

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BLAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 4.—No. 14.—WHOLE No. 92.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 17, 1872.

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73-85.

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76-86.

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78 to 103.

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56 107

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CONTENTS.

Prefatory Address to the Protestant Clergy.
Book I. Touching communication of religious
knowledge to man.
Book II. Some characteristics of the Phenomena.
Book III. Physical manifestations.
Book IV. Identity of Spirits.
Book V. The Crowning Proof of Immortality.
Book VI. Spiritual gifts of the first century ap-
pearing in our times.

The scope of this book is broad. One-fourth of it is
occupied by an Address to the Protestant Clergy, re-
viewing the present attitude of the religious world in
connection with modern science and with modern
ideas touching the reign of law, human infallibility,
plenary inspiration, miracles, spiritual gifts. It sets
forth the successes and reverses of early Protestan-
tism and asks their explanation. It inquires whether
it is Protestant theology or Christianity that has been
losing ground, for three hundred years, against the
Church of Rome. It discusses the effects on morality
and civilization and spiritual growth of such doctrines
as vicarious atonement, original depravity, a personal
devil, an eternal hell. It inquires whether religion is
a progressive science. It contrasts Calvinism, Lu-
theranism, Paulism, with Christianity. Inspiration
it regards as not infallible, yet an inestimable gift of
God and the origin of all religions—a gift for all ages,
not confined to one century nor to one church; a
gift pre-eminently appearing in the Author of our re-
ligion.

But the main object of the book is to afford conclu-
sive proof, aside from historical evidence, of immor-
tality. It shows that we of to-day have the same evi-
dence on that subject as the Apostles had. More
than half the volume consists of narratives in proof
of this—narratives that will seem marvelous—incred-
ible, at first sight, to many—yet which are sustained
by evidence as strong as that which daily determines,
in our courts of law, the life and death of men.

This book affirms that the strongest of all historical
evidences for modern Spiritualism are found in the
Gospels, and that the strongest of all proof going to
substantiate the Gospel narratives are found in the
phenomena of Spiritualism, rationally interpreted:
Christianity, freed from alien creeds, sustaining
Spiritualism; and enlightened Spiritualism sustain-
ing Christianity.

Finally, the author gives his conception of the
foundation motive of Christian morality and Spiritual
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It is a book eminently suited to an era like
the present, when the debatable land of morals and re-
ligion is freely explored, and when men are disposed
to prove all things ere they hold fast to that which
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tices of New Publications, etc. WESTERN EDITORIAL

CORRESPONDENCE, by WARREN CHASE, St. Louis,

Mo. WESTERN LOCALS, by CEPHAS B. LYNN.

MESSAGE DEPARTMENT.—A page of Spirit-Mes-

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Subscribers in Canada will add to the terms of

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Post Office Address.—It is useless for subscribers

to write, unless they give their Post Office Address

and name of State.

Subscribers wishing the direction of their paper

changed from one town to another, must always give

the name of the Town, County and State to which it

has been sent.

Specimen copies sent free.

Subscribers are informed that twenty-six numbers

of the Banner compose a volume. Thus we publish

two volumes a year.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.—Your attention is called

to the plan we have adopted of placing figures at the

end of each of your names, as printed on the paper or

wrapper. These figures stand as an index, showing

the exact time when your subscription expires, i. e.,

the time for which you have paid. When these figures

correspond with the number of the volume and the

number of the paper itself, then know that the time

for which you paid has expired. The adoption of this

method renders it unnecessary for us to send receipts.

Those who desire the paper continued should renew

their subscriptions at least as early as three weeks

before the receipt-figures correspond with those at the

left and right of the date.

Patrons of the BANNER, when renewing their sub-

scriptions, should be careful to always state the place

to which the paper is mailed; and the same care

should be exercised when a change of location is de-

sired. By particularly attending to this, our mailing

clerk will be relieved of a great amount of extra labor

in hunting through the thousands of names upon our

books before the name required can be found and the

alteration made; whereas, if the full address is given,

he has only to consult his alphabet of towns to turn

direct to the name upon the subscription book.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted at twenty cents per



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
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Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Each per copy.....	10
per 100.....	5 00

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).—Sunday, 9:30 A. M., at No. 100 Prince street.
- Section 6 (German).—Thursday, 8 P. M., at No. 10 Stanton street.
- Section 8 (German).—Sunday, 3 P. M., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.
- Section 9 (American).—Wednesday, 8 P. M., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.
- Section 10 (French).—First Thursday and third Saturday in each month, 6 P. M., at No. 650 Third avenue, between Forty-first and Forty-second streets.
- Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 P. M., West Thirty-ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's.
- Section 12 (American).—The second and fourth Sunday in each month, 8 P. M., at No. 15 E. 38th street.
- Section 13 (German).—The first and third Tuesday in each month, 8 P. M., at No. 301 East Tenth street.
- Section 22 (French).—The second and fourth Friday in each month, 8 P. M., at Constant's, 68 Grand street.
- Section 35 (English).—Meets every Friday evening at Myers', 129 Spring street, at 8 o'clock.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members or forming Sections, and trades unions or societies wishing to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association, can procure all the necessary information and documents by addressing the regular officers of the Federal Council of North America, as follows :

- English Corresponding Secretary, John T. Elliott, 208 Fifth street, New York.
- German Corresponding Secretary, Edward Grosse, 214 Madison street, New York.
- French Corresponding Secretary, B. Laugrand, 355 Fourth avenue, New York.
- Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.
- Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Feb. 10, 1872, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11 A. M., on Wednesday at 11½ A. M., and on Saturday at 4 A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

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

NOTICE TO CLERGYMEN.

We have recently been the recipients of numerous letters from clergymen in different parts of the Union asking our terms to them for the WEEKLY. In view of the greatly increased interest manifested by this class of citizens in the principles we advocate, since the Steinway Hall lecture, we announce that we will send the WEEKLY to them *complimentary* upon an application for it; as well as to all public speakers, of whatever class or persuasion; and to Spiritual lecturers we shall be especially gratified to furnish it.

TO THE READERS OF WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

I have made arrangements to become a regular correspondent of the above paper. I shall write mostly short, terse, pithy articles about Spiritualism, Churchism, Radicalism, socialism, or any other ism to which my pen may be attracted.

I shall never write unless I have something to write about, and shall always quit when I am done.

I believe in D. W. Hull. If I did not I should work away at his heart and brain until I could believe in him. I also believe in Victoria C. Woodhull; but as I am not as well acquainted with her as I am the gentleman, it may not be safe to say I have the same faith in her that I have in him. But while I shall leave D. W. Hull to take care of himself, I shall ask the privilege of speaking of Mrs. Woodhull or Tennie C. Claflin through their paper as if I were writing in my own.

A political canvass is again coming this year, and I do not know what I may want to say in favor of her who seems destined to take so prominent a part in the political war just before us.

I am responsible for all I say, and shall either defend it or "take it back." D. W. HULL.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

Please insert the following Call and Platform. You will recollect that in my "Declaration of Principles" some time ago, I omitted to say much on politics, stating that I held that subject as a comparatively superficial one, and as having already been dwelt upon by others, more than more profound and basic departments of human concern. I here propose to supply that omission. I put it in the shape of a proposed Call and a Platform of Principles, as if for the organization, &c., of a new Party. W. M. BOUCHER.

A CALL.

Recognizing that the present is a grievously unsatisfactory condition of all our relations, industrial, social and political :

And believing that in this condition of our own, we reflect the conviction of all classes of both sexes, who are subjected to the "wages system," and who suffer and sympathize with them :

And recognizing that, in this country, the political is the most active and the most practical department of these relations, and, therefore, is the most immediately practicable as a means of reform :

And believing that with the suffrage as we have it (and how much more so with the suffrage as we expect it) we who know ourselves the victims of so lamentable a condition of things have ample power to rule in the politics of this country :

We therefore appeal to our fellow citizens, who are fellow sufferers under the Wages System and Profit-making System *regime* (and who have not already so acted), to take immediate action in the premises!

And we submit to them these several particular propositions as logically combining into this one general proposition, to wit: That it is now eminently and logically expedient, on our part, to take immediate political action for the amelioration of our present condition of political chicanery and speculation, industrial anarchy and fraud, and social demoralization and crime!

And as a first necessary step toward effecting organization for this end we hereby issue a call for a public meeting, to be held at

on Signed,

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

- I. We propose to abolish all laws :
 - 1. Which discriminate for or against sex.
 - 2. Which discriminate for or against any class of people.
 - 3. Which discriminate for or against any nationalities or peoples.
 - 4. Which discriminate for or against any persons.
 - 5. Which discriminate for or against any trade, profession or calling.
- II. We propose to retain and pass only such laws :
 - 1. Which will conserve to the people their rights.
 - 2. Which will encourage them in their duties.
- III. In these rights we recognize two classes :
 - 1. Unacquired or inalienable rights.
 - 2. Acquired or alienable rights.
- IV. In these inalienable rights we recognize :
 - 1. Personal rights.
 - 2. Property rights.
- V. In these inalienable personal rights we recognize :
 - 1. Life.
 - 2. Liberty.
 - 3. Pursuit of happiness.
- VI. In these inalienable property rights we recognize :
 - 1. A common property in the air.
 - 2. A common property in the water.
 - 3. A common property in the earth or land.
- VII. In these alienable rights we recognize :
 - 1. Property in the products of one's labor.
 - 2. Property in the whole of the products of one's labor.
- VIII. In these duties above referred to we recognize :
 - 1. That one should not pursue one's own interest with disregard for the interests of others.

2. That one should do all in one's power (consonant with one's rights) to promote the happiness of others.

IX. As the two most general and expressive propositions of rights and duties we recognize :

- 1. That our needs are the foundation and measure of our rights.
- 2. That our capacities are the foundation and measure of our duties.

X. In our method of political action :

- 1. We propose to abolish the caucus method of nominating candidates and to adopt that of direct nomination by the mass meeting.
- 2. We propose that all important measures initiated by the Legislature shall be referred back to the people for their approval or rejection as law.

XI. To state more in detail some of the propositions which are implied in the above more general propositions or principles, we propose :

- 1. That the government shall assume the control and management of such means of transportation as are otherwise liable to be made permanent monopolies of, such as railroads and canals.
- 2. That the government shall cease to grant titles of absolute ownership in anything as property which is liable to permanent monopoly, such as the land.
- 3. We propose to lessen the present degree of the monopoly of land by a system of taxation which will make it less desirable to hold large tracts.
- 4. We propose to abolish the present system of currency, and to inaugurate a co-operative system of paper currency, whereby the people in common will be the owners and controllers of it, to loan it through their agencies to all who may be legitimate or worthy borrowers, without interest, except for the purpose of revenue.
- 5. We propose to abolish the present system of taxation and to raise the revenue by a percentage on the money loaned and tax on land as per Proposition 3 of Section X., and from railroads and canals as per Proposition 1 of Section X., and on the mail—by one or all of these means, as experience may suggest.
- 6. We propose to insist upon the "Eight-Hour Law" as a present expedient (though not strictly in keeping with some of the above principles), in the absence of its being yet in our power to so arrange our industrial relations as that these "shorter hours" would be a natural and spontaneous result.
- 7. We propose to abolish the election of the judiciary for a term, and to make it the duty of the heads of the government to appoint the judges for life or during good behavior.
- 8. We propose a "civil service" law, whereby public offices shall be filled only by such persons as shall prove their ability and fitness to occupy them, or shall prove these to be superior or equal to those of others desiring the same office through an examination; or, in case of competition, through a competitive examination—this in time to apply also to the legislators themselves.
- 9. We propose to open the public buildings, school-houses, etc., not used during the evenings, for other purposes, to the people for public meetings, lectures, etc.
- 10. We propose to follow up the improvements in our common school system, and to make them secular, in the sense of excluding from them the present sensational, whimsical and dogmatical sectarianism; but that they shall be no longer secular in the sense of excluding from them religious education in the sense of the "science of religion," as taught by Max Muller, and to make a technical and an industrial education accompany a common school education.
- 11. To abolish standing armies, and to discountenance war and to encourage international, national and local arbitration, but in case of war to not make debt for future labor to pay, but to make capital pay its expenses as they are incurred.
- 12. To make laws encouraging and facilitating "co-operation" in both exchange and production.
- 13. To establish a national and states bureau of labor.
- 14. A bureau of currency, to be distinct from the national finance department.
- 15. To secure the immediate enfranchisement of women.
- 16. To devise some means of national or municipal co-operative insurance.
- 17. To make an easier and a uniform divorce law; and to put in express law what the courts by their decisions have made law by implication in regard to marriage.
- 18. We propose the establishment of government employment in lieu of the present charities.
- 19. A criminal code which shall aim at securing reparation for the wrong done, the reformation of the offender, and the greater protection to society.
- 20. Universal suffrage.
- 21. Graduated or progressive taxation.
- 22. Limitation to profits or dividends.

We designate ourselves the NATURAL RIGHTS POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

MRS. T. M. ORGAN.

This lady has recently made her *debut* in the lecture field. From several Ohio exchanges we gather that she is to become one of the most popular as well as useful of workers in the great field of reform. She has been a close student for years and is thoroughly versed in all the great questions that are agitating the world to-day. Her address is Yellow Springs, Ohio.

A WIFE TO HER HUSBAND IN PRISON.

BY WILLIAM BRUNTON.

Dearest husband, know I love thee deep as yonder sky,
 Know my love can never fail, affection never die:
 Though in prison thou art cast, and cannot now return,
 Still my soul on thee reclines, for thee my feelings burn.
 'Tis impossible to break what are no bonds to me,
 'Tis impossible to sever all that clings to thee.
 Fate has made us one in ways the world can never know,
 One, as water bound within the pure white heart of snow.
 And 'tis freedom thus to feel thy strong royal rule,
 Educating thee and me in wisdom's highest school.
 So as well may men uproot the earth, as by their scorn,
 Deem they'll come dividing us, because thy heart doth mourn.
 Nay, I feel for thee far more than e'er I felt before,
 Prizing thee with richer strength, for pining sad and sore.
 Here I wait thy glad release, with yearnings deep and wild;
 Wait thy coming home to wife, and thine and wife's dear child.
 Thou shalt come, have courage, dear, the time will wear away,
 Darkness fade in morning light, and usher in the day!
 Oh, what purest joy will visit us, in that sweet hour,
 And what lily loves renew their bloom in silent power!
 Cheer up, husband, bravely bear, as manhood surely may,
 Day by day approaches near the kind releasing day!
 Cheer up, husband, failing once may teach thee ne'er to fall,
 Ne'er to turn from honest path, that now our hearts bewail!
 Cheer thee up, the deed is done, the past is ever gone;
 Live in noble present, and in future coming on!
 Cheer, my husband, there's forgiveness from the skies above;
 Yes, forgiveness too from men, their sympathy and love!
 Cheer up, husband, dear and precious still thou art to me;
 True and faithful will I prove, most true and faithful be!
 Blessings on thy head, with fondest prayer do I implore,
 Coming now to thee and resting there forevermore!
 May the fire devour the ill, that wasted fields in bloom,
 And the sweetest summer come from darkest wintry gloom!
 Love me, darling, live for me, be brave in manly life,
 Prison doors ere long shall ope, and bring thee to thy wife!
 Boston, Mass.

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 CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

To Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, President of the American Association of Spiritualists:

DEAR MADAM: I have before me, printed in circular, your message to the said association, read and considered at a meeting of the board of trustees thereof, held at 44 Broad street, New York, October 25, 1871, then and there adopted as an expression of the views of the board, and by it voted to be the proper exponent of the principles of the association to go before the public. The resolution of the board in this behalf was eminently wise and discriminating. I thought so when I read your able address at first published in the Spiritual papers of about the time of the foregoing date.

Though pleased with your message, and rejoicing that you have been elected to the presidency of the association, I fail to approve of the constitution thereof. Hence it is that I have withheld my signature from its articles of association and refrained from attendance on its meetings. Those articles provide for such an unnatural and incongruous creation, viewed in whatsoever light, whether religiously, politically, philosophically, or socially, as has no type nor antetype in human organizations constructed for the administration of the affairs of life. To me it is no wonder that this organization has failed to realize any great achievement in the dissemination of the grand doctrines of Spiritualism, or in staying the march of Ecclesiasticism determined on its destruction. The entire conception of the thing runs counter to common sense and the elements which go to make up successful popular movements.

Eight years of annual meetings, and what does their record show? For any person less gifted of Heaven than yourself to contrive and extricate and execute, its perusal and examination might not be well—the little good done might discourage. I fear its column of names of members if put before the people would fail to intimidate or much frighten our foes—a serried host; or tell very favorably on the accuracy of those distinguished census-takers of the multitudes who accept our faith in spiritual phenomena and revelations from the Invisible World. I fear also that its exchequer, if scrutinized, would not inspire large hope or expectation in its ability as a spiritual instrumentality.

