I have the honor of introducing to you Victoria C. Woodhull, who will address you upon the subject of social freedom." [Applause.]

Mrs. M. M. MILLER, of Dey street, New York, voted for Tweed. Shocking, wasn't it? The one and only woman that voted, and so forth. If Mrs. Miller found merits in Mr. Tweed that made him wholly worthy in her eyes, she did well to vote for him. She acted up to her convictions. She at least was honest and outspoken. Better and pluckier by far than those miserables who blacked Tweed's boots when he was king and spit upon him when he is discrowned.

A JAMAIS.

I know not if again our steps shall meet,
To trace the same bright paths with willing feet;
Nor know I if, once more, my lips may greet
Thine own with pressure delicate and sweet.

But *this* I know, that wheresoe'er thou art,
Thou livest evermore in this lone heart;
And well I know that nor affection's smart
Nor stormiest fates thy soul from mine can part.

B. G. D.

SAVINGS BANKS.

All frauds are abominable, but there is none more cruel and detestable than that which, under pretense of doing good, cheats the poor and the simple, perverting the pretense of benevolence to purposes of greedy and unscrupulous gain, and thereby bringing true charity into doubt and disrepute. The suspension of the Guardian and the Bowling Green Savings Banks has roused distrust in the community against savings banks generally. Properly and justly administered, with due precaution and with conscientious care for the interests of the depositors, the savings bank is a most admirable institution. It aids the poor man to habits of economy, gives him a motive for thrift and self-denial, and helps to make provision, in time of prosperity, against the day of reverse. The poor man's earnings are seldom so abundant as to leave a wide margin over present wants. Savings mean not the lopping off of luxuries and superfluities, but the painful putting aside of many a little necessary, the abstinence from enjoyment, the prolonged toil, early and late watching of the patient work-er. Savings often mean a thin coat and a pinched waist-band. To plunder the poor is one of the most grievous sins denounced in all ages by all religions.

That the depositors in the Guardian or the Bowling Green may not sustain loss in the long run is probable; but mean-

while what is the condition of savings banks and what the law. The mass of the people believe that there is some protective supervision in the case of savings banks, and that loss from fraud or speculation is an impossibility. The idea is that savings banks, like insurance offices, only lend on real estate or on National and State securities. Such business as time loans or bill discounting is out of the routine of the honestly managed savings bank or insurance office. And yet there are savings banks which advertise liberally for customers, as if the bank were a source of profit to somebody; many promise higher rates of interest than they can possibly obtain on good security, and there is an impression, more or less well founded, that the presidentship of a good savings bank is not a bad stand-by when all other things fail. The wild-cat banks were a useful outlet to superabundant financial energy of the Slime and Tigg school. Under the very wholesome powers given by the State for inspecting insurance companies, fraud in that direction is reduced to a minimum, but the savings banks require some similar control. That there are many sound and honest concerns is not to be questioned, but some are very shaky, and would not bear inquiry.

THEORY OF MONEY.

A NEW CURRENCY AND A NEW CREDIT SYSTEM.

BY ALBERT BRISBANE.

No. 4.

In my last article I explained the foundation on which a true monetary system should rest. It cannot as yet, I am aware, be introduced; first, because the people collectively understand nothing of this complex question, and without a collective or general understanding of it the reform would not be effected; secondly, because the financial and commercial interests of the country, and of all who live by rents, the use of money, and speculation of every kind, would be leagued against it. The monopoly and control of the currency, with the power of using it in commercial and industrial operations, is the very basis of the whole system of privilege and legal spoliation. They carry with them the control of the exchange of products (commerce); the employment of labor; the use and dispensation of credit, and the advantages of the rental system; they are the source of the power of that minority in society who live in wealth and ease on the toil of the masses of mankind. This minority control the press and legislature, and hence, to a great extent, public opinion. The people are without any real knowledge in political economy and the industrial mechanism of society, and, in addition, without concert of action and mutual understanding. It will be easy, then, for the classes which control public opinion to annul any attempt to establish a fundamentally true currency, based on abstract and universal justice and right.

If the currency we have described cannot be established, there is a substitute which can, and which would form a transition to it. This substitute would show some of the advantages of the true currency—those of being now monopolizable by classes and corporations, and non-interest bearing.

The way has been prepared by the present system of national currency—the greenbacks, as it is called. It required a prodigious political crisis to bring it about. The old State-bank system would not have been supplanted had not our civil war taken place. It may take a greater crisis to usher in that true currency, which shall be the servant of labor, and which, while destroying monopoly, interest, usury, spoliation, and other forms of legal robbery, shall serve truly the interests of productive industry.

Let us explain briefly this substitute, this transitional currency, which will prepare the way for the true and final currency. The plan by which it is to be created and issued is this:

Let the Government of the United States prepare for issue and sale one thousand millions of dollars of bonds.

Let it prepare for circulation and for loaning to the people one thousand millions of dollars of currency.

Let it loan this currency to whomever applies for it, and deposit the bonds as security. Let it loan it to individuals throughout the entire extent of the country, and in sums from \$100 up to any amount. The means of meeting the terms—whether through the post-offices, which have been made agents for furnishing and sending drafts, or by some other arrangement—can easily be determined. The length of time of the loans—say for six months, with a renewal—can be also easily determined.

Let the cost of issuing and managing the new currency be calculated, and that amount charged for the use of it. We will suppose it to be 1 per 100 a year. As a consequence, the government will charge one per cent. on its loans. By this illustration and example, the government will show that interest is simply the price paid for the use of money, and that the rate should be cost of management. A lesson would be then taught which would root out of men's minds one of the stupidest superstitions which now blind them—namely, that there is something inherently natural, necessary and fair in interest. They do not comprehend that it is the price which the monopolists of the currency charge for the use of it—that it is an arbitrary and fictitious thing.

Let the government pay the same rate of interest on its

bonds that it charges for the currency; that is, 1 per cent. a year. This would establish an equilibrium between debt and loans. By this means the government (that is, the people), instead of paying sixty millions interest in gold, on a thousand millions of debt, would pay ten millions in currency, saving annually fifty million in gold.