Do you ask what is the matter—wherein lies the difficulty of the case? I think I have discovered the cause of failure. The structure is not in accordance with those laws of mind which are governing among men. It is folly to antagonize eternal principles. Sensible men do not apply caloric to congeal water into ice, nor the laws of cohesion to disintegrate. What a valuable lesson is that taught in Webster's Spelling-book—the first lesson in childhood—though made up of little words, yet how full of sound philosophy—

"NO MAN MAY PUT OFF THE LAW OF GOD."

I discover in your message that you have analyzed the

idea which these articles of association have clothed, and understand the bifold nature thereof. The effigy is something more than hybrid, which is neither beautiful nor fruitful—it is a monstrosity—a blending in unity of two things unlike in their nature and operation. The fertile fancies and fabulous creations of the old Grecian mythologies have furnished an example, as seen in the story of Hermaphrodite, illustrative of the incongruity of the membership and management of this society.

Let us bring before us this queerly organized Colossus intended to stride the American Continent, and among other objects of its being "to establish an American University on a plan similar to the ancient Alexandrian University," and, for a moment, exercise our optics to discern what is the material of which it is made and how constructed. Here is (1) an association of persons made members thereof by signing the constitution and paying of one dollar annually, or fifty dollars for life. (Art. III.)

2. A congress of delegates from each State or Territorial organization of Spiritualists within the limits of the United States of America, and from each progressive lyceum within same limits, besides one delegate from every association in each province of the American Continent, and two delegates from the District of Columbia. (Art. VII., sec. 2.) This Congress and the Association together constitute one body in the annual meeting of the Association. These delegates, pilgrims to the Mecca meeting of the Association held once a year for business; are received in full fellowship without membership and without the payment of a farthing into the treasury of the Association. This Congress and the Board of Trustees of the Association, together conduct the meeting. (Art. VII.)

Where is there any encouragement to join this institution, since membership confers no privilege in its meetings—not even to make a speech or to vote—without first being delegated by some local society? (Vide Art. VII.) No wonder there is an avoidance of its fellowship. It is a historical fact which does not look well for the Board of Trustees, to whom is so largely committed the conduct of the annual meeting, exercising the functions of a committee on credentials, to allow violations of the rule of representation. The record shows that a teacher of harmonial philosophy and dealer in a new saints' calendar, in summer-land patterns and notions, in *progressive* labels, etc., with his companion, while residents of one State, were admitted as representatives of a society or lyceum in another State. This machine, clogged with its congress of delegates with credentials derived from the nursery or from children of larger growth, as the case may be, will not work—its structure is contrary to the laws which govern human motive and action—to the law of God.

"My soul aches
 To know, when two authorities are up,
 Neither supreme, how soon confusion
 May enter 'twixt the gap of both, and take
 The one by the other."

This model institution should be remodeled. Excise the excrescence of a congress of delegates. Expurgate from the the constitution the nonsense of its objects, without an act of incorporation to carry them out practically. Lessen the powers of the trustees in annual meeting, and, perhaps, generally. Let membership which is at the cost of money mean something more than dumb show, in pantomime, as at present. These things being done, millions of us who are liberated from the thraldom of the churches, and whose souls are filled with joy in prospect of the immortality brought to light by the blessed Gospel of Spiritualism, will be ready with the annual sums of money necessary to constitute membership, and much more. This miserable conglomerate of the unnatural and impossible should be exchanged for something practicable and profitable. I trust that the great and good of the spirit spheres, your watchers and helpers in the cause of humanity, will devise the proper ways and means by which your efforts in this behalf may be blest.

Yours, etc.,

HORACE DRESSER.

December 25, 1871.

QUARTERLY CONVENTION OF THE NEW JERSEY SPIRITUALISTS.

VINELAND, January 30, 1872.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull:

MY DEAR FRIEND: Yours, promising to be with us at Camden, is received. I am delighted to learn that I shall meet you so soon. I hope and trust no unforeseen event will transpire to prevent your presence there. I send a notice to your paper for publication. Please insert, and oblige your devoted friend and sister,

ELLEN DICKINSON.

P. S.—I have reported to our International friends your husband's request. I am not an active member, owing to press of other business, not for want of interest. E. D.

The New Jersey State Association of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress, to its members, friends and reformers, greeting:

The Executive Board of the above-named association met in Vineland, January 21, and agreed upon the following order of movements for the year 1872: The holding of quarterly conventions, in February, at Camden; in May, Jersey City; in August, at one of the popular summer resorts; either Long Branch, Atlantic City or Cape May in November; also the holding of extra conventions, if deemed advisable, at such places as may be desired.

Dr. H. S. Childs, of Philadelphia, Pa., was unanimously

invited to lecture in this State, selecting times and places to suit his own convenience.

It was decided to employ missionaries, if suitable arrangements can be made as to persons and means.

The Spiritualists and all other reformers in and out of the State of New Jersey are earnestly requested to co-operate in this movement. Any person can become a member of the association by signing the constitution, or causing the same, and contributing yearly to the funds.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

Notice is hereby given that the first quarterly convention will commence its session in Central Hall, corner of Fourth and Plum streets, Camden, at 2 o'clock p. m., Feb. 21, closing on the 22d at such time as then and there shall be agreed upon.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, the spiritual heroine of the day, has informed us she will be with us both days and give an address the first evening (21st) session; and other prominent workers in the cause will be present. The Lyceum is expected to enliven the exercises. As far as possible accommodations will be secured to those from a distance.

Come to our grand reunion and enjoy a "feast of reason and flow of soul." If you cannot be present, send us aid and cheering thought.

L. K. COONLEY, President.

ELLEN DICKINSON, Secretary.

A TESTIMONIAL.

To the Editor of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

I have had the pleasure of reading a few numbers of your very instructive paper, and I see it advocates Spiritualism, a philosophy that I have been interested in for over eight years and can now be called a staunch believer. I am now to retail a fact which has done more to convince me of this beautiful truth than all other testimony put together. In the year 1862 I was taken with chronic inflammation of the knee joint, and not until a month since have I placed my foot upon the floor; had to hobble around with crutches, thus making life for me very wearisome. On hearing of Dr. R. P. Fellows, the clairvoyant and spiritual healer, late of Philadelphia, I called on him for the express purpose of testing his clairvoyant powers, and if getting satisfaction I would take treatment for my limb. The doctor described many instances during my life (and in fact the most important ones) that I was fully assured he knew nothing about. He then described the very day and year that I was taken with this malady, and stated at what hours during the night and day it troubled me the most. With such startling testimony I was led to take treatment, and must here say, so help me God, before leaving his office my limb was straightened out and all pain disappeared. I walked up and down the room with just as much ease as I ever did. I walked home, leaving my crutches behind, to meet the bewildered look of my wife and children. As I am a poor man, this is the only way I can pay Dr. Fellows, who was so kind to heal me without money and without price.

Trusting you will publish this to the world, I remain, always respectfully,
 JAMES E. UGO.
 Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1871.

THE WOMAN MARKET.

Woman, being marketable, is in haste to dispose of herself, as she is a perishable commodity, youth being regarded as an absolute requirement by most of the amateurs or connoisseurs who purchase or hire a female, whether wanted for a wife or prostitute.

That is the reason women wear chignons. Compelled to market themselves as slaves, both by law and usage, they have learned that "amativeness" is the only salable portion of a female head, and hence pad out the cerebellum to intimate the enormous lust they are capable of.

The breastworks of cotton, of hair, of wire, of India-rubber, of witches know what, are not erected and maintained as parapets in defense of chastity, under the white banner of continence, but are lessons in object-teaching, hideous exaggerations of the forms of the *mammae*, false boasts not only of fitness for maternity but of the quality and quantity of sexual indulgence to be had through ownership of the wearer.

"The Grecian bend" and bustle business is another advertisement of the same sort, though in a grosser manner still. This distortion of the pelvic and posterior part of the body, with all its wriggles, wiggles and teeters, is an announcement so bold and conspicuous that none need be educated in phrenology, physiology, psychology or the common branches to understand it.

Establish equal rights, enfranchise women, overthrow the idea of property in her, no matter how derived. Give freedom for full action to her powers, with equal compensation for equal labor. Then she will be emancipated, and, secure in self-supporting independence, will soon teach mankind her true uses. Then there will be no more possibility of trade in human flesh, and, therefore, an end to the enormities of fashion.

E. S. WHEELER.

HUMAN, NOT WOMAN'S, RIGHTS.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 22, 1872.

Mrs. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL: I regret greatly that I was unable to attend the Washington Convention. From your account of it, in last week's paper, it has been a glorious affair. If the evidence of woman's ability to participate in public affairs was not demonstrated to the most

stupid dullard, then God help the men. The whole "suffrage question" seems to have been thoroughly exhausted. Your "Memorial" grows in its importance every day. At first it seemed to raise a question of woman's rights merely—that is to say, the greater question of the rights of every citizen did not appear to be embraced within its demand. The effort, however, to withhold from one class of citizens their rights as citizens, has compelled the enemies of woman suffrage to attack the rights of every citizen in the nation; for in denying the great position that the right to vote is the fundamental right of citizenship, they have struck a blow at the national life itself. The moment the ballot becomes a gift from any human power within the nation, that moment the vitality of the nation dies. No man or set of men dare promulgate that doctrine. I know many hold it, but it is only because they have not thought about it. You have, God bless you! started an examination into these fundamental questions touching our government and concerning human rights, which must end in establishing on a firmer basis than ever before the entire doctrine of American liberty. People begin to understand this. To me there is no longer a question of woman suffrage. The whole question of "the right to the ballot" is run up before the people. The right to deny to woman her participation in government leaves my right without a single guarantee. I am profoundly glad that the question stands so, for it will bring brawny arms and stout hearts to the aid of clear heads in the fight. It is well, my dear friend, that you are not a vain woman. But the whole subject is too profound for human vanity. I confess there does seem something inspirational about it. And I think that while the clamor of fools assails, and you may grow weary and faint at the excess of your burden, still, in the thought that you are bearing it for mankind, and that their load may be the lighter for your toil, you may continue the good work. And rest assured, that while there be those who in their great ignorance may curse you and persecute you, even now, there are some, and ere long there will be many, who will call you blessed.

Sincerely so believing,

I am, most truly, your friend,

J. F. BYRNES.

A FEW ITEMS FOR SOME MEN TO READ.

A young married gentleman, who had been several weeks absent from home, was told by his servant girl on his return that he had become a father. "A father of what?" he asked. "Of a little daughter," she replied. With an air of important dignity he walked to the cradle where lay the sleeping infant and thus addressed it: "You had the impudence to be born of the feminine gender; you will never be much of an individual, and there are certain privileges which will be forever denied you, which you might have enjoyed had you had the prudence to have been created of the male gender."

A lady was once paying a visit to a friend who gave her two fine large apples, one for herself and one for her husband. After eating one she began feasting upon the other, when her hostess remarked, "But that one is for your husband." "Oh," she replied, "he and I are all one; if I eat the apple it will do him as well." "I don't understand that kind of logic," was the reply. "You see," said the guest, "I am representing my husband."

A few years ago a friend remarked to me, "Why are you in a hurry for women to have the elective franchise, as you will not vote, you say, until a better party is organized than either the Democratic or Republican?" I answered, "Would you not feel degraded, sir, to be classed with lunatics, idiots and criminals?" Even though I never expected to vote, I want this nation to rise in the grandeur of freedom and say, Woman is an individuality, and we grant her every privilege which belongs to man.

SADA BAILEY.

Laporte, Ind., Jan. 30, 1872.

LYING JOURNALS.

Once more my name appears in these columns; not to indorse any one or anything, but in wrathful scorn of a journalism to which chivalry seems unknown.

Victoria Woodhull lectured at Steinway Hall on "The Principles of Social Freedom." Every leading New York paper was represented. Much of the discourse were better unsaid; some errors were put forth as truths, and some sentences could hardly be understood.

But all honor to her who dared break the seal of shameful silence society sets on her sex, and to discuss in public the greatest social problems.

Yet name, title and subject all gave scope for scoff. Around this globe, wherever our English tongue is heard, her name was made a hissing. How was this done? By quoting? No; by misquoting. By taking sentences out of their relations, and giving them as a true abstract.

The lecture is now in print, and excuse for misrepresenting is gone. Bring now the slanderers to book and bid them explain their charges in the face of words like these:

Promiscuity in sexuality is simply the anarchical stage of development wherein the passions rule supreme. When spirituality comes in and rescues the real man or woman from the domain of the purely material, promiscuity is simply impossible.

I am fully persuaded that the very highest sexual unions are those that are monogamic, and that these are perfect in proportion as they are lasting.

There is a law higher than any human enactments which does compel marriage—the law of nature—the law of God.

No grosser insult could be offered to woman than to insinuate that she is honest and virtuous only because the law compels her to be so.

I prefer to use the word love with lust as its antithesis, love representing the spiritual and lust the animal.

If the Brooklyn *Eagle's* brazen brow could ever redden, these true quotations from the spoken discourse would dye it changelessly. But such journals cannot blush. Long, loud, lusty lying and steady stealing have made falsehood a part of their nature, and their life that of carrion crows. Cancer-like, they thrive on public disease.

From them naught else could be hoped. From better papers better things might be looked for. That, with few exceptions, the press was substantially unanimous in branding this brave and earnest woman as the defender of all that is low and vile, is a burning disgrace.

Mark, the point is not that Mrs. Woodhull is right or wrong, but that she is belied. While Horace Greeley's friends must regret some of his acts, he should be greatly esteemed for holding journals to a high standard of public morals, and for having the courage when an editor lied to tell him so. Following his wise example, when writers for the press charge Mrs. Woodhull with publicly preaching what they privately practice, and virtuously denounce her therefor, the charge, the denunciation, is a lie.

Honest journalists of America—men of the stamp of Greeley, Reid, Jennings, Sebley, Bennett, Marble, Croly, Brooks, Bryant, Bunsby, Williams, Dana, Cummings, Tilton, Bowen, Clarke, Higginson—men who feel that journalism is more than blackmail and catch-penny—you owe it to yourselves and the great papers you direct, that this foul blot shall not continue to stain our profession, that this lie shall no longer pass for truth.

J. K. H. WILLCOX.

COMMUNISM.

MESDAMES EDITORS: How often have I said to myself, "Oh, for a paper of world-wide circulation, through which we could pour into the public lap the most important results of our lives' experience! that others who come after us may avoid the thorny paths that have lacerated our feet—may profit by our errors and successes. I hope and believe that yours is, or will be, such a paper; and in it I propose to furnish a series of articles, showing the practical workings of Communism and other reform experiments running through forty-six years devoted to peaceful social revolution; and it will be seen that some facts are more strange than fiction, more philosophical than philosophy, more romantic than romance and more conservative than conservatism."

THE MOTIVES FOR COMMUNISM—HOW IT WORKED AND WHAT IT LED TO.

When Robert Owen came to this country in 1825 I listened to some of his sublime discourses and read some of his publications, from which it appeared that, unless some peaceful revolution could be devised, the working classes, driven to starvation by machinery and destructive competition between themselves, would be compelled to choose between death by destitution and an effort to save themselves by violent revolution.

He showed us that in Communism, instead of working against each other as in competition, we should all work for each other while working for ourselves. A problem that had been profoundly considered by the wisest of our race, but which had always baffled the highest stretch of genius. It appeared that mutual help would beget mutual sympathy, or social harmony. That labor would be reduced to two or three hours a day, leaving abundance of leisure for new enterprises and general improvement. That the jealousies and antagonisms between the poor and the rich would be at an end, and a fellow feeling would grow up from equality of condition. No more horrible crimes, or punishments still more horrible. No more children crying for bread. No more suicides for fear of starvation. No more drunkenness from despair. No more prostitution to escape starvation. No more wars about the profits in trade nor for the privileges of governing, for the government was to consist of all above a certain age. The business of nations would not be the destruction of each other, but a mutual interchange of services beneficial to each.

Sick at heart with the habitual contemplation of the frauds and cruelties of men toward each other, and the miseries in different forms that had surrounded me from childhood, all growing out of the crudity of our civilization, and seeing no hope of change, I had, at the age of 23, become willing to shut my eyes forever; but here was a new sun arisen! and my young and ardent spirit grasped at it as at the breath of life. Mr. Owen had become a new god to me, and I said to myself, now I have an object worth living for!

I was not alone in these views and feelings; several excellent people of rare intelligence and thoughtful habits joined in a project to start a community in the neighborhood of Cincinnati.

The next article will show how it worked.

I would gladly avoid the imputation of egotism, but for the sake of giving definite responsibility, and as simple

truth works better than anything short of it, and to put myself in communication with readers, I give my name and place of residence.

JOSIAH WARREN,
Princeton, Mass.

OUR PET IN DANGER.