Let the government call in gradually all outstanding currency—its own greenbacks and the National Bank circulation. It might call in 5, 8 or 10 per cent. a month. In a year the present circulation would be canceled and replaced by the new. Loans would be made as fast as called for. I fix the amount of currency to be put in circulation at a thousand millions, which, I judge, from certain data, to be the minimum amount necessary to the business of the country. With loans direct to the producing and commercial interests, the amount will be regulated by the natural demand.

The plan proposed is very simple:

The government issues one thousand millions of currency, which it lends direct—not through the agency of banks managed by individuals in their own interests—to the people, and at the cost of management; and it issues the same amount of bonds, on which it pays the rate of interest it charges for the loans. Loans will be made at par—\$1,000 of currency on a deposit of \$1,000 of bonds.

Numerous objections will be raised.

What! Loan a thousand millions at one per cent. per annum, which is really no interest! The Government, we answer, has loaned three hundred millions to the national banks for nothing, and pays them 6 per 100 gold on the bonds they hold. Could it not loan to the people at *cost of management*? The banks reloan to the public, charging from 7 to 20 and 30 per cent. (which they do by various indirect means, such as charges for collection, premiums on drafts, &c., &c.) In addition, borrowers are subjected to the humiliation of soliciting loans from the controllers of the currency, from the dispensers of credit.

But, it will be asked, how are the persons who want loans to get the bonds? They must first buy them, and if they want to loan money, they certainly have no means upon which to purchase bonds. This is true, and here comes in one defect of the plan. I have said that it is a *substitute* for the true plan, a *transitional* measure. Now, all transitional and bastard plans are more or less false. I propose to remedy this falseness in the plan by a departure from strict justice. I propose that the Government shall pay a moderate rate of interest on its bonds, say 3 or 4 per cent., which would be an inducement to that extent to invest in them; and to charge *no interest* on its loans. Persons in business, requiring loans, could borrow bonds from friends or relatives who have invested in and hold them. The rate of interest, as said, would be some inducement to invest; while the borrower, who pays no interest, could pay something for the use of the bonds. The rate of interest should perhaps be fixed at 3 65-100, that is, a cent a day on a hundred dollars, so as to facilitate calculations.

Again, it will be objected: Rich men will buy up all the bonds, and loan them at high rates—7, 10, 20 per cent. per annum—to those wanting loans. This would take place to a certain extent, and it would be an evil inherent in this half-true system. We do not claim perfection for the plan. Justice and truth cannot exist with bastard plans. But there is a counterbalancing good in it. First, the bonds would be held in many cases by friends and relatives, who would loan them for nothing, or at a low additional interest, so as to make up the mythical 6 or 7 per cent. Secondly, the demonstration would be furnished by Government of the practicability of abolishing interest, and of its falseness, or, at least, artificiality. Then gradually, as the Government paid off its debt, except the amount of bonds necessary as security for the loans, people wishing to invest in good public securities, convertible at any moment, would invest in these bonds, bearing 3 65-100, as the English public now invests in their consols bearing 3 per cent. Thus the capitalists would not be left alone to buy up the bonds and hold them for loaning purposes. They would be in the hands of all classes who have any surplus capital to invest, and even the poorer classes would buy the bonds as they now deposit their money in the savings banks.

A simpler plan might be proposed. The Government would issue bonds at 3 65-100, and currency, bearing no interest. The bonds would be convertible on demand into currency, and the latter into bonds. There would be no loaning—simply conversion both ways. A person holding \$1,000 of bonds would get \$1,000 of currency. If he had currency on hand which he did not wish to use, he could convert it into bonds and draw 3 65-100 interest. The former plan is the preferable one, as it would organize a *true* credit system, set an invaluable example, and enlighten the public mind. The principle of interest on money would gradually disappear—be abolished—and with it interest on promissory notes, book accounts, and all payments on time. It would revolutionize one part of our false industrial system and undermine the artificial power of capital to accumulate wealth without producing it. It would free productive labor from an enormous tax, and from one mode of spoliation and one form of monopoly and despotism.

The Communists burned the guillotine in Paris, but M. Thiers doesn't think a Republic can be run successfully without institutions of that kind, and has authorized the executioner to get a new one, made of iron.

JUST AS IT HAPPENED.

BY MATILDA HERON.

You have asked me, friend B., to put on paper the little incident I once related to you of my first voyage to California in 1852. Bear in mind, however, that what may serve to pass an hour over a cheerful winter's fire, to indulgent friends, may not prove interesting to the general reader. However, I will again recite the little story just as it happened. None but those who made a voyage across the Isthmus in those days can realize the barbarous horrors accompanying it. To some who left dark, criminal records behind them, escape was a delirious joy. Not that their new-found safety chastened their resolves for a better, purer future, but made them even more hardened—even more brutal. To others—oh! how different—their hearts were by the firesides they left behind. With the majority, chaos and crime ruled monarchs; shrinking modesty, the tenderly reared, the God-fearing, shrank like trembling victims from the jeering scoundrels who mocked at their Sabbath piety, profaned their evening hymns, invited them to vice, and they declining, blasphemed; grouping themselves in little gatherings upon the card-strewn deck, the drunken, bloated, boastful braggarts cursed and swore as if with every impious imprecation they would call forth a patron devil to preside over them.

As we crossed the Isthmus, the Chagres fever was raging. On the Pacific side, a small, rickety steamer awaited us; eight hundred passengers were thrust aboard, crowding into every corner imaginable. The baggage and much of the freight was stowed on deck, and many among us were comforted by the fortunate appropriation of a soft trunk or two barrel-tops for a bed and general sitting-room.