Emma Hardinge Britten has spoken, "I am one that never knew of the formation of such a body until it was in operation, and I humbly claim to have done as much for American Spiritualism as any one in the field. I know of many others, and prominent, hard-working Spiritualists too, who stand in the same category with myself." Poor fellows. I hope they do not feel as bad as this humble, efficient laborer does. Would it be out of the range of decent charities to suppose that it might be possible that this "mourner" felt that she was overlooked in the estimates that Spiritualists were then making? She adds, "Mrs. Woodhull's election as the President of the National Association of American Spiritualists therefore involves a supposed recognition of her principles and procedures on the part of every American Spiritualist. Is it just? Is it in accordance with Mrs. Woodhull's own admirable definition of social, political and religious freedom?" If these definitions are so "admirable," where is the trouble? Mrs. Woodhull has obligated no one to think or do as she does. It is not claimed that there is anything disgraceful in the character of this "President of the National Association of American Spiritualists." Oh, no. But she has not any plan of remedying an evil. In all candor, I ask is there no spleen in this matter? No fear of losing fancied laurels? I wish it could be thoroughly comprehended that man is not improved by ignoring one notion and tacking on to another. The only valuable profit the man can make is in getting the entire uses of himself. This having pets in the way of theories is quietly allowing that one is just as good as another. When it shall be thoroughly ascertained that there are two classes of spirits just beyond our mortal ken, and that one of these classes has always been braiding theories by which to hold man to considerations of outer importance, while the other would free man and give him up to the music of his own beautiful soul, in which condition they could reach and mingle loves with him, quite as familiar as they can with each other, the significance of our theoretical "redeemers" will be seen in their proper light.

The time is coming when Emma Hardinge will see that she had better have been struck with lightning than to have written a book, and in other ways to have "humbly" performed so very much for the theory of Spiritualism. If this is the next grand prison-house for the human soul, it (the soul) had as well never started on its mission to find itself. Years ago Charles G. Finney stirred the world of thought. He, however, got up books; got into a professor's chair to nurse his pets and intelligence from behind the curtain. Could do no more with him. He is now nearly forgotten; and if living in the memories of any it is on the importance that he was. Theories have always damned man. They have made the coat more important than the wearer. Mrs. Hardinge, in her book on the rise or development of Spiritualism in America, has given a diagram of the spheres, as I suppose, for I have never had an inclination to read it. In this picture a God is placed away in some not quite unimaginable distance, and Jesus about half way from this godship, to the serene spheres or circles through which man seems to be crawling to the grand climax of absorption. A little amusement in the human soul, by the way of thought, will tell us how much this book lacks significance or importance, when presuming to set forth anything real. Our first descriptive book of existence sets this world down as the grand sub-stratum of being, and represented the sun, moon and stars as so many especial conveniences to this world. Now it is approximately, at least, ascertained, that were our sun to occupy the place that we do, and our earth was at its centre, and the moon two hundred and forty thousand miles distant, as now from us, it would reach only about half way to the outer rim of the sun; and that its volume is so great it would make fourteen hundred thousand of just such sized planets as this of ours. After playing around our solar group, let us take a trip to Aleyone, the bright star in the cluster of the seven stars. There we find a pivotal centre to our stellar universe, and so large as to make some seventeen billions and eight hundred millions of planets the size of this earth. Now, if we allow that all the stars that we can see, by aided or unaided sight, to belong to our stellar universe, and then shall speed away with the fleetness of thought, in any direction from our now stand-point, east, west, north, south, up or down, relatively speaking, and shall, after having explored a thousand millions of just such, or more important, in the way of size, stellar universes, then come at last to where absolute something and absolute nothing form consistent neighbors, we shall have demonstrated infinity to be a myth. Besides, we shall have made more of nothing than it ever called for; for nothing is such a negative as not only to be inconceivable but impossible; for even space is something when compared to it. Surely our pets in the way of theories need nursing. Let the magnificent soul of man get but one glimpse of itself and it will shiver into a thousand atoms these baby-houses (pet theories), and ask for more room than

they can afford. The first and last thing for man to do is to find himself. This done, he will ascertain that he could not have been more complete as a specific creation. The accumulated wisdom of eternal ages will never enable him to suggest one solitary improvement to himself as a perfection in being. Leave the man, then, to repeat himself, not his catechism, and he will find his own harmonies—the highest possible style of individual being. In this way only can man or woman ever become a good citizen or safe associate. No pet theories or combinations can ever secure this for man. This point gained, the unseen mode of existence will be as familiar to his spirit nature as this mode to his material; and vastly more open, frank and loving. In any scheme, where the human mind is strained and taxed to sustain it, there is something wrong. Goodness lays not a feather-weight of obligation upon the human soul. All there is of such a nature comes from a suspicious quarter. It is through the medium of such pretended "world redeemers" that man is in the dirt, where he is to-day.

E. W.

Auburn, Feb. 2, 1872.

"NEXT."

An "unco' gude" subscriber to the New York Tribune waxeth wroth as follows:

"As a practical agriculturist you should know that a kind of farming is going on in the Oneida and Wallingford Communities which can only produce a harvest of sin and moral death. That wicked one who sows tares while the guardians of the public welfare sleep has not been idle in these beautiful villages, and it is high time to put the scythe (wouldn't bludgeon, bayonet or sword more appropriately express the writer's idea?) of reform into his already half-ripened fields lest more seed should mature and be scattered broadcast over the country, where it will be sure to take root. * * * Sound again the trumpet of reform and the foundations of this evil structure will be shaken and fall, even as the walls of Jericho fell when Joshua's host surrounded it and blew upon their rams' horns. [Query—Don't the Tribune folks feel a little sheepish at having their paper compared to a ram's horn?] By giving this matter your serious attention you will oblige many of your thoughtful subscribers, who see in the Wallingford and Oneida Communities the germs of a worse evil than even Mormonism. Legislation must finally remove it, but it is the part of the press to awaken our legislators to a sense of their duty.

"AN OLD SUBSCRIBER."

Who is evidently too old to learn that it is no part of public duties to legislate on private morals. The facts of the case are that the denounced persons are earnestly engaged in studying the laws of generation with a view to the improvement of the race and in working out such truth pertaining thereto as they can reach. "The harvest of sin" is the production of human beings too well organized to be food either for priests or powder. "You bet" that "Old Subscriber" is or has been engaged in the "crime of an enforced maternity"—the production of imps in accordance with human laws, and does not wish to expose such offspring to the risks of free competition with superior offspring, made superior by accordance with divine laws. We therefore invoke the aid of the brute force of legislation against the results of experimental science in its most important form. It is all very well to improve the breeds of pigs or poultry, but human beings must not be improved. The inhabitants of filthy city slums may be duplicated *ad infinitum* as well as *ad nauseam*; but to dare to inaugurate measures systematically to produce human beings, one of whom may be of more value than ten thousand "Old Subscribers," is an outrage which lecherous and corrupt legislators are urged promptly to repress!

The cloven-foot keeps growing more distinct. The Pharisees having barely got a hold on Mormonism, now propose to extinguish all other forms of non-conformity with current social customs; having thus driven in the wedge by attacking the very small minority of social dissenters, they would next try to handle the much larger minorities of religious dissenters by constitutional amendments and otherwise. Do all these minorities intend each to permit the other to be used up singly; or will they, before it is too late, combine, operate politically and otherwise with the third party, and strangle the serpent in its infancy?

ANTI-PROCRUSTES.

"BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM."

To the Editors of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

I present the accompanying letter, addressed to the New York Times, to you for insertion in your valuable WEEKLY. By its insertion you will much oblige. It may serve the purpose of further exposing to the public the unfairness and unmanliness of this journal. It reports—or invents—if not a malicious attack in a small way, a misrepresentation for the purpose of injuring, or a mistaken representation, and refuses to publish a reply or correction by the injured party. I say "further exposing," for I know of other instances. The excellent letter of your Mrs. Woodhull, published in your last week's, as refused insertion in the Times, is a case in point. Its comments upon T. H. Banks' letter (both of the 16th ult.) relating to the International and the Labor Party, and its refusal either to publish or to give back Mr. Banks' reply, is another case in point. Its comment was puerile and captious, and was much more disingenuous than ingenious, though there is a manifest effort to be "smart." True, it did make Mr. Banks' letter appear somewhat ridiculous, in some respects, but it required no ingenuity to do this. I think myself that Mr. Banks would have shown better judgment and more real interest for the cause by leaving the documentary exposition of it to other and abler hands. But there was not anything to justify the Times in commenting upon Mr. Banks' letter as if he (Mr. Banks) was the chairman (for it called him such) of the International of this country. Mr. Banks did not sign himself, nor in any way represent himself, as such. Nor would it have been true if he had. The International have not anywhere any chairman or president. The chairman is always elected *pro tem.*, so that he is in no way a representative man, except for the hour.

But why can't these managers or under-managers of

newspapers be and act openly and manly, and talk to people with an erect head and unblanched face? Can it be that the public requires the opposite department from them? But I do not thus refer to them all. One of them, in a position among the highest, deprecates with me that the press should be disgraced with such little instances of unfairness as the Times refusing to publish my letter.

Yours for a higher manhood,

W. M. BOUCHER.

LABOR AND CAPITAL—COMMISSIONERS.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

While addressing you I want to express my profound regards and hearty thanks for the thing which you have done in hunting to the death the late banded robberies of this city. You have done a service not only to this community but to the country, to humanity. Nor does the disruption and dispersion of this band of robbers compass the whole of what you have done for the people in the matter. Others have followed your example. Other sinks of iniquity are being unearthed: other pools of malaria and death to public and private morals are being drained. You have earned the sincere thanks of the public; to these thanks I believe you may not be insensible. As one of that public I have presumed to offer you mine.

But I write to correct a mistake, if you will be so good as to allow me the space, which "some prominent members of Typographical Union No. 6," to whom your reporter refers in his report headed "Labor and Capital," and speaking on "the subject of the Labor and Capital Commission and the persons to be appointed to carry out the provisions of Mr. Hoar's bill," as given in your issue of the 15th inst., the mistake they make in reference to myself at least, in stating that "Trevellick, Day, Boucher and most of the men mentioned in the World some days ago as probable candidates for a Commissionship, would be distasteful to the great body of the workmen. The persons named are either tainted with strong theories which bias their judgments, or they are more or less politicians and party men, which is not what we desire in this inquiry."

Now, of course these gentlemen of said Union will not be offended at my presuming to know myself better than they, or anybody, can know me, particularly on such points as here referred to. With this preface I beg leave to say to them, and to those of the public who have read their statement, that I am not "tainted with strong theories which bias" my "judgment," nor am I "more or less a politician and a party man."

But I will waive my right, if they will it, of claiming the "higher authority" in mere assertion, and will, with their approval, leave the matter to evidence. Nor are these evidences difficult to obtain, for I have freely strewn them all along my path of life. I have put myself thoroughly upon record in these particulars. I have perhaps the more completely done so because of believing in the philosophy of the saying that, in regard to one line of our duties, "It is one's first duty to know one's self; one's second duty, to let one's self be known."

I have shown what principles I am for, and in what spirit I advocate them, through the press in New York, Boston, Chicago, Buffalo, etc., and sometimes from the rostrum, and can now furnish copies—which I had prepared for gratuitous circulation before Mr. Hoar's bill was thought of—of some half a dozen essays and circulars, all of which I offer, to whomsoever may be interested, as conclusive evidence on the points at issue. They are all on the labor and capital question. There is also my book on "Money," "Co-operation," etc. I am impartial, and follow and only care for facts and principles. I call myself a scientist. I am for exact knowledge. I am opposed to the splutter and froth and demagoguism of mere sensationalism. I have the evidence that I have strongly influenced—if I may be pardoned for the statement—through these writings, etc., many of the leading minds of the press, of the rostrum, on the platform, and in the pulpit.

And now, in closing, permit me to quote a few lines written by me of myself two years ago, under the desire of doing the duty of letting myself be known, as some evidence as to whether or not my course of studies, and my experience have been such as to fit me for the duties of one of these Commissioners: "Commencing with a keen hungering and thirsting for knowledge, knowledge of all kinds—for truth—he first pursued it along the varied and desultory paths which lead to it, ascending from the more simple to the more complex, then gradually confining himself within a less range and passing down again from theological ethics and metaphysics to scientific ethics, and thence to economics, fastening upon this subject of man's industrial relations, some six years ago, and making it his specialty since—doing this because believing that he had discovered that this is the subject more than any other which man most needs and desires to understand at this present time and stage of his development and degree of his knowledge of the upward-increasingly complex chain of the sciences; and because, during all these steps the social sciences—these social and industrial, these human or man problems (as distinguishable from what are called the natural sciences)—have had the greatest attraction and charm for him. A peculiar sympathy for poor human nature and its present conditions, combined with a conscientious desire for truth, and a profound faith in truth and the possibilities of science, have enlisted and directed his intellectual craving for knowledge in and to these branches of study.

"Nor has this 'mere theoretical' study of these problems been all. He has had actual experience in all the departments of the industrial relations; in that of the agriculturist, of the manufacturer and of the trader, and as employer and employe, capitalist and laborer in each. He has also been a teacher and a professional man, forsaking the profession for these, to him, more thrillingly interesting subjects, to which he has for these years devoted his sympathies and energies, time and means, and for the further discovery and the dissemination of which he offers to dedicate the remainder of his life."—Yours for fair dealing,

W. M. BOUCHER.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

There seems to be an increasing disposition on the part of many liberal Christians of the several denominations to admit the injustice of tax exemption of church property, especially when it is considered in connection with the almost indiscriminate taxation of everything in use by both rich and poor. 'Tis true, the rich man's luxuries are made to furnish their quota of revenue—that the foreign products of the several nations are brought here under a high protective

policy, amounting almost to actual prohibition—yet are the poor always the same sufferers. The costly raiment of the millionaire is paid for by the sweat of the laborer's face; his velvet-cushioned pew in the aristocratic temple of Mammon—not the Father—was supplied out of the scanty earnings of daily toil; while the rustling silks of wife and daughters but echo the wrongs endured by the thousands of oppressed workmen throughout the land. When, oh! when, shall these things have an end? That beautiful architectural pile of brown stone or white marble was placed there by men after weary months of hard and continuous labor, which, when performed, left only the inward gratification that every intelligent workman feels upon the completion of his labor, but not a dollar left to remind him of the exhaustive toil in the heat of a summer's sun. Some one has pocketed those shining sweat-drops of the laborer, has changed them into the glittering gold of the speculator, that hard, inflexible master of others' necessities, leaving to the poor toiler the record of his oppression in browned, hard hands, bare sustenance, and the stifling air of a crowded court, while he revels in a pleasant country cottage, and drives out to the rich man's park to show his prancing steeds and richly appointed trappings to less favored of his neighbors. And to think that, after all, that building is to stand a perpetual memorial of this injustice, a mockery of right, towering heavenward, as if to invite the benedictions of the people in pointing to a place of rest, yet no less a monument of wrong, double and continuous wrong—first, to those that built it, afterward to every taxpayer. Why is this? Is religion superior to and above all other considerations of right and equality? Is it a too-sacred thing to invade its holy precincts with a tax assessment, and so, by virtue of this pious assumption, increase the tax-rate upon the poor man's home, that the expenses of government may be met. Every church building in the country is a standing evidence of oppression and fraud, and, instead of being a blessing, is an unqualified curse to every poor man, in that it robs him of his labor to sustain them; for it is clear to those who wish to see the right that the more tax exemption there be, the higher must be the tax-rate. In other words, if all the real estate was free, there could be no tax raised therefrom; if all was taxed, every legitimate expense could be provided for, besides leaving a large surplus to pay debts; but if only a portion was taxed, that portion would have to bear the entire burden if the amount to be raised was equal to the sum the whole would have paid—just so, in every ratio proportion. If five millions is to be raised by tax upon real estate, and one-half of that real estate is exempted, the other half must pay the five millions is too evident to need even an illustration. Hence it is that every meeting-house or church building is a direct tax upon every man's home. How long will the people suffer this injustice?

J. R. K.

TIMOTHY TITCOMB REVIEWED.

BUFFALO, January 5, 1872.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: In this city, a few evenings since, under the auspices of the "Young Men's Association," the eminent Dr. J. G. Holland delivered a lecture the subject of which was "The Social Undertow," and as it was pre-eminently a conservative discourse and non-progressive in its sentiments, I cannot but feel that all liberal minds will join with me in a refutation of the ideas expressed by the doctor in said address, and accordingly desire, through your columns, to review a portion of them. He asks, "Does human progress keep pace with human activity, or is it like the progress of a horse on a tread-wheel, much activity and pushing forward but no headway gained?" and seeks to prove that such is the case by assuming "that what are gains in one direction are counterbalanced by losses elsewhere." Surely we have only to note the giant strides which progress has made within the last century, in all departments of mental, moral and physical life throughout the world, to be convinced of the falsity of the doctor's views.

What were the temporary woes and sorrows of the many martyrs to truth and reform in the past compared with the lasting and increasing joys and benefits which we to-day enjoy as the fruits of their lives and labors?

Life in its highest sense, which was formerly confined to individuals.

"Lights of the world and demigods of fame"

now pervades the masses of the people; it exists in the hut as well as in the palatial residence, in the workshop as well as in the study. Science, instead of being locked up in universities and schools, is diffused throughout the land, and the humble mechanic of the present day may justly smile at the ignorance of a Pliny. A more extensive intercourse of thought and a more powerful action of mind prevail. The good and wise of all nations are brought nearer together and begin to exert a power which, though feeble as infancy, is felt throughout the globe: and the result of this approach to intellectual equality is moral sympathy, for there is a freemasonry in knowledge which, in spite of physical and social differences, makes men brothers. And does not this show improvement and onward movement?

When the Doctor asserts that "the stormy agitations of reformers disturb the surface of society and grand waves of apparent reforms roll onwards, but recede again," that "the great undertow of society is unmoved, character is unchanged and the sources of evil are undisturbed," he evidently forgets the beneficial results crowning the revolutionary and reformatory efforts of our forefathers, and, later still, those of the anti-slavery agitators; and he further fails to see the inroads already made by the progressive spirit of the present age, which is fast unshackling the minds and limbs of many a creed-bound mortal and thousands of slaves to ignorance and vice, whom the church and its Sunday schools have thus far failed to reach, in their over-anxiety to embrace the ninety-nine saints, forgetful of the greater joy Heaven would mete out to the one poor "sinner saved."

Again, public opinion, the helm which directs the progress of events by which the world is guided to its ultimate destination, has received a new direction. The mind has attained an upward and onward look, and is fast shaking off the errors and prejudices of the past. Both mankind and the laws and principles by which they are governed are being redeemed from slavery, and we cannot but see and feel that the times are imminent, and that "the world with mighty change is rife." All around are to be seen the footprints of progress and reform, and everywhere men and women are emerging from the night of darkness and ignorance that has bound them in the past into the dawning light of the millennium, the morning beams of which have as yet scarcely illumined the horizon of the coming day, all

proving the fallacy of the doctor's statement, that "We have reform without improvement," or that "the outflow of good is equal to if not greater than the incoming."

The doctor "fails to perceive any permanent good resulting from the preaching of reformers." Now, if he refers to those of dogmatical theology, we heartily agree with him, not otherwise; and do not wonder that he sees no permanent good resulting from their efforts, for have they not forgotten the holy principles of everlasting life and truth, in professing a belief that they have not, going through the mockery of a worship they do not feel, bowing to a God they do not trust, and kneeling at a shrine they strive to flatter themselves is reared to God, while it is only reared to fashion and to mammon; and while they profess a belief in Christ, do they not from day to day trample upon his golden rule, his holy principles, kneeling before the cross, yet crucifying their Lord hourly.

Proclaiming to their brother the everlasting principles of Holy Writ, and every hour testifies to the blasphemy in their hearts, in their totally ignoring the spirit and the letter of the law. This is a fact that all reasonable, candid minds can clearly see. Whited sepulchres, in the form of gilded churches, dedicated to the Most High, curse the land from one end to the other, and every spire is but an index that tells where fashion and folly kneel to receive the homage of the world, and with these facts before us, and the great and holy principles of life and truth forgotten, is it a marvel that the angel world flutter their bright wings over humanity to-day? Is it a marvel that the graves give up their dead, and that the veil in rent in twain, between this and the other life? Is it strange that the thundering raps from the spirit-world make echoes in the souls of men, which shall never sleep till they adhere to, and listen to catch still more of the great truths of life? Surely we must feel that the day is coming when men will claim a system broad enough to take hold of these errors and rectify them, that we may have a religion that is not at war with God and nature or truth and righteousness, and which shall permeate the inner recesses of life, entering into the daily habits of mortals, clothing with immortal beauty the simplest external form, as well as sending its influence deeper into the hearts to beautify with its unfading blossoms the realm of moral power.

From out the institutions of all the past that have passed away hath arisen a glorious spirit life, that has survived the wreck of materialism, and this is what will come out of the revelations of the present age, rehabilitated, glorious, transcendent, clearly showing progress with change and improvement through reform, Dr. Holland to the contrary. Regarding the "nurture of children in the inculcation of sound Christian principles in their hearts, etc.," "wherein lies true reform" as set forth by the Doctor, we would advise that he go a little further and claim instead, with us, that it lies primarily in the proper generation of children, by and through the God-sanctioned marriage of two pure, loving souls, who can then, and then only, give to the world children who will need no reformation, but be to it bright and shining lights and future saviors.

There are other points in the Doctor's address that we should like to take up and dissect with the knife of reason and truth, but we will spare him further pain, feeling that sooner or later the angel of love and wisdom will trouble the waters of truth within his soul, till he shall dip therein and receive sight, for verily is he as one blind at this time if he cannot see with us that God has implanted in every soul a restless, sighing sea, that murmurs through the hidden shells and pearls in its depths the everlasting song of progress onward marching.

C. H. M.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

No. V.

And again, it is very certain that the situation of woman demands serious amelioration. A woman who really is a woman—a "true woman"—cannot know the facts actually existing in our midst and not feel indignant at the treatment to which her sex is subjected. If the sex has been quiet hitherto under its subjection, it is because it has been studiously kept in ignorance of the facts.

No one who desires to see a noble and pure sexual morality positively prevail in society can regret the fact that this quietude and indifference of mere ignorance are destined, as they inevitably are, to be broken up. Should it even take measures somewhat rude to break them up, the end will be worth the cost. Nor will it be by any means the fault of the agitators alone if domestic peace and order are for a time shaken and much suffering ensue. It will be at least equally the fault of the empiricism of the actual leaders of conservative opinion, who refuse to see that there is any problem to solve, and insist on maintaining the absolute status quo by means of mere mental darkness on the one hand and violent repression on the other.

It is quite certain, for instance, that we need—absolutely and urgently need—that woman should interest herself in public affairs, both social and political. Our social and political life is frightfully demoralized, enough so to jeopardize the very continuance of our civilization. Their moralization is at this day a question of social life or death. The influence of woman, of woman as woman, in combination, too, with that of the workmen as workmen, is the only social force left us capable of accomplishing this moralization. That even this force itself can achieve the so necessary task only under wise guidance, may be true enough. Wise guidance is what all the social forces need. It is for the want of wise guidance that they are all incapable to-day of fulfilling their respective tasks. This need of guidance, that is, of wisdom, is therefore no answer at all to those whose real mission it is to summon into being the needed force, although one which it may be urgently important for them to meditate upon as the day of their triumph approaches.

Whether the possession of the suffrage is going to help woman in the least degree in organizing and exercising this influence is, moreover, another question. It is at all events a question for her to decide herself. It is a piece of merely insolent presumption for man, the male sex, to say that woman shall not vote, if she herself decides that she chooses to do so. And if woman can only be drawn out and trained to the systematic exercise of her influence upon public affairs through this agitation for the suffrage, then is this agitation a blessing to be thankful for, even if it have all the dangers and disadvantages its opponents lay at its door.

But then, no doubt, there are various considerations which it is well worth while for the women themselves, especially the more intelligent among their leaders, to lay well to heart.

It is not, for example, at this day only that we are beginning to hear about "Human Rights." Our forefathers conquered the "Rights of Man" here upon this continent near about a century ago, eloquently enunciated them in a not-quite-unheard-of "Declaration of Independence," and finally organized them into a Democratic-Republican constitution. Under which, moreover, with all its "universal suffrage," "vote by ballot," "equal electoral districts," and the rest of the "points" of the famous modern British "charter" that Louis Napoleon and the other "special constables" turned out to fight against at Kennington Common and elsewhere on All-Fools'-Day, 1848, we still find has not quite introduced the millennium into politics. I mean so far only as male rights are concerned, the rights of us who already have the ballot. Our experience of a century does not indicate to us by any means that this much-lauded balloting paper is any sort of ticket of admission to the true political heaven.

And it is in reality worth less even than the value we still, most of us, put upon it. Fatal indeed would that day be for the workmen of America, for example, even as respects merely the political power of their class, wherein they were seduced into dropping their trade organizations for the sake of forming a political party, albeit labeled all over, "back and front, from top to bottom," "Labor reform."

HENRY EDGER.

GOV. JEWELL FINDS IT CONVENIENT TO RECANT.

HARTFORD, Jan. 6, 1872.

Rev. D. McAllister, General Secretary of National Association for securing a Religious Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

MY DEAR SIR: My attention has just been called, for the first time, to the action of the National Association, in placing my name on the list of vice-presidents.

Such action on the part of the Association was entirely unwarranted, and so far from consenting to it, I desire that my name may be stricken from the list. I should have refused my name had I received notice of it.

After giving the matter considerable thought, I am entirely opposed to the movement and the objects sought to be accomplished by it, believing that it is impracticable and uncalled for.

If the people at large do not acknowledge in their actions the Divine authority, it is worse than useless to attempt a national acknowledgment.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

MARSHALL JEWELL.

ALMA, Wis., 3d December, 1871.

Mrs. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL: I prefer to write to you rather than to the paper to say that beside the great service you have done the cause of woman's enfranchisement, I think your paper is supplying what I have long felt to be a great want of the times, viz.: a medium for the expression of the positive religious sentiment of free religionists, as the prayer-meeting and class-meeting are media for the expression of orthodox religious sentiment. Religious radicalism so far has been almost exclusively expressed in argumentation and destruction, not at all in the interchange of warm and loving religious experience among radicals. Even the spiritualistic papers, except yours, have been devoted exclusively to attacking orthodoxy and proving spiritualism. This is our weakness. A merely intellectual religious movement cannot be a permanent one. "Knowledge puffeth up, but love buildeth up." I think you have really sown the seed of the future church, while others have only plowed and harrowed. Feeling as deeply as I do that a religion must rest on sympathy in devotion, I wrote this to you, because sympathy is between individuals, not newspapers. But if you can make any use of it, do.

Yours sincerely,

C. L. JAMES.

GENERAL BUTLER.

It is unnecessary for us to waste space in speaking of this great statesman and brave man. His own words are more than volumes of ours would convey. Hear him:

Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, having out of the regular order obtained permission to present a petition, said that in the discharge of a duty he presented a petition for a declaratory law to assure the right of suffrage to the women citizens of the United States. These ladies believe that they are citizens, and as such citizens they demand the right to vote. This petition only desired to bring to the attention of Congress the necessity for a declaratory law to enable them to vote. Their claim is, first, as to the right, and, second, as to the expediency of the matter. They insist that what is their right ought to be secured to them by law.

[At this point members began to gather around Mr. Butler's seat, but other members could not hear, and Mr. Butler suspended his remarks until all members were seated.]

Resuming, Mr. Butler said the women insisted that it was expedient in the Representatives of the people to pass a declaratory act which accorded the right of suffrage to the mothers of the land who are forming the characters of all citizens by instructing them in childhood, giving direction to the thoughts which shall hereafter govern this land. They claim that they have a right to a voice in making the laws which are to govern them, and that this voice will give them freedom of action, and enable them to cultivate the thoughts that are to prevail in the Government in days to come. This was not the hour to trespass upon the time of the House or to argue the question, but the fact that thirty-five thousand of the women of America, from almost every State of the Union; from every class and condition of society; the highest and most refined, the humblest and the lowest are here represented, makes this a question not to be ignored. They ask for what they consider the greatest right of American citizens, and what men claim to be an inalienable right shall be granted them. The unanimity with which the women came here, without political organization, makes this movement partake almost of spontaneity. More petitions are coming here, at the rate of five hundred a day, and the fact that ten thousand more petitions are on the road from California shows that this matter calls for the fullest action on the part of the Representatives of the people. And these women are not to be told that this is an innovation or a new thing. In the parent State from which we come a woman sits at the head of affairs, and her example proves that women may be safely trusted with the ballot. He wanted these petitions to take the same course that anti-slavery petitions took in years gone by. That was a reform urged only by petition, and there were hardly any of these

single petitions that rose to the number and dignity of the one he now presented. As it was with the anti-slavery reform, so it would be with this. So sure as the sun would rise from day to day, so sure would suffrage be granted to the women of the United States. In conclusion, Mr. Butler presented an immense roll, and asked that the petition be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. He hoped the Clerk would spread out the roll, to let the House see how long it was.

Mr. Eldridge, of Wisconsin—Let's have it read.

Mr. Garfield, of Ohio—The gentleman from Massachusetts wanted it "spread," not "read."

The Speaker—Does the gentleman demand the reading of all the names?

Mr. Eldridge replied affirmatively, but subsequently withdrew the demand.

A REMARKABLE PROPHECY.

The following, which is known as "Mother Shipton's Prophecy," was first published in 1488, and republished in 1641. It will be noticed that all the events predicted in it, except that mentioned in the last two lines—which is still in the future—have already come to pass.

"Carriages without horses shall go,
And accidents fill the world with woe.
Around the world thoughts shall fly
In the twinkling of an eye.
Waters shall yet more wonders do;
Now strange, yet shall be true.
The world upside down shall be,
And gold be found at root of tree.
Through hills men shall ride,
And no horse or ass be at his side.
Underwater men shall walk,
Shall ride, shall sleep, shall talk.
In the air men shall be seen,
In white, in black, in green.
Iron in the water shall float
As easy as a wooden boat.
Gold shall be found and found
In a land that's not now known.
Fire and water shall wonders do;
England shall admit a Jew.
The world to an end shall come
In eighteen hundred and eighty-one."

RESPONSE TO THE ABOVE.

S. S. BREWER.

We are living now in a wondrous day,
When things have transpired as the seer did say;
Now cars on iron rail without horses do go,
And collisions are filling the world with woe.
Swift through the wires now thoughts do fly,
As quick as the twinkling of an eye.
See! through the hills the steam cars glide,
Neither beasts of burden are near their side.
Through tunnels 'neath water now men do walk,
In cars they in comfort now ride, sleep and talk.
Up in the air, in balloons, men now are seen,*
In colors of white, black and green.
Out on the deep like a thing of life floats,
Laden with treasure, steam the iron boats.
Millions of gold of late hath been shown
Now found in lands that then were not known.
The wonders that fire and water should do
With the power of steam, we have lived to see true.
Amid all the wonders—and 'tis something new—
For Premier, old England admits D'Israeli, a Jew.
But dates seem to say old Time's race must be run
Ere the year eighteen hundred and eighty-one.

* The first balloon was constructed in France in 1783, by M. M. Montgolfier.

NATIONAL ART ASSOCIATION.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL.

This beautiful and touching work of art, painted by Joseph John, and engraved on steel by J. R. Rice, represents an Angel Mother, in fond maternal attitude and countenance, bending over and watching her children—they being unconscious of her presence. With one hand she pushes the thorns aside from the dear, manly boy, while the other touches the flowing sunny tresses of her darling girl, ready to influence them to the right or left, as they tread the rough, stony path of life, on the brink of a fearful precipice. A storm has been raging; lightnings have madly flashed; thunders have shaken the earth with deep-toned eloquence, darkness with her trailing garments retreats over ocean's swelling waves; a rich flood of soft cheering light flows down from celestial heights, brilliantly gilding mountain tops and rugged rocks, and falling in heavenly purity on the upturned faces of the little ones; their countenances lighted up with glimmerings of immortal life as they hear the whisperings of Hope and Trust, assuring them that the storm is passing away, and that "Sweet Home" and a father's love will soon welcome their wandering feet.

The blending of light and shade, the contrast of darkness set with the splendor streaming from the far-off shining hills toward which those child faces turn, is a complete triumph of art, and demands the highest tribute of praise.

No man can look at that fair boy and not run back swiftly to the happy day when a mother's love guarded his steps and sanctified his innocent life; no woman can study that lovely girl's face, all trust, affection and purity, without musing over days forever departed and wondering why we have not more visions of innocence, trust and love.

Men, with the dust from the world's highway covering up the green, dewy places of memory—women who are, as a weary worker once said, too tired to remember, if somewhere, far, very far back in your past, lies a grave over which is written "mother," pause one moment, and study the fair page of this picture.

If in the midst of your busy ways this picture stops and holds you like a soft, restraining hand, tempting you with its beauty, its pathos, to ask—Does my mother guardian still follow me? Do I fully appreciate the light that shines from the Heavenly Hills? do not let it go, set it before you like a star, its mission is but begun.

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

THE NEW DEPARTURE LECTURES.

The cause of the temporary interruption in this course has been overcome, and Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith, who achieved so great a success upon a first appearance, will speak in Lyric Hall on Sunday, Feb. 10, at 8 o'clock P. M. Subject: "Our Religion—What is it Worth?"

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

Victoria C. Woodhull will deliver her latest speech on "The Impending Revolution" at the New York Academy of Music on Tuesday, Feb. 20, at 8 o'clock P. M. In "The Impending Revolution" she gathers together all the various demands of reform, and, binding them in one issue, hurls them at the obstacles standing in the way of the complete realization of the three great principles by which humanity must rise to its highest perfection—freedom, equality and justice. If people think the times are not pregnant of tremendous revolutions let them stop and inquire into these things!!!

THE PHILOSOPHY OF REPUTATION.