I gave my berth to the servant who accompanied me, and chose, naturally, to sleep on deck myself, rather than submit the friendless girl, who was in my care, to exposure. After sleeping on deck a few nights, a party of gentlemen took interest in me and swung me a hammock in front of their state-room. Of this party of three, one was an aged gentleman from Baltimore, on his second visit to California, to return to the "States" with his only child, a son, who had lost a leg in a filibustering expedition. A sadness pervaded this dear old gentleman which interested me in, and by a species of infatuation, attached me to him. In the morning the stewardess was so kind as to let me perform my simple toilet in her very contracted quarters. After such ceremony I ascended to my reception room, which consisted of the sill of the state-room of the three friends. Within the room, which was on deck, they played cards or chatted or read. I could neither read nor sew, for I had been under treatment for incipient amaurosis for over two years, and in consequence always held my eyes down, to protect them from the light. It seemed as if this sad necessity augmented my power of hearing; this was a great affliction, for I was compelled to listen to the vile jests and expressions employed by the mass of human monsters by whom I was surrounded. Talk of savages! barbarians! I have dwelt amongst them, but own I would rather pass my entire life with them, than suffer the short voyage of six weeks with depraved, enlightened humanity. But there was no help for me. Promenade there was none; scarcely room to stand; a few stools, which all the roughs, male and female, appropriated the first day out, and which it were at peril of one's life to touch. Every form in the cabin was allotted to women and children—beds by night, nurseries by day. And so I sat and sat on my drawing-room, the long, long day, eyes down and heart—with all its enthusiasm and hopes—a little sad—but what could I do? I could not profane my holy tears by shedding them *there!* Except from time to time a little conversation with the three friends, I had no release from thought.

One day thinking of the dear ones who "missed me at home," I heard shouts of "Put him overboard! He has the fever! He will infect the ship!" I looked up and saw a strange sight! Reared so tenderly within the bosom of a pious home; from girlhood a recluse; never once in my life having beheld cruelly, I did not at first recognize it; still, instinct told me there was something wrong; something against Heaven and nature in what surrounded me. There was a great pile of merchandise reaching nearly up to the deck between the wheels of the vessel; on this many had taken up their local habitations for the voyage. It appeared that hidden among these crates, or whatever they were, was discovered just then a youth, "stowed away," as the wretches called it—but evidently a way-worn wanderer, friendless, homeless, penniless—who came on board, it might have been, in the hope of his young heart to find succor—fatal hope! sad refuge! As I sat looking on the scene, palsied, as it were, unused as I was to such experience, I saw a splendid youth hurled from the barricade. Though, thanks to heaven, I did not see a hand laid upon him, either kindly or rudely, he seemed to be hurled more by their menaces than their personal violence, down from his fever-stricken eyrie, almost headforemost—for he was bent double—then he seemed to gather strength and stood up, pursuing his way past poor me, who sat there *on* my parlor. Just as he passed me to my right, he fell for support across the bulwarks and could move no more. The hideous crowd pursued him with their cries, but never one I saw *touch* him, as I said, either with violence or care. I looked behind me into the state-room of the three friends, and found them all asleep—after dinner. An impulse brought me to the side of Mr. G., of Baltimore, and never once considering my delicate position I raised him up, imploring him to come to the rescue of a poor young stranger the passengers were about to throw overboard because he had the infectious fever. In an instant he was up—a moment more and he had the delirious young and splendid stranger in his arms! I saw him lead him gently to the stern of the ship, behind the pile of trunks, the hideous crowd still yelling, "Pitch him overboard! are we all going to suffer for him?" I looked my last on the good man and the unhappy young stranger, pulled my green shade over my eyes and sat down to think. Night came, but came no Mr. G. from the stern of the vessel, whither he went with the young unhappy stranger. No one seemed to observe his absence in the stern—but I felt it all the time! In the distance, on the upper deck, I heard, after tea, the usual songs being sung: "Do they miss me at home," "Cheer, boys, cheer!" and that divine tribute to the only One: "Praise God!" etc., and though I did not mingle with them, oh! what a comfort were those words and sounds to my sad, bewildered heart! "Praise God from whom all blessings flow!" How often did I say, Amen! Amen!

ART AND DRAMA.

Nym Crinkle, the *World's* Sunday critic, has been looking through Jarrett & Palmer's glass, and sees in Mr. Sothern a better actor than Charles Mathews, or any other man.

The gist of Nym Crinkle's article lies in the sentence—

"Give us one highly finished impersonation, if it takes you ten years to perfect it," cries the dress circle, "and we'll go every night for a twelvemonth." Doubtless the spirit of the age speaks here—a reverberation, perhaps, of the principle implied in the "division of labor."

I see that this is supposed to be spoken by one of the public, but the whole article goes to verify the justice of this decision.

If Sothern's credit is to rest on his one character then I would, with all deference for the great authority of Nym Crinkle, remind my reader of Joe Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson was the earliest of our one-character players. He found *Rip Van Winkle* a good-natured sot. The commonplace, hen-pecked, shiftless drunkard, with the solitary redeeming trait of good nature, has been elevated into a special portraiture involving pathos, gleams of deep-seated feeling and tender affection, an acceptance of the world's rough teaching, a faint sense of manly dignity and an ingenious, childlike simplicity, which all go to redeem the character from the slough of contempt into which his irreclaimable propensity has plunged him, and compel us in spite of ourselves to believe that here is a sinner who is nearer heaven than many a saint. All this is accomplished by Jefferson, not by demonstration or word of extravagance, but by the very simplest means; such an absolute economy of outward show and manifestation that the actor who accomplishes so much seems to do nothing. *Rip Van Winkle* seems to have such actuality that seeing him we forget the scenic effects and theatrical accessories, and believe we have a real living man before us and not a mimic representation.

Mr. Jefferson, unlike Mr. Sothern, has a repertoire on which to fall back. His *Rip*, in fact, is his crowning excellence. It is the accumulated result of a long professional career.

If the actor's business be to imitate character and to forget himself, the greater number of characters the actor can imitate successfully the greater must be his merit. Just as a great artist who paints grand compositions involving a wide range of expression, subtle observation of human incident and knowledge of anatomical details is to be accounted abler and more worshipful than a genre painter.