Some of our friends—good ones and true—are from time to time alarmed lest our reputation shall suffer from the semi-occasional masses of filth which the waves of progress bring to the surface in which our names stand prominent. In the first place, let us be as black as mud, we should become only the more foul were we to descend into the depths from which such exhalations proceed. Those who live in such noxious realms are welcome to remain there during their natural or unnatural lives if it please them, and if it be any ease for them we shall not object in the slightest if they sometimes relieve their overlaid stomachs by vomiting forth the villainous stuff which gathers in them. We only beg to be excused from coming into contact with it, and from being compelled to become scavengers to clear it away. We have egotism bad enough to believe that we can be more profitably employed. There is a deep philosophy in these manifestations. It is well known that when a body becomes laden with impurities it is certain to decompose, unless by some process of cleansing the foreign matter can be thrown off. If to the process of fermentation that of actual separation succeed, there is hope for ultimate purification.

The same is true in the social body. And if by any means we are instrumental in furnishing the leaven which shall cause, first, the fermenting, and afterward the separating process which shall result in the discharge of any impurities of that body, we ought to rejoice rather than weep. And we have ample cause for great rejoicing, and we do rejoice greatly as we observe the leaven which we cast into diseased and unclean places giving so much evidence of effectual service and in so many different ways. The body social is terribly affected, and nothing but the most profuse administration of the pure and unadulterated leaven of freedom can ever cause a process of ferment of sufficient power to enable it to cast off the excrementitious matter which has been so long gathering within it and poisoning the very fountains of life.

Then let our friends rejoice with us and be exceeding glad

rather than give way to fear. When such phenomena appear let them realize that the purifying process is going on, while we assure them that we have no time to lament over a single act of our lives. Whatever it has been our fortune to do, at the time it was done we are conscious that we did the best we knew. If that, at all times, has not been the very highest ideal of good in existence, has not been even as good as what we now would do, it would be the supremest folly to attempt to make it so appear. We do not wish to escape the legitimate result of any act of our lives, and we could not if we did, but it is simply impossible that anybody can hold us to account for the deeds of others. We simply say, brother or sister, as the case may be, you waste time which you had better devote to nobler purposes.

THE INCONSISTENCIES OF REFORM.

The general accusation that conservatives, or the sticklers for present customs and rules, bring against the various classes of reform, is not without its force. They assert, if certain single reforms succeed, that certain deleterious results will follow. Though this, as a general proposition, relative to individual or specific reforms, is too true, yet, when applied to general reform, it is wholly untrue. It is the same old question between a principle as related to all things in which it is involved and the effects following the application of the principle in a single direction, regardless of its relations in all other directions.

A set of people investigate certain conditions and see the principle which underlies them and that present practices are antagonistic to them. Taking this as a basis, they at once set about to construct a theory for the conditions in harmony with it, never for a moment imagining that the same principle is involved in other existing conditions, to separate from which is to induce circumstances not in the consideration.

So it appears that all reform must, in a measure, proceed together. No branch can shoot far ahead of another branch and make permanent advance. And all reforms that are thus advanced are really nothing more than educational. They form no part of a general constructive formation. They are destructive to isolated departments of life, and to established practices in special directions.

Perhaps there is no better illustration of what we mean than is furnished by the question of protection vs. free trade. The moment the reformer thinks of the principles involved he discovers that the theory of protection is at war with equality, and that it interferes with the right of the individual, and he sees there can be no justice in compelling one class of people engaged in industries which are self-sustaining to subsidize another class engaged in pursuits which are not self-sustaining, in order that they may continue therein.

Turning to free trade, he says that the principles of freedom and justice guarantee to every individual the right to exchange the results of his labors whenever it can be done to the best personal advantage, and, consequently, that the principle is the correct one. He therefore argues that trade should either be unrestricted or that all foreign trade should be excluded, since protection is a false theory.

His opponents, arguing from an opposite view, say that to establish free trade is to destroy our home manufactures, and to compel our vast interests thus engaged to desert to agriculture, and thus to produce so large an aggregate that there would be absolutely no market.

Now both are right, since the free trade is the true principle, while protection is a mere policy. Nevertheless, if protection were abandoned, our manufacturers would be strangled to death.

And both are equally wrong, since to continue protection—taxing the agricultural interests and consumers that the manufacturers may be enabled to exist is plainly a violation of the principle of justice, while to adopt free trade would be to not only destroy the manufacturing interests, but also the agricultural as well. And thus the Free Trade Leaguers and the Protectionists wrangle, alternately obtaining the advantage in legislation only to see disaster follow equally from both. And each are equally surprised and confounded, when beneficial results, which they promise shall follow, fail to do so.

Now there must be a difficulty somewhere that either one or both these parties, in their devotion to the truth as seen by them, have overlooked or ignored. And we have watched their controversies with curiosity, we might almost say with anxiety, to see if one or the other would not discover that which defeats the calculations of both. But we have never seen a single reference to it either in their writings or orations.

We have protection, and it taxes the honest washerwoman on every yard of sixpenny calico she purchases, and every ounce of tea or coffee, as well as everything else, she is compelled to obtain by which to support life. But to permit her to buy all these without taxing her would be to deprive her of the means to buy any of them. Hence, the application of freedom in this direction would prove disastrous to the very conditions that require amelioration.

It must be concluded, therefore, that there is something outside of the vexed question of Protection vs. Free Trade which has such intimate relation to it that to leave it out of the consideration is to fail in all calculations regarding it. Let us stop and ask why it is that Europe can manufacture so many things so much cheaper than we do, that they can be imported at such rates as to destroy their production here?

The first answer to this important question is that the European goods are the result of pauper labor. Analysis of this answer has proven it insufficient. It does not sustain the objection, since the rates of general wages received in England maintain the laborers quite as well as the same maintain the laborers in this country.

But this answer, though insufficient, points us in the right direction. It is in the costs attending manufacturing. Dismiss the wages question and the cost of raw material, and the cost of capital alone remains. And here we find the solution. Capital invested in manufacturing in this country, in one form or another, pays from twelve to twenty per cent. per annum interest, while that similarly invested in England pays two and a-half per cent. per annum. And yet Free Traders never raise the question of interest, while it is all there is of their theory, since free trade is impossible of a country which maintains a money despotism.

Make money as cheap in this country as it is in England and we can over-reach them in almost every kind of manufactured goods, while if we were to make money free from cost we could pay England off in her own coin, since we could manufacture all our raw material and undersell her in her own markets, which would compel her to resort to protection, which she would probably do, overlooking, as we have done, the vital point—the money question.

Let our government inaugurate the free money system and within twenty years the results flowing from it would dethrone every monarch in Europe—they subsist from the interest levied upon us. Make money free and plenty, and the tariff question will be at once and forever settled.

THAT UNANIMOUS REPORT.

The result of memorializing the Senate upon suffrage, with the reference of the same to the Judiciary Committee, is not different from what we expected. We have all along assumed that the Republican party put Senator Carpenter forward as the bulwark of defense against woman suffrage, in order that the next Presidential canvass might be bridged over without danger to the party. And when, after the hearing by the Committee, the whole matter was referred by them to Mr. Carpenter, it was transparent that the case was already determined. The report of the Committee simply re-echoed Mr. Carpenter's answer to Mr. Tilton, with the simple addition of an evasion of the penal character of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment. We do not believe that a single Senator beside Mr. Carpenter gave the question a moment's consideration. And if such be the case, the real merits of the question stand precisely where they did before the report, since we have Mr. Carpenter's opinion repeated, nothing more. Nor will it do to assume that, had the Committee as a whole given earnest attention to the subject, the result would have been similar, since we remember that Mr. Bingham went into a similar investigation last winter, fully persuaded that, even with the Fourteenth Amendment, women were only women, not citizens, but came out admitting the reverse. The only recourse for defense, that point once admitted, was what has been resorted to—a return to the old Democratic doctrine of State Rights. And of this doctrine Mr. Carpenter is a noble exponent. But let us analyze this rehash of Mr. Carpenter adopted by the Committee, to see how much of Democracy and how much of Aristocracy it contains, and we must say in advance that much that we offer will necessarily be similar in substance to what has been repeatedly presented in these columns:

The Senate Committee on the Judiciary, in their report against the memorial of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Isabella Hooker, Susan B. Anthony, and others, say it was argued before the committee by the memorialists, who, by a departure from the usual practice of the committee, were admitted to a public discussion of the principles involved in the memorial, that the right of every citizen, male and female, to vote was secured by that clause of the first section of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

This part of the report we leave Mr. Carpenter to answer, giving his exact language, as follows:

"Had the Fourteenth Amendment stopped with the first section I think the right of all citizens, black and white, male and female, to vote and hold office would have been secured; because I believe that upon the whole Constitution, thus amended, the elective franchise or privilege would have been held to be one of the privileges of a citizen of the United States."

Now, the whole question is involved in this inquiry: Does the first section actually do what Mr. Carpenter thinks it does? since if it do, then the right thus secured cannot be taken away again except by equally as explicit succeeding legislation.

We demand of these people who would shirk this question to point out the language by which the positive securing of the right to vote to women is again taken away. If the suffrage is granted, what has taken it away?

Senator Carpenter first, and later the Senate Judiciary Committee, say that the language following in the second section of the same amendment does it as follows: When the right to vote shall be denied to a portion of the male citizens of the United States, or any way abridged, except as punishment for crime, the basis of representation shall be reduced, etc.; and this is premised by Mr. Carpenter that the right of the State to exclude a portion of its citizens is recognized by it. That is to say, the people of the United States, as a whole, first

secure absolutely a right to all citizens, and then recognize the right of a State to deny the exercise of the right. In other words, by way of illustration, all the people, by joint action, first secured to every individual the full right to the suffrage, and then recognized the right of a part of the people to prevent its exercise. A pretty comment upon Congressional wisdom and upon the judgment of the people.

Now, either the right to suffrage was secured or it was destroyed. It is superlative nonsense to say that both were done. If it were given, it remains. If it were destroyed, it never existed. We claim, in the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, that this Fourteenth Amendment "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 never before prohibited by constitutional enactment," and that the American people understood what they were doing, and meant to decree what in fact they have decreed, when they gave it their "imprimatur." Therefore it is clear that the Supreme Court holds that it was the intent of the people to decree "what in fact they have decreed." Now, did they decree the right to vote, or did they deny it? That is the question, and the only one there is to be considered, since all the rest means nothing until that is decided. And Senator Carpenter tells us they did decree the right to vote. But the report dodges this pertinent part of the question, and goes on to throw dust in our eyes to blind us to the real point at issue, thus: The memorialists insisted that the second section was designed to fix a penalty upon the State for a violation of former provisions. The report says:

Such a construction is at war with all the theories of Constitutional government. An unconstitutional act is no act. The Legislature of a State may attempt to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts. But, as the Legislature cannot pass such an act, the attempt is void, and the obligation of the contract is not impaired. It would, therefore, be absurd to punish a State for the vain, ineffectual attempt to impair the obligation of a contract—a thing it could not do and therefore had not done.

We do not think there can be found an equal number of words in any public document extant containing so much sophistry as these contain. In the first place, we ask, is not the language in the form of a penalty? If the States do a certain thing, a certain result shall follow. If it do not do that certain thing, the stated result will not follow. If that is not a penalty for denying the right to vote to citizens, we should like to inquire what it is. It is a provision, with a result affixed. And Senator Carpenter may say it is at war with all theories of Constitutional government, and we agree with him perfectly, since there never was such an absurd, such a ridiculous, such an impossible self-stultification ever before attempted by any Legislation.

We hold with Mr. Carpenter that the whole "attempt," as he is pleased to denominate it, is unconstitutional, and therefore void, since "an unconstitutional act is no act;" and although it is almost too laughable to contemplate the supposition that the Government—a creation of the people—can contract with the power that created it, still we are glad that Mr. Carpenter has placed this case in the light of a contract, since it shows the desperate shifts to which he was compelled to resort to parry the shafts of the arguments hurled at him.

The Legislatures of the States have passed no laws upon the subject; the laws stand as they stood before the amendment was adopted, and how can Senator Carpenter say the States cannot do an unconstitutional thing? Does Senator Carpenter pretend to say that, had the amendment stopped with its first section, a State could not have continued to enforce the present prohibitory laws until compelled to desist, or is it impossible for a State to do a wrong act? The Senator says "a thing it could not do and therefore had not done." What he intended to say, we suppose, was that if an act should be performed by a State, which upon being called in question should be held to be unconstitutional by the courts, it would be obliged to retract, but during the time the proof of its unconstitutionality would be pending, its action would of course continue.

Now this is just what we claim about this right to vote granted to women by the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. It is unconstitutional to deny it to them, but until the courts so declare it, or until Congress so interpret the law, the denial will be continued. We hope Mr. Carpenter feels satisfied with his unconstitutional proposition, and that the Judiciary Committee, who re-echo what he asserts, will feel honored by his advocacy.

Hear his deduction:

So if by the first section of the fourteenth amendment no State can make or enforce any law to deny the right of suffrage to any portion of its male citizens over twenty-one years of age, not guilty of crime, then an attempt to do so would be merely void, wholly inoperative, and it would be absurd to punish that State for what it could not do and therefore had not done.

This is most remarkable language, since after laboring to make the assertion manifest and, as we suppose, making it manifest to himself, he follows it up by a complete abandonment of the whole position.

Hear him again:

The remedy under the Constitution against any attempted but unconstitutional legislation of a State is by application to the judicial courts of the Union, which have jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and a supervisory control by writ of error over State courts in regard to causes in which either party asserts a right or privilege under the Constitution or laws of the Union which is denied or overruled by the State court.

It seems then that this may be an attempt to do wrong or unconstitutional things, and that the attempt may even succeed until prevented by the courts. We are satisfied to leave this part of the matter where Senator Carpenter and his Judiciary Committee have placed it. It is as clear as mud that they have a clear case, since, of course, we must wait for the courts to decide the matter, and that will be after the next presidential campaign is ended. We are obliged to you, gentlemen, for your extra courtesy, but remember the axe will fall none the less mercilessly when the time shall come, nor none the less official heads tumble.

But these remarkably wise men continue in the same strain of exalted argument:

But there is another reason equally conclusive against the construction contended for. By the fourteenth amendment, Congress is empowered to enforce all the provisions of that amendment by appropriate legislation, therefore, if a State should attempt to exclude from the right of suffrage any person entitled under the fourteenth amendment to participate therein, it would be the undoubted duty of Congress to defeat such attempt by appropriate legislation; so that to regard the second section of this amendment as imposing upon the State a penalty for denying this right, includes the absurdity of imposing such penalty for an attempt of the State to do what it is the duty of Congress to prevent.

Again we say amen! We could scarcely have found more appropriate language in which to express our views, but we beg to differ from the intended inference that Congress cannot do absurd things. "If a State attempt to exclude from the right of suffrage any person entitled under the fourteenth amendment to participate therein, it would be the undoubted duty of Congress to defeat such an attempt." Now mark the bearing of this assertion. Senator Carpenter has said that he thinks the amendment has granted the right to vote to women. He then adds it would be the undoubted duty of the Congress to defeat any attempt of a State to interfere with that right. We repeat he has said so, since he has not shown the converse of the proposition to be true. He deals altogether too freely in suppositions. By them he seeks to evade the direct points at issue. Strip all subterfuges from his arguments and then deal with what is left, and that is what is left. Take the positive assertions, leaving the negative inferences, and we repeat that Mr. Carpenter has stated our position as well as we could state it ourselves.

Again:

The right of female suffrage is inferentially denied by the second section of the fourteenth amendment, which provides that in case a State in the exercise of a right conceded to exist shall exclude a portion of the male inhabitants specified, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the numbers of such "excluded" male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State. The basis is not to be reduced in the proportion which the number of the excluded male citizens shall bear to the whole population of the State, male or female, but only in the proportion which they bear to the number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State. It is evident from this provision that females are not regarded as belonging to the voting population of a State.

Mr. Carpenter knows as well as anybody, and every lawyer ought to know, that whatever is granted in positive terms cannot be limited by mere inference. And yet he has the audacity to say that "female suffrage is inferentially denied," and that "it is evident that females are not regarded as belonging to the voting population of a State" by the second section, after saying he thinks that women were granted the right to vote by the first section. Such lines of argument may satisfy the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, but people who are accustomed to logic and to arriving at argumentative deductions will simply laugh at their veridancy and simplicity. Politics and logic are not near relations in these days, when Senators under a republican form of government can find it "expedient" to commit a great wrong simply that a great party may remain leeches upon the vitals of a great people during a second term. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad;" and mad indeed must these people be when they think to sustain themselves in power by advancing and advocating the proposition that a State has the right to deprive all citizens of the United States of their right to representation in the General Government, which they do by the following language regarding the Fifteenth Amendment:

This amendment would have been wholly unnecessary if the fourteenth amendment had secured to all citizens the right to vote. It must be regarded as recognizing the right of every State under the Constitution as it previously stood to deny or abridge the right of a citizen to vote on any account in the pleasure of the State, and by the fifteenth amendment the rights of States in this respect are only so far respected that no State can base such exclusion upon "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." With this single exception of race, color and previous condition of servitude, the power of a State to make such exclusion is left untouched, and indeed is actually recognized by the fifteenth amendment as existing.

We have often said we are somewhat surprised that the States do not take the Republicans at their word and pass laws excluding the negroes, not because they belong to the African race, but from "every other reason left untouched" "by race, color and previous condition of servitude." We beg to call the attention of our readers to this singular fact, which is convenient for the advocates of the remarkable Republican doctrine that the State may exclude all citizens, that our government by the constitution itself must be republican in form, and earnestly ask them to decide if a government excluding every citizen from suffrage would be a republican government. And if the answer is no! then to the

consideration of the query, if a government would be republican in form which, while not actually practicing, would permit the exclusion of every citizen, which Senator Carpenter says ours does. If this is really the meaning of our constitution, we think we are in a dangerous condition, since a government which excludes one-half of all its citizens from representation to-day, may exclude the rest to-morrow. Then where would our republican form of government be? Merged into monarchy, most emphatically, since it must be all citizens governing themselves through equal and just laws, enacted by their representatives duly elected by themselves, or it may be one acquiring the power and governing all the rest.

The Republican party do not seem to see what they are inviting by placing this construction upon the organic law. Do they think that the classes of people whom it will be their next step to exclude from suffrage will not see the intent, the condition, in preparation for them? These self-elected dictators have had the opportunity to render justice to those who seek it; they prefer to invite revolution. Then revolution let it be; and the consequences be upon the heads of those who attempt to impede the march of the people in their advance to regain the right of representation in the National Councils of which they have been despotically deprived by those who have voted themselves their masters.

If the governors who have been appointed to rule over us without our consent being sought think this condition can last, let them enjoy the delusion—let them hug it to their hearts while yet they may. We have not the slightest objection to their brief happiness. Only let them remember that "the night is far spent" in which they revel in the usurped rights of others, and that the morning is at hand when the people will awake from their long slumbers to demand their birthright.

THE WISDOM AND JUSTICE OF THE PRESS.

The Sunday *World* ridicules the Boston movement to educate poor women in horticultural knowledge, and insists that the sins of the parents shall be visited on their natural children; that is, that illegitimacy shall be a barrier to the common rights of humanity. The author of such a sentiment we imagine would be mean enough to steal the coppers from the eyes of a dead pauper.

The same brilliant sheet denounces Miss Harris, Laura Fair and Mrs. Hyde, for avenging themselves on the men who had injured them. It is particularly severe on the latter, and does its best to prejudice the public mind against her, without any knowledge whatever of the wrongs and insults she may have endured at the hands of Watson. It ignores the fact that Watson had a wife and five children—that he was false to them; and that in being false he is liable to the charge of having misrepresented his domestic relations to gain the confidence of this girl, young enough to be his daughter, and in his employ as a servant. The fact that she resisted his overtures, shows that she was every way his superior; and the fact that he tempted and insulted her after she became a legal wife, and desired to be true to her vows, shows him to have been a very bad man, who ought to have been shot long ago, since shooting is the only remedy left to woman under such circumstances.

But we should like to know why the press is so down on the few women who have dared to avenge themselves on fraudulent men; do they fear that the practice will become common, and that they and others of the ninety-nine one-hundredths of guilty wretches may stand some chance of getting justice at the muzzle of a revolver?

Again we turn to its columns, and find that Prison Reform Conventions are denominated Festivals of "Twaddle," and regular convictions, "equal and just." Served them right; they had no business to be badly born, badly educated, or not educated at all. They deserve no human sympathy.

Contra: It advocates greater security for banks, and denounces the swindlers.

The *Golden Age* has a correspondent whose lamentations are nearly equal to those of Jeremiah. He is quite overwhelmed at the facility with which strong-minded women absorb their masculine protectors, and cites the cases of Stanton, Blackwell, Davis, Livermore and Howe, and others. Now our opinion is that some of these men were not hard to absorb, as there never was much of them; that there are many more of their brethren in the same fix; and that if women are really able to rise above their husbands, there is no reason why they should be by law or force restrained.

The writer admits that some of them made frantic efforts to avert the impending calamity, but yielded at last in despair, and found their level. We should like to know why men should not be absorbed as well as women?

The New York *Tribune* publishes a lengthy communication ridiculing the experiment of suffrage in Wyoming, and this in face of the fact that the Governor and judges of the court accept it as a success.

Women as jurors cannot be any worse failures than men. They fail to agree; they bring in unjust verdicts; they cast lots for decisions; they are influenced by prejudice; they are bribed; and many of them are idiots, according to the statements of the press.

The *Revolution* is improving in spirit, but fails somewhat in good manners. Ridiculing Dr. Mary Walker for words which she most likely never uttered, and if she did utter them, should have been related with attending circum-

stances, is in bad taste. How does the *Revolution* know that Dr. Walker "has experienced very few of the emotions of a noble and refined womanhood?" What does Rev. Clarke, who edits this paper, know of the emotions of womanhood, refined or unrefined? Has he prayed for and experienced for a few hours the emotions of a woman? Is he not guilty of writing about something he don't understand, or has he done the thing he condemns?

Are there not enemies enough without converting a woman's journal into an engine to crush woman? What does the *Revolution* know of the hells through which this frail and sensitive woman has been dragged by a brutal husband and the false conditions of a false social state? Shame on you, Bro. Clarke! Let Dr. Walker alone. If her curiosity aspires to a few hours' masculine sensibility, why let her indulge the freak as long as you know it is impossible and can hurt no one. However much you may ridicule Dr. Walker's peculiarities, her dress ideal, which she carries out in practice, however it may fall short of popular practice, is much more sensible than the filthy mops trailing behind the fashionables on Broadway daily.

The Sunday *Herald* devotes nearly a column to telling how it failed to interview the convicted Ku-klux Klan—two columns to the cruel sport of pigeon shooting; several columns to other stuff of no practical value to mankind, all of which proves the infinite convenience of blanket-sheet dailies. It goes to the Prison Reform meeting, reports less than one column, in which it is careful to publish that part of the proceedings which utters a flagrant falsehood in charging vagrancy on *free love*, when it should be charged to free lust, false relations and false social conditions.

Contra: Its editorial comments on the purposes of the convention are commendable.

A godsend to the press is the alleged exposure of Gordon. How the *carol* souls of the editors of the secular and religious press gloat over the rotten carcasses of pretenders as though a hypocrite forever vitiated Christianity; a pretender wiped out all genuine manifestations from the beyond. These creatures, having been reared on the filth of party politics, public corruption and popular lies, take to putridity as naturally as a duck to water—a hog to the mire—a crow to the carrion. Each theft, murder, suicide, seduction, accident and family unpleasantness is a godsend to these morbid creatures; it is their stock in trade; their bread and butter.

"COSMOPOLITAN CHATTER."

Such is the title in the *Star* report of the conference which meets hebdomadally at the corner of Bowery and Bleeker street. The conference presents a free platform; all ideas, silly and profound—all arguments, sophistical and logical, are allowed expression there. Of course there is much that is nonsensical and impracticable uttered there. But with all its incoherent ravings (the *victims* of orthodoxy and old fogysm rave most) the sum of knowledge of the science of life and political economy embodied in the "chatters" is more than equal to the sum of knowledge of the newspaper "chatterers," who are always first to decry any movement that looks to reforming the abuses which they and the politicians have inflicted on the country, until all society is rotten to the core and totters to the fall. What remedy do these chattering destroyers propose for the present state of *death, SLAVERY AND PURSUIT OF MISERY*, the birthright of the masses? Aye, what? The *Star* likes the chattering of the plunder of Tammany better than any political reform, and now struggles to maintain a feeble existence for want of the pap for which it has chattered while it prostituted the sacred name of Democracy, and betrayed the people for its mess of pottage. How about its "chattering" to the workmen while it fattened on the spoils of the ring, and aided in the plunder of the producing classes? Will the *Star* chatter awhile over these facts, and see if it can maintain coherence and consistency?

THE "GOLDEN AGE" A LITTLE OBSCURE.

A woman protests against Colfax as the coming man because he is the father of "the degree of Rebecca." The purpose—to lessen the opposition of the sex to the order. The limitation—no business to be transacted in the degree.

The point is that the degree with this restriction is an insult to women.

It is not charged that the Odd Fellowship is a blot on the escutcheon of Colfax, but the institution of an order or degree for women prohibiting all business in that degree is an insult to women. We think the point of this order well taken, and the reply of the *Age* weak and evasive.

The limitation is a clear expression of the author's, as well as the order's comprehension of the rights and capacity of women.

The honorable Vice-President may have changed his opinions since women have asserted themselves, but we are not aware that he has made the proper acknowledgments; and until he does, he must bear the logical sequences of his own acts, whether the *Golden Age* sees the point or not.

WHAT'S THE MATTER?—Did not Henry Ward Beecher say, three years ago, on the platform at Cooper Union, that "Society had no wrong which Christianity was unable to cure, as soon as fully known?" Do not Christian ministers

know of the poverty, vice and crime in our great cities; that it is unsafe to walk the streets day or night; that the City of Churches is most unsafe of all; that church members are secular and selfish; that corruption reigns in high places and low?

A Brooklyn correspondent demands the whipping-post for petty criminals, but offers no remedy for the grand larceny criminals who stalk abroad in daylight with complete impunity.

The New York *Times* says that it "is dangerous to trifle with the spirit that is abroad;" that people "are crazy" who suppose the masses will submit much longer. It further says, in regard to the Third Avenue Savings Bank, that the "occasion has arrived for a *summary lesson*." All this while the conservatives, the "stand there" people, are declaring there is nothing very wrong in our social system, notwithstanding we are breeding criminals by the million.

WASSON ON LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

The *Tribune* gives us a lengthy digest of a speech at Horticultural Hall by Rev. David Wasson on "true and false liberty—free love the logical growth of an exaggerated idea of industrial liberty."

In this speech—accepting the *Tribune's* regular and reliable version—the reverend gentleman shows himself ignorant—1. Of a true defender of liberty. 2. Of the ideal of the industrial classes. 3. Of the true definition of the passion called love. 4. Of the difference between free love and free lust. 5. Of the difference between a true love, which from its very nature is lasting, because based on an unchangeable principle, and a false love predicated of the glamour of physical beauty, social position, wealth or manly passion. 6. Of the justice of an honest criticism and, 7. Of sound logic.

We defy the reverend Wasson or any other man to produce a single sentence from the pen or lips of any prominent modern reformer that teaches that liberty permits the destruction of the liberty of another, or allows one man to pursue happiness at the expense of another. The charge is false and libelous, and Mr. Wasson is knave or fool when he makes it.

We already have equality, but we have not equity. The Commune, the Internationals, the Labor Reformers, the Suffragists, demand equality in equity, which Mr. Wasson cannot comprehend any more than the *Tribune*. Every man has a right to do right, and no other! Exactly. But what is right? Mr. W. fails to show; he carps at what he does not understand, and of course fails to point out a better way. Who ever asserted, in all the ranks of reformers, that personal liberty should take precedence of the public good? On the contrary, who does not know that all reformers assert that general good and private rights are most compatible? Such ignorance and charlatanism in the pulpit and press is enough to disgust the most ordinary understanding.

INSURANCE, SAVINGS BANKS, BANKS OF LOAN AND DEPOSIT.

The general rottenness of these concerns we have exposed long ago. Now that the horse is stolen, that the fires of Chicago have exposed the one class and the late bank disasters the other class, the wiseacres of the press, who are *sui generis* the custodians of public morals and interests, are howling awfully over the utter worthlessness of the securities by which our monetary property is upheld. The whole pack—bulls, curs, hounds and puppies—are yelping at a furious rate and demanding a cure without daring to prescribe an adequate remedy. They feel the public pulse by hinting at personal responsibility, but fear their bread and butter too much to devise and insist on measures that shall guarantee the safety of our surplus property and cash. Why did they not respond to our efforts long ago? Most of these calamities might have been averted?

THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO HOLD OFFICE.

In Mr. Carpenter's reply to Mr. Tilton he stated that he thought the right to vote and to hold office were secured by the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. He now holds that the right to vote was not secured by that amendment. But we believe he has lately argued a case in which he held that the right to hold office was secured. That is, while a woman is not entitled to vote, even for the meanest office, yet she can hold the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, having jurisdiction over every interest to which citizens are heirs. Isn't such a government a most beautiful piece of workmanship? Admire it, ye people, and thank Heaven you have fallen under such wise governmental times!

THE CONSTITUTION.

Almeda Clark Byam informs us that a petition is being circulated for the purpose of introducing the Constitution of the United States as a study into schools. It is too true, as she also says, that but a very few people have any idea of what the Constitution contains. We are justified in adding that when carefully studied, it is about as hard to determine what it does contain as before, since the very ablest men in

the nation differ upon its most essential points. Better get a Constitution which all can understand, and one in which there can be no mistake as to what it says. Then let everybody know it.

TO PERSONAL CORRESPONDENTS.

We are again constrained to say to our numerous correspondents, friends as well as strangers, that it is utterly impossible for us to answer a very large portion of the letters we receive. But we do not wish it understood that we object to receiving letters, but that we can only answer such as require specific attention in the interest of the cause. Therefore, when no replies are received, correspondents may assume that there is nothing to be done regarding the subject-matter of their letters. While to friendly and congratulatory communications our answer will be found in our continued labors. Let the WEEKLY speak for us.

A BOILING CAULDRON.

One of the most significant signs of the times has just occurred in Brooklyn. A Quakeress—a Miss Smiley—eloquent, fervid, religious, has been delighting the people of Brooklyn from the pulpit of Rev. Dr. Cuyler. Her innovation was so great and her success so evident that the godly Presbytery took afright and resorted to means to put an immediate stop to such high-handed invasion of the rights consecrated to them by the great Apostle St. Paul. We commend the following, extracted from a daily contemporary to the serious consideration of our readers, with the query as to what may be expected from the parsons generally as we advance on our course, when so much agitation is made over the single matter of preaching in a consecrated pulpit on a Sunday:

The discussion as to the propriety of allowing women to preach was resumed by the Presbytery of Brooklyn yesterday morning.

Dr. Wells spoke in favor of the resolution of censure, and said that the opposition was more for popular than Presbyterian effect.

The Rev. Mr. McClellan thought the defense had been eloquent but not logical. Elder Lambert said Paul sometimes spoke for himself and sometimes for God. This was partial inspiration with a vengeance. He protested against it. The whole of Paul, the whole of the inspired Word of God for him or none. The plain meaning of Paul was to forbid women preaching in public.

Dr. Spear had elaborate reasons to offer. The first was, that Dr. Cuyler had done or not done something worthy of censure. Second—The act designated, Miss Smiley's preaching, not women preaching in general, as the question. And the Presbytery as to that act must either dismiss, approve or condemn the case. That condemnation would be censure. Third—Any degree of censure in any form affects the constitutional rights of the parties, involves Dr. Cuyler and his session, and they, in that event, had a right to trial, which it was not pretended was holding. Fourth—The only authority to decide the case must be found in the standards of the Church, the confession of faith, and the books of discipline and government. Fifth—There was no fundamental law against women preaching. Sixth—The censure sought to be pronounced was half concealed. Seventh—The Bible was quoted instead of the standards. Eighth, Ninth and Tenth—The Doctor objected to the minute, because it would be an infraction of constitutional rights, would be prejudicial to the interests of the Church, and would lower Presbyterianism in the minds of the community.

The Rev. Mr. Talmadge offered the following resolutions: *Whereas*, It has come before us that a woman has preached in the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, at the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Cuyler; therefore

Resolved, That we find no cause of complaint against Dr. Cuyler, he having by his act offended no law of the Presbyterian Church; also, that as a Presbytery we encourage pulpit exchanges with the clergy of all evangelical denominations, so that there may be more intimate and sympathetic relations with Christians of different names; also, that we hail the coming of the time when she who was last at the cross and first at the sepulchre shall go everywhere, recommending the pardon and comfort of the Gospel to a suffering world.

This resolution was applauded, whereupon the Presbytery resolved that on the repetition of such a demonstration the doors should be closed and all but Presbyteries and reporters should be excluded. The Presbytery then laid the resolution of Mr. Talmadge on the table.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first speaker, said if Miss Smiley were infallible she would not be admissible to one of these pulpits. He did not conceive it possible that the Bible writers thought of such a thing as women preaching. He loved women, but none of them should ever dictate to him.

Dr. Duryea said that the important point was that others were ready to imitate Dr. Cuyler if there was no censure passed upon him; but they must not make themselves a grand jury and indict him for so small an offense.

Dr. Cuyler was sorry that the matter had come up in connection with a single clergyman. It was said there was a morbid feeling in the public mind on the woman question, and there must be an example. He felt that it was unfortunate that he should be telegraphed over the world as an upholder of the woman movement with all its terrible adjuncts, such as woman suffrage and free love. Christ said that in time many daughters should prophesy, and the "subordination" doctrine had been carried too far by those who excluded women utterly from preaching the gospel.