In this sense Charles Mathews must surely be superior to Sothern, much as Nym Crinkle affects to depreciate that veteran of the stage. Sothern's one type of unconscious asininity will not surely compare with Mathews' endless variety of eccentricity and laughable foolishness. Sometimes the merest whimsicality, at other times a miniature-like reproduction of real life. It seems somewhat invidious to dismiss Charles Mathews' wide range of artistic action under one common epithet of Charles Mathewsness. The fact is that as he represents persons in whom the make up and dress are for the most part modern, he cannot sufficiently hide his personal identity, but the adaptation of manner, of gesture and of style is completely in unison with the character represented. If it be a flippant dandy, or the self-reliant assurance of a Bohemian, or the coolness of a man of business, or the audacity of an adventurer, they are all equally real, and Charles Mathews, though we see through his costume, is as protean in style and characteristics as the exigencies of the case demand.

The name of Owens was introduced by Nym Crinkle apparently to heighten the force of his preference for Sothern. As I think most injudiciously, Owens is a player of infinite versatility. He is chiefly famous for *Solon Shingle*, a mere eccentric with a mighty touch of nature about him, which may be met in parts frequently, as a whole perhaps once in a long lifetime. But the painter in realizing his ideal compounds it of many separate beauties; he does not wait for the ideal real to come down from Olympus. What a distance between *John Unt*, *Dr. Pangloss*, *Caleb Plummer* and *Solon Shingle*. Will any one pretend that there is not breadth, truth and distinctiveness in the several delineations?

As Sothern has been praised so has Fox been dispraised. To be a clown is to be nothing. *Humpty Dumpty* is a foolish fool. Does not even know how to wear his motley becomingly; such an oppressive weight of dreary dullness that the funeral visage and garb of woe look light and cheery in the comparison. Why is this thus? It seems to me that I have in time past read differently in the *World*. Can it be that the weekday utterances designedly refute the Sabbath teachings. Must we appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk? "Boys, respect your pastor," says George Francis Train. How are we to do it if we don't know where to have him. For clowns, whether in the circus or on the stage, I have no particular respect. They are vestiges of dramatic creation and have no fitness in this age. Their practical jokes and mechanical wit are stale. But they still amuse people who know no better; as Nym Crinkle himself testifies. And I would not have even a poor clown abused, merely because he is a clown. Perhaps *Humpty Dumpty* is getting remiss. If so, Zollus is right to scourge him; not for badly playing the fool, but for badly playing the manager.

At Wood's, the dramatized version of "Black Sheep" has been revived. Susan Denin displays unexpected power in the character of *Harriet South*, and plays with a suppressed force and intensity for which I had not given her credit. In the brief quarrel with her husband, she oversteps the limits, but it is very difficult to make the audience feel the player's rage without some noisy outburst. The by-play and business of the piece is really fine. Studley, who has usually a trick of rant, is very temperate, yet full of deadly meaning and devilish selfishness. The gay widow *Bembridge* is well played and dressed by Miss de Forest. I cannot understand why the detective need be

made such a preposterous guy as in this play, unless, perhaps, the idea was borrowed from "Divorce." Detectives are necessarily unobtrusive. However, the bit of low comedy helps to make the audience smile. The picture needs light, the subject is painfully dark and gloomy. The excellent acting, I fear, cannot make it a favorite with the average playgoer, who goes to be amused, not to be terrified. The characters are all detestable, the amiable *George Dallas* being but half virtuous; a knave with good intentions.

LINA EDWIN'S.—Aimee, the piquant, yet perfectly proper, is as delicious in the "Grande Duchesse" as in the "Perichole." She is not Schneider, nor even Tostee—she is Aimee. That's enough at a time. She is blithe as a bird, playful as a kitten, willful as a spoiled pet. The audience wonder, laugh, applaud and encore. The more liberties she takes with their good-nature the more they encourage her. As a singer she is not much, as an actress not much—but she is all light, grace, mirthfulness and mischief. The spirit of opera bouffe.

Nilsson the divine is as much the rage as ever. Whether she sings carelessly, whether she has no voice, or whether having but a thin voice she has consummate art in making the most of it; whether she be or be not the greatest of modern artists, it matters not. It is idle to discuss the question. She dresses tastefully, moves gracefully, looks charmingly and bows regally her acknowledgments to her admirers. She takes homage as her due. Upper tenders are of one mind. Piccolomini was, Patti has been, but Nilsson is. Great is fashion. If Kellogg now could only sing against Nilsson—but it's of no use. Kellogg, our American girl, must go to the provinces till New York wearies of the new love and sighs for the old. That was a pretty compliment Kellogg paid Cushman at Boston. Being in the house during Miss Cushman's performance of *Queen Katharine*, Miss Kellogg volunteered to sing "Angels Ever Bright and Fair," in the death scene. The generous compliment of art to art was accepted, and Kellogg did sing with a glorious voice and a profound feeling that proved she, too, had the gift of dramatic and sympathetic expression in song which is supposed to constitute Nilsson's supreme merit.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN has opened the winter exhibition with a catalogue of pictures over which praise and blame are pretty equally divided. I shall attend to it next week.

VANDYKE.

A TRIBUTE.

Before the sacred altar of thy beauty

With wandering feet I hither come to kneel,
In silent gratitude and wordless duty,
Such as the true in faith alone can feel.

Then from thy threshold, dearest, do not spurn me,
A pilgrim to the music of thy shrine;
Nor from its precincts with displeasure turn me,
Who never bowed at altar save at thine.

Unheralded I come once more before thee,
Unblazon'd from thy presence would depart;
Beseeching but in silence to adore thee,
And hide thy image deep within my heart.

Deep in my heart of hearts, unseen, unspoken,
But worship'd mutely with a martyr's love—
Until it meet thee with a pledge unbroken
Beautiful among the blest above.

WOMAN ITEMS.

Long absence makes the heart grow fonder—of some one else.

Detroit ladies are going to give up corsets. They will stay no longer.

Rouge has been accurately defined as the extreme unction of departed beauty.

Most of the public libraries in Massachusetts are now in charge of women.

A woman voted in Detroit, Mich., at the late municipal election, without opposition.

Madame Dudevant (George Sand) has published the journal she kept during the late war.

Intellectual women are not always homely; but homely women are not always intellectual.

Coffee and lemonade are to be substituted for wine at fashionable entertainments this winter.

It is said that it is the little women in the world who have the greatest amount of perseverance and energy and the most endurance.

Hon. Emory Washburn, in his new volume on "The Study and Practice of Law," states that intelligent women make the best witnesses.

Two young girls, the Misses Lamlin, who have achieved a California celebrity, are coming East to astonish and charm us with their talents.

Miss Harriet W. Terry, of New Haven, has accepted the position of Lady Principal at Vassar College. This lady is a sister of Major-General Terry.

Mrs. H. A. Johnson is a candidate for Engraving Clerk of the Assembly. She is an accomplished lady and is an expert in short-hand and long-hand phonography.

Dr. Mary C. Putnam, daughter of the publisher, has returned from Paris and is now practicing in New York, one of the most successful members of the profession.

Four New England Colleges are now open to women—Bates, at Lewiston, Me.; Colby, at Waterville, Me.; Vermont University, at Burlington, Vt.; and Wesleyan College, at Middletown, Conn.

Miss King, who has tasted tea in every part of China, says Americans will never get the best tea until they are willing to bid as high for it as the Russians, who now monopolize the finest growths.

The women expect, Western papers say, that Senator Trumbull, at the next session of Congress, will take steps for procuring a sixteenth amendment, bringing the whole subject of divorce under Congressional control.

Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake's new lecture is on "Modern Heroism," in which she contrasts the martial courage of the ancient world with the moral heroism which is displayed in the reforms and philanthropies of our age.

One of the beauties of the Court of Frederick the Great said to the King: "Sire, how is it that you, who are so renowned already, still seek for additional fame?" "Madam," he replied, "for the same reason that you, although so beautiful, still wear rouge."

"Carrie Weed," in a Boston paper, says: "Two months in the Treasury Department have made me feel proud that I hold a position there. I know whereof I affirm when I say that no better, more intelligent or refined class of women can be found."

Miss Thurston, the young lady balloonist, was formerly a teacher of music in a public institution in Troy, N. Y., and is at present teaching school at Albany. She is a niece of La Mountain, the celebrated aeronaut, now deceased. She is but nineteen years of age, handsome, daring and a capital balloonist.

A Miss Briel, of Richmond, Va., who was in Europe during the late Franco-Prussian war, received on Friday last, from the Emperor William of Germany, a splendid cross of honor in recognition of the services rendered by her to the sick and wounded soldiers.

A matrimonial puzzle of a new kind has turned up in the land of gold and big trees. Mr. Sikes became acquainted with Miss Burnett. They loved. The lady's parents not consenting, they married clandestinely. The bride went to her parents, the bridegroom stayed where he belonged. The marriage leaked out and now the bride says she was not the bride at all, it was some other Nancy that married Sykes, and the public opinion of San Jose is divided.

A Galesburg (Ill.) journal says: "The other day a number of our women went out collecting for the Chicago relief, and in their travels came across an old farmer who made it a point never to read the papers. For a long time he declared that the Chicago fire was an abolition lie, but finally remarked that he had a lot of potatoes in the patch, and 'if they had a mind to dig 'em, they could have all they wanted.' Nothing daunted at the old man's banter, the ladies got some shovels, dug twenty bushels that afternoon, and the next day came back and finished the patch, much to the old man's disgust."

The oldest waffle-maker in Paris was buried recently, and all the waffle-makers and sellers in Paris (300) attended her funeral. She was eighty-nine years old. La Mere Marchal ("Aunt Marchal") was a vivandiere of the first Empire, and was wounded at Lobau and twice at Moscow. She invented the go-around now placed on all waffle boxes, and which decides who shall pay the treat; the person who turns it when its index stops over the lowest number marked on the rim above which it revolves pays for the waffles ordered.

The woman of the period votes, and preaches. The recent ordination of Mrs. Celia Burleigh has attracted attention in England, and is causing much comment, as well as many sarcastic remarks. The case of Mrs. Burleigh is the first one to attract attention in England, although they are common enough in this country, where it is no uncommon thing to see women in the pulpit. We have Mrs. Hanaford, Mrs. Livermore, the widow Van Cott and other eminent preachers of the female sex. They have demonstrated their ability to fill the sacred desk as well as men, and, so far as we can learn, no one objects to it. In Springfield, Mass., a young lady has been appointed assistant pastor; and in Mr. Beecher's church there are female deacons. And why not, as well as men?

In this connection, we are happy to notice that in some places, this city included, women *did* vote last Tuesday, under the last amendments to the Constitution. Those amendments are facts which the whole editorial corps of the *Tribune* cannot overcome, and many of the best legal minds in the country are of the opinion that under them women have the right to vote. A number of ladies connected with the Rockland Institute, at Nyack, voted last Tuesday, including the lady principal. There is really nothing to hinder any lady from voting but the pig-headedness of the inspectors, and as they are liable to a fine of \$500 for refusing to take a vote, it is time those who do so refuse were made to come to their senses by paying it. Let this question be tested in the courts in every instance. The day of argument has passed; the time to act has come.—*N. Y. Globe*.

The Marriage, Divorce and Prostitution topic excites attention everywhere. Some two years ago the city of St. Louis adopted, as an experiment, a system of legal and police supervision of the social evil, including registration, inspection, etc. There was and still is a great deal of opposition to this mode of treating the great moral cancer of the world, and the principal object urged is that law should never countenance any acknowledged evil by any attempt to regulate or lessen it. While there has been much said in favor of either system, St. Louis has boldly tried the experiment based upon the idea that until there is a radical change in human nature, prostitution cannot be entirely removed, and that it is better to adopt mitigating and reformatory measures and open the door through which fallen humanity may be restored to virtue and happiness. It has been said many times, that the experiment was resulting badly, but at the National Police Convention, held in that city, Mayor Brown, who presided, stated that he was at first strongly opposed to the St. Louis law, but observations of its working and its effects upon the cause of morality had radically changed his views and he now supports it. The St. Louis authorities testify that since its adoption there has been a marked decline of social vice. Mayor Brown stated that a reformatory institution would soon be built, designed

to aid and benefit those women who may desire to return to better lives. It must be remembered, says a Boston paper commenting upon this subject, "that this represents the police view. It is not, necessarily, the moral, humanitarian or Christian view." It is a deeply important subject and is still open for discussion. Its importance demands all the light that can be brought to bear upon it, and yet there are those who would stifle inquiry.