Dr. Duryea was of the same opinion mainly as before, but he had a substitute to offer, so worded that it did not convey any censure, and yet intended to prevent a recurrence of the error.

The amendment as finally passed was as follows:

"The Presbytery having been informed that a woman has preached in one of our churches on a Sabbath, at a regular service, at the request of the pastor, and with the consent of the session; therefore,

Resolved, That the Presbytery feel constrained to enjoin

upon our churches strict regard to the following deliverance of the General Assembly of 1832: 'Meetings of pious women by themselves for conversation and prayer we utterly approve; but let not the inspired prohibition of the great Apostle, as found in his epistles to the Corinthians and to Timothy, be violated. To teach and to exhort or to lead us in prayer in public and promiscuous assemblies is clearly forbidden to women in the Holy Oracles.'

Let it be remembered that the Presbytery declare woman suffrage one of the terrible adjuncts of the woman movement. Comment is unnecessary.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

There promises to be some difficulty in the way of an easy and peaceful settlement by the Geneva tribunal of the claims involved by the late Grand High Commission. It seems that England wishes to insist that we shall make no claim for consequential damages, and has stayed the proceedings of the tribunal. Now when the Commission refused to consider a gross amount as a full settlement, it opened the way to make claim for all possible damages, which of course must be decided by the tribunal, which it appears England presupposes in advance will be unfavorable to her, else why does she withdraw so early. It may be possible that the terms of the treaty are susceptible of different interpretations. But the Tribunal itself must be the judge of that, and if the decision is against consequential damages we shall have to submit, since we have agreed to do so. But England takes decision by the forelock and will not hear the case. Scarcely anything would be more to be deplored than a misunderstanding from which war might result, but we must stand by the right though the heavens fall, and if England is determined to make the present opportunity a pretext to precipitate war, we can better afford to endure it than she. We hope, however, that a sense of justice and a desire to avoid the arbitration of war will prevail in both nations. The necessity for Grant's re-election is not sufficiently imperative to warrant an expensive war to secure it. Be sure this is not the real foundation for the alarm that is at present being sounded through the country before accepting the issue. A better way to fight and conquer England would be for Congress to give the people *free money* with which to compete with English manufacturers. This would cripple the empire more than a destructive war. Our imports are yearly nearly five thousand million dollars, most of which come from English traders and in English ships. A free money would save at least one-half this vast sum to the laboring people of this country. Fight England by abolishing interest instead of by powder and lead. Let Congress consider the economy of this plan before pushing us into war.

THE CONNECTICUT DEMOCRACY.

The State Democratic Convention at New Haven have nominated R. D. Hubbard, of Hartford, for Governor; Charles Atwater, of Litchfield, for Lieutenant-Governor; John W. Stedman for Secretary of State; M. B. Richardson, of Salisbury, for Treasurer.

The resolutions adopted were more pointed than is usual for politicians to put forward in these times, when negatives are the rule. We present such as touch upon general matters:

Resolved, That the Democrats of Connecticut regard emancipation, equality of civil rights and enfranchisement, as established facts now embodied in the Constitution and deserving the support of good citizens of all parties.

Resolved, That true and lasting peace can come only from such profound reconciliation as enfranchisement has brought to the State of Missouri, nor can those governments be pure or great in which tax-payers have no active part. We therefore demand, with equal suffrage for all, complete amnesty for all; that the intellect and experience of every State may be welcomed to active service for the common welfare.

Resolved, That local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than all centralized authority. It is time to stop the growing encroachments of the Executive power; the use of coercion or bribery to ratify a treaty; the packing of a Supreme Court to relieve rich corporations; the seating of members of Congress not elected by the people; the resort of unconstitutional laws to cure the Ku-klux disorder. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation the return to the methods of peace and the limitation of power.

Resolved, That we are in favor of a liberal system of free schools, and protest against all interference by the general government with institutions so purely local, and concerning so deeply and tenderly the ties which bind them to our homes and to the State.

Of the Convention the *World* remarks:

The business having been transacted, an adjournment was effected amidst much enthusiasm and many cheers for the ticket. The report in reference to the presence of Mrs. Harker, of Hartford, the champion of female suffrage, did not prove correct. I noticed but one lady in attendance, and could find no intention on the part of delegates to meddle with this perplexing question. The spirit animating the convention was well expressed in the resolutions and in the opening speech of the president. The desire appeared to be to accept fully the situation without wasting time or words upon worn-out issues.

From the above it will be seen that the Democrats have unwittingly fallen into the open trap of impartial suffrage for all citizens. It is common sense. It is logical. It is inevitable—though the Democrats will probably say that impartial suffrage for all does not mean for women, since they don't form a part of "*we all*."

THE "CRUCIBLE."

Moses Hull requests us to say that he is no longer in any way connected with the Baltimore *Crucible*. He would not ask this favor were it not that its present managers refuse to publish his valedictory. While we are sorry to see Mr. Hull retire from active editorial work, we are happy to be able to announce that our own readers can in part reap the benefit that the readers of the *Crucible* will lose. He will for the present act as traveling agent for our WEEKLY, and occasionally contribute to its columns.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Judge Sharswood delivered the following opinion on the question of female suffrage:

"Burnham vs. Swezey. The plaintiff, a woman, declares against the defendants, election officers of the Eleventh Election Division of the Fourteenth Ward of the city of Philadelphia, for refusing her vote at the general election held on the tenth day of October, 1871, averring that she was duly qualified in all respects according to the constitution and laws of this commonwealth. The defendants demur, and assign, among other causes of demurrer, that the declaration shows that the plaintiff is not a freeman in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution. Article III., section 1.

"It is beyond all question that the provisions of the ninth article of the Constitution, commonly called the declaration of rights, extend to and include both sexes, and that when the words 'man' or 'men' are therein used they comprehend also women. It is equally clear that a woman who is born in this country or naturalized—as she may be under the acts of Congress—is a citizen as fully entitled to the protection of the government as a man, and with a right fully to enjoy all the privileges which properly belong to citizens. But it does not follow that the elective franchise is one of their privileges. That is exclusively regulated by the Constitution, which has excluded many citizens from it by reason of age, non-payment of taxes, non-residence within the Commonwealth and the election district for a certain period of time. Nor can I perceive that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States have any bearing or application upon the question. The third article, section 1, of the Constitution of Pennsylvania does not, in this respect at least, abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, for the elective franchise is not one of them, nor is the right of the plaintiff to vote denied or abridged on 'account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.'

"We are reduced, then, to the simple inquiry whether the word 'freeman' in Art. III., Sec. 1, Constitution of Pennsylvania, was intended to confine the right of voting to citizens of the male sex? This section, so far as the matter in hand is concerned, is, in effect, from the Constitution of 1790, and that followed also the Constitution of 1776. In the latter, Chapter II., Sec. 6, it is provided: 'Every freeman, of the full age of twenty-one years, having resided in this State for the space of one whole year next before the day of election for representatives, and paid public taxes during that time, shall enjoy the right of an elector, provided always that sons of freeholders of the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote, although they have not paid taxes.' The Constitution of 1790 had also a similar proviso, showing clearly that by 'freeman' only a male was intended. For, surely, had it not been so, the daughters, as well as the sons, of freeholders or of qualified electors would have been included.

"When the meaning of this word 'freeman' is thus clearly ascertained from the language of the Constitutions of 1776 and 1790, there can be no doubt, that it ought to have the same meaning in the amended Constitution of 1839, although the proviso is not expressed in the same form—not being confined to the sons of qualified electors, but to all freemen between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two. There is only one other clause of the Constitution in which this word 'freeman' is used, and there it most unquestionably is confined to males. Art. VI., Sec. 2, declares that 'the freemen of this Commonwealth shall be armed, organized and disciplined for its defense, when and in such manner as may be directed by law.' It is clear that the Constitution contemplates that the same class of persons who do the voting shall also do the fighting. The corresponding clause in the Constitution of 1776 is still clearer and more emphatic: 'The freemen of this Commonwealth and their sons shall be trained and armed for its defense.' Chap. II., Sec. 5.

"The uniform construction of the provincial constitutions and charters in which the same word is employed, as well as under the constitutions since the Revolution, has been in accordance with the doctrine that none but males have the right to vote. *Contemporanea expositio est optima est fortissima ex lege*. In the Commonwealth vs. North et al., 3 Hazard's Reg., 223, the Supreme Court of this State decided, when the charter of a church gave the right to vote to members generally, that the fact that for twenty-five years the females of the church had not voted was conclusive. Chief Justice Gibson remarked: 'There is no safer exposition of what was intended by such an instrument than usage.' We can say that we have in Pennsylvania a uniform and uninterrupted usage of nearly two hundred years showing that women were never intended to possess the elective franchise. Such a usage ought to settle the construction, even if the words of the Constitution were more general and comprehensive than we have seen them to be."

Judgment for the defendant.

REMARKS THERETO.

The reader of the foregoing will perceive that his honor, the learned judge, distinctly affirms: That the ninth article of the Constitution of Pennsylvania grants to women all rights and privileges men enjoy, except the elective franchise, and he uses the astounding language: "That (the elective franchise) is exclusively regulated by the Constitution, which has excluded many citizens from it by reason of age, non-payment of taxes, non-residence within the Commonwealth and election district for a certain period of time."

We admit that the Constitution in the above enumerated cases regulates, but we deny that the Constitution excludes. The so-called exclusion as to age is only meant for children, and they are excluded for being *non compos mentis*. Children

are not citizens, but entitled thereto as soon as they reach the discretionary age. In male children the right to the elective franchise is in abeyance until they have become citizens, that is, until they reach the discretionary age, and then they are entitled to vote *ipso facto*.

But while the male child and the female child both grow into citizenship, at the time of acquiring that citizenship the law steps in and makes the boy a voter.

It will be seen that the constitution keeps the right to vote in abeyance as to the boy, the non-payer of taxes, the non-resident, and it grants the right at the moment the easy and reasonable conditions are complied with, while the woman alone is excluded.

The learned judge further holds that the elective franchise is *not* one of the rights and privileges of citizenship, and, therefore, it can be properly denied.

If this is actually the case, then all those who believed that this our government is based upon democratic principles are mistaken.

But, if the elective franchise is not a right pertaining to citizenship, why, then, is it that the naturalization papers of an adoptive citizen evidence his right to vote? According to the opinion of the learned judge the naturalization papers simply evidence citizenship. And citizenship and elective franchise *being two distinct rights*, a distinct recognition of the right to vote, besides the evidence of citizenship, would be necessary to confer the elective franchise upon a naturalized citizen.

Is there anything to be found in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to infer such a distinct recognition? Nothing whatever! And yet the right to vote, for naturalized citizens, according to the logic of the foregoing decision, rests upon the precarious and uncertain title of custom.

But the right to vote is one of the privileges and immunities of citizenship, and is distinctly recognized as such in 4 W. C. C. R. 380, wherein it is said: "Under the rights of citizenship, besides the rights enumerated, is the right to the elective franchise, as regulated by the States."

Now, if the State of Pennsylvania would pass a law that naturalized citizens shall be citizens to all intents, except the right to vote, which can be enjoyed only by those born within the United States of America, according to the learned judge's opinion, they could not complain, for they are citizens, have all the rights of citizenship, with the exception of the right to vote, and they ought to be satisfied. Could such a doctrine be promulgated without uprooting at once all principles of democracy? But let us take a step further. Let the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have a law that only those citizens who are born within the United States, and own a freehold property of the value of \$5,000, have a right to vote; or let us presume, what may be more natural to presume, considering the hankering of our present politicians after the eulogiums of the rabble, that a law would pass disfranchising those who own property of and over the value, say, of \$1,000, would such a law not be perfectly valid?

According to the opinion of the learned Judge, it would; for, he says, citizenship does not include the right to vote.

If Judge Sharswood is right, our republic is composed of two classes of citizens—one privileged with the right to vote, that is, "to rule;" the other without such right and without the ability ever to acquire the same.

The citizens of America, therefore, classify themselves already in those who rule and those who are ruled. Circumstances may empower the rulers to contract their circle and disfranchise others. The right to rule may logically come thereby into the hands of a choice few, and still their actions would be perfectly constitutional. The learned Judge himself might be disfranchised, and he could not complain; for citizenship does not necessarily imply the right to vote. So he says.

In the view of such an opinion we are justified to ask: Is America a democratic Republic? Or is not all our talk of universal suffrage a sham, and we nothing but an oligarchy, like the Roman Republic was?

The second part of the opinion, concerning the interpretation of the word freeman, I consider secondary.

If a citizen may be a citizen and still be disfranchised, the word "freeman," of itself, applies only to the privileged many or few, as it may be. VAN TRONK.

GRANT AND GEORGE III.—HISTORICAL PARALLELS.

"JUNIUS" IN 1769 DEPICTS JUDGE M'KEON IN 1871-2.

"The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people and to engage their affections to government. * * After a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity and betray the sanctity of his office whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

"These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify."

DEAD IN THE STREET.

Fold her hands tenderly over her breast—
Dead in the street!—she has gone to her rest;
Gone from the tempest of sorrow below—
On whom the world trod—let the sequel now show.

What seeks it?—a being has passed from its crowd;
What seeks it?—existence is barely allowed;
What seeks it?—will life ever stop its swift wheel,
Or from its dark shadows its story reveal?

No! fold her hands tenderly—all now is past;
The stings of proud arrogance, the contempt of caste
Shall spurn the poor wanderer, whose spirit above,
Forgiven, finds rest in His sheltering love.

HELEN WESTERN.

Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1871.

PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF MRS. WOODHULL'S "SOCIAL VIEWS."

BY HUDSON TUTTLE.

The wife of Joaquin Miller, in a letter to the *Oregonian*, attempts to shield her faithless husband from public criticism. Our language can show no better equal to it in intensity of expression, and Mrs. Miller has unintentionally revealed herself to be a far more noble genius than her lionized husband. She crushes all her early dreams, and uncomplainingly accepts the decree of fate. He basely deserted her and his children in the wilds of Oregon, in a most helpless and destitute condition, "fifty miles from a church or a school-house." He threw off all responsibility for them, and the mother with her babes struggled and suffered deprivation so terrible that she can only say: "My babes lived through all, and I am more than satisfied."

The genius of Mr. Miller has nothing to do in justification of this desertion. He basely threw the care of his children on their mother, and ignored the duties he owed to her. An instance of greater wrong, of more vulgar selfishness, never was recorded. He may write as no poet ever wrote, his song cannot efface this unspeakable wrong. With all his culture, gained by such atrocious crimes against his family, he has written nothing that will compare with the letter of his unschooled wife. He did not desert her because her intellectual powers were inferior to his, but because he could go abroad and gain what he considered needed culture, while both could not. Hence, with a selfishness which was purely brutal, he left her in the wilderness to care for herself and babes; and even after he had gained fortune, he sent not a dollar to the hard-pressed and struggling wife. Miller may become a great poet, but he will ever be the meanest of men; and henceforth his name shall be synonymous with unqualified and brutal selfishness.

[We had not intended to notice "Hudson Tuttle's verbiage" until he had made good his first assertions, which we called upon him to do, but which he has not done. On the contrary he continues strutting about in such pompous and self-admiratory style that we consider it a duty to endeavor to show him what a ridiculous figure he is making of himself. We are always sorry for such displays of weakness in anybody, and in this particular case we are doubly so, since it is a pity that a man should barter away a well-earned reputation in the vain attempt to kick against a human right, so far above law that it is simple profanation to attempt to control its action by law against its own decrees.

Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, in an editorial in her *WEEKLY* of January 13, applies her free love theory to the case. Though she deprecates the state of society which lionizes Miller, but would cast down a woman who should do likewise, she says: "Mr. Miller is assumed in this letter to have deserted his family, and to have devoted himself to the cultivation and development of that God-like genius which was too sacred a trust to be put to the common-place use of providing for his own. Be it so. Absolute individual freedom is our idea; and Mr. Miller has a right to use his instincts and faculties in his own way, provided only that in so doing no one else is hurt." That no one should be "hurt," or rather that the suffering wife is all to blame in such cases, is the doctrine advocated by Mrs. Woodhull in her "Steinway Hall Speech." She then says to the deserted wife: "Take on yourself all the fault that you have not been able to command a more continuous love; that you have not proved to be all that you once seemed to be."

[We presume Hudson Tuttle knows all about the vital facts of this case. We do not, and are willing to take the woman's own statement of them, thinking that she is the best judge. There are people, however, who think they have commission direct from Omnipotence. We presume H. T. to be one of them, since he assumes to know what Mrs. Miller herself denies—that she is hurt by his desertion. How does H. T. know what lies behind all this external appearance, and which may have been the real cause of his desertion, as he is pleased to denominate it? And how does H. T. know even but Mrs. Miller is more content as it is than if it had been different? Really, Hudson Tuttle, it seems to us if you were to attend to, and judge of, your own affairs, and let other people alone to do the same for themselves, and spend your talents in expounding principles, you would be less liable to the charge of egotism. But we forget the commission. Ah! yes, we forget the commission. Pray will you not include our case, and relieve us from further individual responsibility regarding matters in which nobody but ourselves have any right to be concerned?]