MRS. J. S. GRIFFIN'S DRAMATIC READINGS.—A new aspirant for dramatic fame appeared for the first time before an English audience at Hope Hall on Wednesday evening. Mrs. Jane S. Griffin comes to us as credited with the highest American reputation; she has appeared with most brilliant *ecclat* before the leaders of the literary and social world in the States, received the unanimous eulogiums of the New York press, and the tribute of unusually large and enthusiastic audiences. She has justified the excited anticipations formed of her powers by her striking success in the Irish metropolis; and, judging from the performance of Wednesday evening, her *debut* in Liverpool will inaugurate a series of dramatic triumphs, which have been achieved by no previous importation from the shores of Columbia. In the first place, Mrs. Griffin has the unusual advantage of a majestic presence, features at once handsome and capable of every phase of expression, very graceful and effective styles of gesture, and, more than all, a voice full of sympathy—melodious, powerful and faultless in its intonations. Besides, her recitals prove that she is imbued with genuine dramatic feeling, and her conception of the spirit of the poetry she selects is as truthful as her rendering is varied and effective. On the stage, which is her chosen arena for the display of her extraordinary power, we cannot suppose that she has her equal in declamatory vigor, variety of expression and tenderness in the delivery of pathetic poetry. The only actress with whom she can be compared is Miss Bateman; and her she far exceeds in physique and power. The gems of her entertainment were, the "Scene in a Mad-house," "Coach the Piper," "Sheridan's Ride" and "Spartacus." Anything more dramatic in delivery, more unique in treatment and less conversational in style has never yet been achieved by a lady elocutionist; and we recommend all who enjoy a real intellectual dramatic treat to attend her next entertainment at Hope Hall, on Monday evening next.—*Liverpool Northern Press*.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN DUBLIN.—A meeting in connection with the Irish Society for Women's Suffrage was held on Wednesday at Blackrock, Dublin, Miss Anne Isabella Robertson presiding. The following were announced to have become members of the society since the last meeting of the committee: The Earl of Mountcashell, F. R. S., the Countess of Mountcashell, Lady Jane Moore, Lady Helena Newenham, Lady Louisa Morgan, the Mac Dermot Roe, J. P., Alderford House, County Roscommon; Captain William Stapoole, M. P., Ballyalla, County Clare; Mr. Philip Callan, M. P., Cookstown House, County Louth; Captain Dawson Damer, M. P. for Portlinton, Came House, Dorchester; Mr. Denny Umlin and Mrs. Umlin, Leeson Park, Dublin; Dr. Palmer and Mrs. Palmer, Waterford; Mrs. Dickson, Elmfield, County Down; the Rev. James C. Street, Wellington Park, Belfast; Mrs. Walpole, Grange Lodge, Waterford; Mr. W. G. Brooke, 10 Upper Pembroke street, Dublin; Mr. George Addey and Mrs. Addey, Cork; Miss Tylour, Belmont, Wigtonshire; Mrs. Harvey, Waterford; and the Rev. W. G. Carroll, incumbent of St. Bride's, Dublin. Miss Robertson, in opening the proceedings of the meeting, said it was gratifying to find that Mr. Gladstone, in his late speech at Greenwich, alluded to the desirability of removing the social inequalities under which he, for one, thought women labored. Miss Robertson said that when women got the franchise many slights and injustices which they suffered from now would be rendered impossible, as such injustices were only allowed to continue in these days owing to want of representation. An idea prevailed in some quarters that the women of Great Britain were very well off, very happy and highly respected. Much was said about the exalted position of the women of this country, and of the degraded state of the women of Eastern lands; yet, for her part, she (Miss Robertson) always felt when reading lamentations about the degraded state of the women of the East that it bore a striking likeness to the state of the women of the West. We all declare that the women of the East want something more than merely to be housed and fed; they want mental culture, and the men of the East will not let them have it. Is not this a little like the case of the women of the West? Are there in this country any high schools or colleges endowed by the State for the education of women, or honors or encouragement given to women for learning or talent? It was not the men of the East, but men somewhere near the West, who applied the term "Blue Stocking" in derision to a learned or clever woman. We all know of an aged and eminent man, Sir Roderick Murchison, who sank into his grave the other day, covered with honors for scientific researches, but we do not all know, perhaps of a woman learned in science, Miss Caroline Herschell, who was refused even a medal by the Royal Astronomical Society for her discovery of five comets, simply because she was a woman. The men of the East would not grant honors or distinction to their women for intellectual work, and neither, up to the present, do the men of the West. Aged men in the West might, if clever, have a chance of sinking into their graves covered with honors; but aged women in the West, however clever, could only feel that their name of "old woman" would be a by-word to apply to ridiculous or bungling men. Whether it was the custom in the East to call silly men "old women," Miss Robertson was not aware, but she knew the habit prevailed extensively in Great Britain, where women were declared by some people to be so highly respected in their present unfranchised state. She hoped when women got the franchise that British respect for women would assume another form.

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ANOTHER BOOK.
ADDRESS TO THE WHITED SEPULCHRES.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

1. There is a personal God, who ordered and rules the universe. We believe in Him.
2. We are of God—our bodies of His body—our souls of His soul—our spirits of both.
3. We live forever as we are—death is a change of clothing only. The dead, so called, are living. They walk about as we do; in the form, guard and converse with their friends.
4. We are each entitled to as much of the earth as we have need—no more. Whatever we have in excess is the property of others, and should be restored to the owners. So also as to self-control and the management of affairs.
5. Every one should be busy in productive industry. Idleness is a crime to the rich no less than to the poor. The surplus of storekeepers, grocers, brokers, and other middleers constitute dead weight, and they should be transferred to useful occupations. Like gamblers and prostitutes, they keep the people poor. They cost too much.
6. We ought to be just. We wish to be so. But when we know that nine-tenths of the best men, and nearly half of the finer women, including many matrons, are unchaste, the few remaining pure men and the many pure women ought to place all the unchaste on a like basis. Why close our doors on a "fallen" woman, who fell because she was forced to, and who remains so because she can't help it, while we cordially invite the "fallen" man who fell because he wished to, and remains because he desires it? Why deny to woman a part in public affairs, and the control of herself in business, notwithstanding a majority of women are purer, better and wiser than men?
7. There is but one truth. It is the harmonious co-operation of intelligence in maintenance, development and administration. Wherefore, let the living machinery of the world, now out of gear, be suffered to adjust itself. It will then operate harmoniously, and with great strength and beauty of performance. The propelling power is God Almighty. Fear not. He will preserve its movements and direct its uses—keep it oiled, burnished and delightful to look upon. And men and women, old and young—all, everywhere, will be more Christlike, pure and noble, and enjoy more of the good things of life than ever yet was known. The sexes will enjoy more, children more, husbands and wives more, teachers and pupils more; officers, farmers, merchants, divines, physicians, lawyers, painters, poets, philosophers, artists, and, in fine, all, everywhere, will have that which few have ever had—perfect enjoyment of everything natural and sound, with the approval of good conscience and of God.

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For Stamford, 7.8 (Ex.), 9.11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 2:15, 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15, 8 (Ex.) p. m.

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Anna M. Middlebrook was born in humble circumstances. In the best forms of society poverty is not held a dishonor. Her birth place was Newtown, Conn. Her parents, names were Ephraim P. and Sarah S. Wetmore. Her school education commenced just as early as she was able to walk the distance of half a mile to the school-house, and it ended when she became nine years old, when she was sent to live with a maiden lady in Fairfield, Conn., who wanted a little girl "for company." Instead of a "companion," the child became a pitiful drudge. The lady, though possessed of some property, increased her little store by boarding children who were pupils to the academy, and the little stranger became the maid of all work, and general scapegoat for the peccadilloes of the paying boarders. The very garden, which with its varied gaities and pure nature ought to be a happiness to childhood, was made a misery. The early summer morn was given to weeding and hoeing until it was time to go to housework. During meals she stood at the lady's elbow, and in very warm weather wielded an immense fly-brush four feet in length, made of peacock's quills, whose green and violet eyes, as she says, haunt her still. This surely was not childhood. Once every year she spent a week at her father's, and to describe the home-sickness that invariably seized her on her return would be impossible. At such times work was a means of forgetting, and she battled life with broom and mop. The children boarders called the lady auntie, and every night received from her a kiss before retiring, while the lonely one crept to her bed, and often cried hours because there was no one to kiss her.

It was seldom that she received a letter from home, but there was one whose contents are still treasured. It contained the information that her father (who had previously been intemperate), had joined the Washingtonians. Reading and throwing herself on the floor, she wept passionate tears of joy. The father kept that pledge, and became thenceforth an earnest temperance man. The joy of that evening was turned to sorrow; the woman with whom she lived was a Presbyterian, and commenced her Sabbath on Saturday at sunset. After committing her Sunday-school lesson to memory she retired to her room and finished a calico dress that required only a half hour's work, in the hope not always confined to the childish mind of making an appearance on Sabbath. But the dress was withheld, and on Monday the stickler for the law compelled her to rip every stitch that had been sewed on Saturday night.

Sunday school, and on Sunday nights the two chapters containing the texts preached from, the Lord's prayer and the Ten Commandments, and on the first Sunday in every month a recital of the Assembly's catechism, were the exercises intended to make Christianity lovely. From these dry husks the child could not "get religion." Anxious and questioning, she became a young religious student, and acquired the odious habit of comparing the practices of people with their professions. She was too honest to tell the infinite God on bended knees that she was a most miserable sinner, when she felt that He knew how earnestly she was trying to do well.

At last, after four years of slavery, when suffering for a misdemeanor committed by another child, she determined on freedom, and wrote to her parents; but getting no reply she boldly declared her intention of leaving the place forever, which she did the next morning, with fifty cents, the whole earnings of four years' hard labor. She went to a sister's, who lived ten miles off, and there spent a few months. She then took to dress-making at thirty-seven cents a day, finally working in two different factories at \$1 50 per week and board.

At 17 years old she married Stephen W. Henderson. Three weeks after marriage her married misery commenced. The husband coolly announced that he had loved another girl, and still loved her, and repeatedly absented himself; and thoughtful friends soon apprised her that he was in the habit of taking this young girl to balls and parties, while she at home wondered what kept him so late at business. She was likely to become a mother, and life became a burden. One day, in a fit of mischief, the husband brought a paper parcel and put it in her hand, saying it was a present. She took out the pin which held it, and lifted one side of the paper, when a small garter snake darted its head out. With a shriek of terror she fled up stairs, and looking around saw the man standing near her, twirling it in his hand. She fainted dead away. The child was not visibly affected by her fright, though the hope that her husband's love would come to her with its birth was darkened by this terrible fear; but he was a great sufferer all his little life.

For the next three years the husband's visits were at intervals sometimes of many months, and she entirely supported herself and children. Her labor was of the most unremunerative character, and during the whole time her husband abandoned himself to habits of intemperance.

At this period the town's people became interested in certain phenomena that were taking place in the neighborhood. One afternoon Mrs. Henderson was taken to a so-called spiritual circle. She had heard of the Rochester knockings, but was skeptical, though from childhood she had always felt the nearness of the spiritual universe and had a firm conviction that those who had been inhabitants of this mortal life were cognizant of what was transpiring on earth. Now for the first time sitting at the table in broad daylight, where she could see the hands of every person present and watch every movement, she heard raps, clear and distinct. They came directly under her hands as she was writing, and rapped when she pointed to her departed sister's name. A feeling of curiosity and awe stole over the neophyte. All disposition to ridicule the thing was gone, and a deep and intense interest to know what it might mean arose in her mind. The first communication was prophetic—"Dear sister, be submissive to the will of God; a great work is before you." Now, when the hands were busily employed with the needle or when sitting at the machine in the factory, she would become lost to outward conscious-

court laws were then rigid in these matters. Emancipated from this degrading bond, she threw herself with ardor into the work of Spiritualism, and declared her obedience to the higher powers that still called her to action, and gave assurance that she would never be forsaken.

Sixteen years ago, placing her remaining child in the care of her parents, she went forth in fear and trembling, diffident of her powers, poor, uneducated, unknown, but trusting in the spirits. For two years she depended upon the free offerings of the people, taking no fees, making no charges, speaking oftentimes for weeks in a place, to be told that "the hearers believed in a free gospel, that as the gift was freely bestowed it ought to be freely given."

At the end of two years, and when she was faint-hearted and discouraged, and had determined to seek other employment, she was invited to speak in Boston. This was the turning point. She met great success. She was re-engaged for a month, with such remuneration as enabled her to live and provide for her child. Dr. H. F. Gardner was the great heart who came to her assistance. This was the commencement of a career in and around Boston that brought name and usefulness. Invitations now came in from all parts of the country. She spoke frequently in the trance state upon subjects given her by the audience, and answering the most difficult questions; lecturing upon scientific subjects of which she had no waking knowledge. The mental nature became quickened, education was rapid and certain, and she gradually became conscious of what she was saying. At the present day she is in a perfectly normal condition, and speaks extemporaneously and without preparation, though with a conscious inspiration and presence of never-failing invisible friends.

She has spoken in many of the principal places from Maine to Tennessee, and has within a few years past taken up the living, reformatory questions of the day, and lectured on temperance, woman's suffrage, political and social reforms, sometimes preparing speeches beforehand. She married a second time with Mr. C. S. Middlebrook, and their residence is in the town of Trumbull, Conn.

From the many eulogistic notices in the local press it would be easy to give confirmation of the opinion expressed as to her ability and public services. Those who know her will need no such testimony, and those who stop their ears and shut their eyes cannot be convinced. The following from an evidently impartial critic is worthy perusal:

[From the Manchester, N. H., American.]

TRANCE SPEAKING.

The attention of our citizens has within a few days been called more particularly to the subject of modern Spiritualism, by the attempt to expose the phenomena attending its varied manifestations, by Professor Grimes, whose manner and matter, to say the least, were not calculated to impress an intelligent audience with a very lofty idea of his sincerity and honesty; however much they might be impelled by their religious prejudices to cheer him on in his work of denunciation.

After pronouncing the physical manifestations fraud, he represented the trance speakers as only giving utterance to dreams.

The Spiritualists who listened to his lectures, feeling their cherished religious sentiments outraged by the ungentlemanly flings and innuendoes of this bravado, sent abroad and procured the services of Mrs. Henderson, a celebrated trance speaker, who lectured Tuesday evening, in the Court-room Hall, to a very interested audience, upon the rise, progress and future ultimate of Spiritualism. Her lecture was terse, compact and logical, abounding in passages of rare beauty, which would lead one to believe it anything but the vagaries of a dream.

The manner was chastened with the highest tests of sincerity, and the matter so lofty and dignified as to lead us to wonder that a female so young could give utterance to it. Though not a believer in modern Spiritualism, yet following the advice of St. Paul, I would prove all things and hold fast that which is good.

THE Woman's Club of Washington, which has made such vigorous efforts to check prostitution in that city, at one of their recent meetings unanimously adopted the following:

Whereas, at every step of our labors for the prevention and cure of the social evil we find legal, political, judicial and executive obstacles blocking our way; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we believe the chief and radical remedy for the social evil lies in the political enfranchisement and thence personal emancipation of women.

Thus one after another reforms are tried and fail, simply for the reasons set forth. Long since we said that it were futile for women to attempt anything looking to their own elevation without the power of the ballot to enforce their wishes. And all who attempt it will sooner or later learn it to their cost.

THERE are sixty-eight avowed republican clubs in England, the largest of which numbers nearly 1,000 members. The "International" numbers half a million adherents in Great Britain; all of whom are of course in favor of a republic. Bradlaugh and Odger count on 75,000 ardent republicans who are capable of good organizing work in case of an outbreak.

It is a somewhat remarkable phenomenon that in the three great cities of New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati political parties are in a disorganized condition, the elements being in a state of fermentation, and undergoing, as it were, a chemical change.



ness and memory, and when the mind returned, she had become cognizant of a new world outside this material life. Great thoughts stirred the soul, as the billows of the sea are stirred by the wind. She talked with the children of the new birth, and with them planned a mighty work for ameliorating the condition of the unhappy and miserable. This was a season of day dreams. They not only strengthened the soul, but so relieved the irksomeness of common toil that she was able to accomplish more than usual, despite the interval of rest, and instead of being worn out and weary, felt rested and strengthened.

A little circle was soon formed for purposes of investigation, and after many sittings their earnest inquiry was rewarded by the mediumship of a member. After a long time of waiting, one evening, while sitting in the circle, an unaccustomed sense of faintness came over her; she shook it off, but it returned, until at last she passed into a trance and began to speak, giving communications and exhortations; clairvoyance was developed. By laying a book on the top of her head while blindfolded, she could read whatever was selected. She diagnosed diseases, prescribed for the sick, and became something of a physical medium; table tipping and some other physical manifestations occurred in her presence for several years. She saw spirits, and correctly described those who had been perfect strangers, and who were readily recognized by friends and relatives. The work to be done haunted her incessantly, and, when she was in a quiet, passive state of mind, voices would urge her forward, telling of human duties; of sorrow and suffering; of systems of superstition and errors, misnamed religion; of the social wrongs that were corrupting and debasing the race; and bidding her go forth and labor for humanity's redemption. Her wretched poverty and the need of bread for her children kept her back. She went into circles, but circumstances cramped her energies and limited her sphere.

The death of her boy was an addition to the burden of life. She was at her father's, almost destitute, and the husband was in a distant Western State. His own child must be buried by charity, while he was spending his money in riot and licentiousness. This new affliction stirred her to new energy; she sought and obtained a divorce upon the grounds of infidelity and neglect. The