Is it not perfectly plain that if Joaquin Miller is thus easily justified in deserting his wife and children, because he fancies that he can push his way better without them, Joseph Brown or John Smith, day-laborers though they be, may leave theirs because they consider them burdensome? This is not a question of genius, but of justice and right, and poetic talent has no advantages over the meanest labor. And yet Mrs. Woodhull does not advocate promiscuity.

[We do not pretend to justify or not to justify Mr. Miller. That is simply none of our business. What we pretend is that Mr. Miller did nothing but what he had the capacity and the right to do, with which no human being had any right to interfere. Will Hudson Tuttle say nay to this? If so will he please point out the person whose right it was to have compelled Mr. Miller to not desert Mrs. Miller, and also the power by which it was to have been accomplished. Hudson Tuttle may pretend to say that a hail-storm has no right to pass over his graperies and destroy his labor, but it happens that there is a power called nature which will not submit to his dictation; and the hail will come, let him protest all he please; and it will come even if the State of Ohio should pass a law prohibiting it. Now in the great economy of the universe it may be just possible that a hail-storm destroying H. T.'s grapes might do some good somewhere, though Hudson Tuttle, perhaps, would not be able to see it. And if it did not we should like to ask him what he would propose to do about it? It is a very beautiful thing for us to contemplate that everything in this universe has its uses, and though men may not at all times be able to realize their use, nevertheless we feel confident in the faith that God is. Hence we may be excused for our ignorance. We think Mr. Miller, Brown and Smith, and even Hudson Tuttle, may do what the powers operating upon their several capacities—for neither of which are they responsible—compel them to do. We never commit an act to which we are not moved by an application of power to personal capacity. Mr. Tuttle may be able to control this. We not only are free to confess that we are not blessed with this power over others, but also that we cannot see what right we should have to exercise it if it was possessed. It may be promiscuity for Mr. Miller to leave Mrs. Miller. Suppose Hudson Tuttle was to be divorced and marry again, wouldn't that be promiscuity also? Oh! but one is legal and the other isn't. And that's what's the matter with Hudson Tuttle. Only let it be done legally and a man may have a different wife every year. Aye, even every day if the law permit it, and it is all right, all respectable, all moral. Hudson Tuttle's morality is satisfied. But we on the contrary should attempt to show those who are compelled to change so often the way to make a correct selection at first and avoid all such confusion; that is if it is such a terrible, such a damnable thing to change.]

In WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY for December 23, a young lady asks for advice. She fears her lover after they are married will seek divorce, and she wishes to know "whether there is anything in the statute or decisions of the courts to forbid us limiting the contract of marriage to one year? By that time we can find out whether we are adapted to each other; whether our love be of the lasting kind." What is the editorial advice to this infatuated girl, who should be told that if she has such fears, and already plans to untie the marriage-knot, she mistakes herself when she thinks she loves her betrothed, and her future happiness depends on her at once breaking her connection with him?

[H. T. should have said here, "I know so much better than you do upon what your happiness depends: you are a poor foolish girl, and need a very proper person like me to look after you.]

It is: "If we were in the place of our wise correspondent, we should marry for a year and abide the consequences." And then, to encourage her in bold defiance to the present marriage laws, adds: "We know that there are thousands scattered throughout the land who would glory in their courage, and thank them from their souls for doing what they wanted to do themselves, but had not the strength and manliness to do."

[There was once a law in existence that permitted the holding of slaves. But its simple existence, if we remember correctly, did not prevent Hudson Tuttle from protesting against it. In short, we are not certain but he would have assisted slaves to run away from their legal masters into Canada. Come now, Hudson Tuttle, confess if you did not or that you would have done it, had the opportunity offered! Now we would sooner assist a social slave to flee to a social Canada than we would have assisted a negro to a soil of freedom. Isn't it barely possible that there are other laws existing that are no nearer justice and right than the old slave law was? We do not wonder that people are cautious about entering into a slavery from which nothing but crime can return them, and we shall continue to encourage every honest person to brave the damnable laws and customs which would compel it, and to act up to his or her own highest ideas of right. And as thousands of negro slaves bless those who had the courage to strangle the old abomination, so will there be thousands of social slaves to bless those who shall strangle this later and greater abomination. But what was right for Hudson Tuttle in the former case, is all wrong for us in the latter. So says H. T.]

Here is a practical application of Mrs. Woodhull's principles. She says to this doubting girl, who appeals to her as to an oracle: "Marry for a year, and show your bravery in trampling present usages under your feet."

But if marriage for a year is right, it is for a day or a

single hour, and, contracted to that narrow limit, the distinction between "marriage" and "promiscuity" is not readily determined.

[Who is to determine what is right or what wrong? If everybody was alike, then a similar rule would apply. But the fact is, Hudson Tuttle, that there are all degrees of sexual refinement, from the most sexually powerful, lacking spirituality, to the most spiritually inclined lacking the animal; and both extremes are equally distant from the perfect person, but both equally entitled to the conditions in which they exist, and neither can rightfully impose the law of its conditions upon the other. We say that Hudson Tuttle has the right to settle his conditions to suit himself if he can find consenting parties; but not a better right than another to change his conditions every hour if he find consenting parties. If we could only legislate people from low to high development, it would be a great blessing. We might then hope to do the same intellectually; in short, we might expect to obtain everything by legislation. But I fear we shall be obliged to educate and struggle for a long while before that condition will be reached.]

Yet Mrs. Woodhull does not advocate "promiscuity." When she said, "I have an inalienable, constitutional and natural right to love whom I may, to love as long or as short a period as I can, to change that love every day if I please, and with that right neither you nor any law you can frame have any right to interfere," she only intended a holy, pure and friendly love. When this principle, however, is applied to the dastardly desertion of his wife and babes by Miller, or to giving advice to doubting girls, it justifies the one and recommends marriage for "a year" to test their love and see "if it be of the lasting kind" to the other.

And yet Mrs. Woodhull does not teach "promiscuity!"

[We hope our readers will appreciate Hudson Tuttle's attempts at sarcasm. Their points, however, are so remarkably fine that they miss the mark. Let him beware lest they return to cut the thread of his own wit, or the throat of his own argument. We want Hudson Tuttle to show his colors. We want to know where he stands. We want to know what he proposes. We want to advise him to close this guerrilla sort of warfare which he wages and come out and take a position, so we may know whether it is a coward avoiding a direct fire, a sneak dodging the real issue, or an inflated vanity wandering about in dangerous places, ignorant of the shafts invited at every turn made. We make the plain and broad assertion that we have the right to change our love every day if we can and desire to do so. Now contradict that, Hudson Tuttle, and prove the reverse, then you will have something to talk about, since in the affirmative or the negative of that lies the whole question. After you have answered that, then we shall propose some more questions. But bad attempts at the game of bouffe will not refute a matter of principle, and Hudson Tuttle will learn it to the infinite harm of his intense egotism before he will hear the last of the principles of social freedom. We advised him once to make an issue before he proceeded further, but he has seen fit to ignore it. Then he must endure the mortification of a complete showing up of his shallowness and pretension.

In conclusion we will say, the chief difference between Hudson Tuttle and ourselves is that he assumes the right to decide for other people in matters which relate to themselves only, while we assume to decide only for ourselves, demanding from the community that none shall be permitted to impose upon us what is objectionable to us. In the fullest guarantee of freedom is the most perfect protection. Has Hudson Tuttle the capacity to see this fact? If he cannot he had better study it out socially, the same as it has been studied out religiously and politically. If he be incapable of discerning a fact, how can he hope to deal with the principle which underlies it? We pause for the answer, merely reminding him that the fact of promiscuity is about as good in argument against the principle of freedom as Tammany Hall corruptions are against popular representation in government. Can Hudson Tuttle apply the comparison? No, he simply dodges the issue when he says that in advocating freedom we also advocate promiscuity. Did our fathers advocate ballot-stuffing when they fought for freedom? Hudson Tuttle says, "Yes!" Choose your words with a little more caution, and with more respect to honesty, Hudson Tuttle, or you will not be deemed worthy even of contempt of, to say nothing about notice by, those with whom you attempt the game of Bouffe.]

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

A LECTURE BY MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, AT APOLLO HALL, N. Y., SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 21, 1872.

[Reported for the American Spiritualist.]

"We wait beneath the furnace blast
The pangs of transformation;
Not painlessly doth God recast
Or mold anew the nation."

"Hot burns the fire where wrongs expire;
Nor stays the hand that from the land
Uproots the ancient evil."

We used this quotation some years ago with reference to the political revolution then impending, and we use it now to typify the social and commercial revolution which is upon us, aye, even at our doors.

The growth and development of the world in all its departments and in all the phases of its continuous life, from its earliest history to the present time, presents the most abundant evidence that law and order, not chaos and con-

fusion, are inherent, essential, primary principles in all forms of existence.

The grosser forms of matter in the material world proclaim the necessity of this law. Wherever beauty is seen, wherever sublimity and grandeur enchant, wherever the forms of life reach the highest perfection, there is this grand necessity, heaven's first law—order—made manifest.

Nowhere in the limitless realms of God's existence is this more plainly manifest than with man. The history of the race unmistakably shows that a new order of things has always arisen when that necessity had been reached, wherein "Old things were passing away that all things might become new." Every form of religion, of government and of social life, in every age, has been subject to this chemistry of change. What the result? Development, growth and the progress of humanity.

The tendency of these forces in forms in religion, has been to more liberal, more scientific thought; in social life, to a fuller comprehension of its true relations; in government, to that justice and equality before the law most fully guaranteeing the largest liberty and the greatest good to the greatest number.

Although progressing and advancing as much as unfavorable conditions would allow, the toiling millions of the Old World turned their longing gaze to the New, to see the complete realization of their hopes. The nations of the earth are looking to America for a grand trial of Republicanism. But alas! our government is a by-word among nations. Corruption and mal-administration everywhere. American politics a foul and filthy pool. The avenues of mercantile life full of corruption, and so our social relations! The latter brings us to the more direct consideration of our subject for discussion to-night. There are three points we shall consider more particularly, and the first is

THE POSITION OF WOMAN.

Woman, companion of man—the sharer of all his joys and sorrows—loving mother, tender, patient wife, changeless friend, sweet charm of his existence—seems arrayed against man—each waging war against the other, and each demanding something of each other not granted. This is the surface view. If we refer the matter to political action for settlement then it must come to the surface and take its chance with other questions which are constantly arising and calling for adjustment. Political action, in this new world, came from the best minds in the country. The first protest was against taxation without representation, and culminated in a select though earnest tea party not far from Boston Harbor.

Either woman has no right at all, or woman is clearly within the constitutional recognition of citizenship; and if so, of course entitled to all the privileges and immunities thereunto belonging. Virtually man assumes that he has a right to legislate for woman. Where did man get this right? Who delegated it to him? Clearly no one ever gave man any such right. Then is man a usurper.

When we look to nature, we find each one launched upon life with a responsibility all his or her own.

If, then, with the promise and pretended assurance of freedom for all, as the basis of your political action, woman is denied and restrained from the free exercise of any natural right, woe, woe to the man, party or government who usurps power over any human soul, who dare presume to step between the creature and the Creator. There is neither necessity nor justice in the abridgment of natural rights. Governments and laws are established, or should be, to protect and defend, not to assail and destroy, the inherent birth-rights of the individual. The reasonable exercise of every natural right thus possessed can but benefit both the individual and society.

We talk of physical slavery. We abhor it. Governments band together in this enlightened day to prevent the deep disgrace and unpardonable stain upon the fair fame of any civilized nationality which the brutal practice of this ancient relic of barbarism would bring.

But mental slavery is far worse. One holds power over the body, the other over mind and soul, and both only because of ignorance or weakness. Is it because of one or both of these that man presumes to impose upon woman restraints and requirements to which he will not submit?

The full settlement of this question of "Woman Suffrage" must come. Opposition ever so fierce may delay, but cannot stop, the onward sweep of the forces and influences marshaled for this conflict and its final triumph. But those who start out as the first heralds of a new and unpopular idea must expect the "crown of thorns," and must not flinch, though stony paths with bleeding feet are trod, which lead direct to the Calvary of martyrdom.

This struggle of woman for that equality and justice which her soul demands will not be fought and won without force. Let not the delusive dream be entertained for a moment by any fair warrior in this righteous cause. To win such a victory as the right and justice demand, she who has been regarded as the gentle and tender woman must seize force as such, and use it; though it would almost seem to unsex woman, still those who fight this battle must become soldiers of force.

It is not probable, with present conditions, that the struggle can assume that higher, intellectual phase by which humanity could receive such benefits as a bequest from God, instead of reaching it by doing fierce battle against the unjust forms of man. Hence, let those who enlist in this warfare look to it well, for the conflict will be no play-day at

fair, but a hand-to-hand contest of opposing forces, which, while struggling upon the political plane, can only reach a final settlement by the use of force.

But while these forces, full of tumult, like the elements with the lightning's fitful gleam of intelligence, and a distant rumbling of the thunder of discontent, startle the slumbering masses to the dim consciousness of the necessity of a new social order, we must now speak of the fundamental basis of such a possibility, which we find in what we shall be pleased to denominate

WOMAN'S NATURAL SPHERE.

When we return to that first special sphere, evidently intended and designed for man and woman, we shall find her most supreme in her own home. While man goes abroad amid the coarse and corrupting influences of the giddy whirl of business—the heart-hardening, gold-trafficking tricks of trade—woman stays amid the soft, tender and refining influences of home. We are not of those who would define woman's sphere to be a certain round of household drudgery. Woman's true sphere is in doing whatever she chooses to do and is capable of doing well. I believe she possesses this right from her Creator, and I demand that every barrier to its free exercise be removed. This is simple justice; but while we claim and demand this in behalf of woman, we nevertheless assert our conviction that her sweet and natural sphere is in the empire of home.

Think not that literature and science are not needed and to be used in woman's home. Far from it. Everything that can give healthful amusement and instruction belongs there. And if men and women understood their own interests, they would not leave home in search of intellect, art, beauty and amusement, but would bring all of these within the sacred shrine of home, and thus consecrate the place to the divine uses and purposes for which it is intended. Home! What means the word? How full of meaning! Unconscious infancy, mature years of manhood and womanhood, tottering steps and forms bent with the weight of years, with a crown of whitened locks, are inevitably associated with this endeared word. 'Tis the place where souls are first launched forth upon the tumultuous sea of life. Home! 'tis stronger than iron, more enduring than granite; and because within its sacred precincts life immortal begins, the affections develop, the spirit starts on its endless career of life, and no matter what changes may occur from infancy to old age to the being thus brought into life, under the sacred walls of home, he can never forget, or absolve that life from its influence, so that there will not be a kindling of new-born joy when the word is spoken, and even after passing from the clay confines of flesh to the white-winged messengers of spirit life hasten back to the "dear old home," to assure those left behind, with whom they shared its joys and sorrows, that "they love us yet."

THE MARCH OF EVENTS.

BY A QUAKER LADY.

When we contemplate the march of events and the great changes wrought in the social, political and theological views and conditions of the people of America during the last century, and especially within the last two decades, we must acknowledge an over-ruling power and an unseen hand that guides the destinies of the race. Modern Spiritualism has wrought a great change. It came upon the world something like a snare. Infidelity at that time had its strongholds in the churches and out of them. The doors between the visible and invisible worlds were closed, locked and barred; and the spiritual fountains of inspiration had ceased to flow, and nothing was left to the people but the dead past; the only living present to be seen or felt was God manifest through natural material things, and through them thousands worshiped Him.

To meet the growing skepticism of the age, materialistic agencies were brought into requisition, rappings, table-tipping and a variety of sights and sounds. People had lost faith in almost everything and everybody, with the exception of very near relatives and friends. Of course they thought well of their grandmothers. I believe almost everybody loved and revered their grandmothers and believed what they said to them.

A large class of these had been quietly laid away in their graves to rest, according to popular theology, until Gabriel, with his long trumpet, should call them forth to the judgment of the Last Day! But many did not wait to hear the solemn blast; they came forward upon the witness stand, as it were, and conversed with friends and relatives; and to prove their identity they related many of the incidents of their earth life, and gave strong proof that they still lived in spheres beyond this life; and they took as much pains to prove that they were veritable spirits, dispossessed of flesh and bones, as one did in former times to convince an unbelieving Thomas that he had bones that were clothed with mortal flesh. However, we suppose that was the best that could have been done for that extreme unbeliever at that time.

Who has ever known a new truth, or a pioneer in any true reform, who did not have to work his way up hill, inch by inch, against strong opposing forces? There are a few things which find ready acceptance with the people, such as patent medicines, soothing syrups, anodynes for the body and consciences, too! They spring into favor in a day, as it

were, and are cried up all through the land as a panacea for all the ills of life.

Although Spiritualism in its incipient stages was weak and unpopular, yet it has grown little by little into the hearts and affections of the people of America and Europe, until now it has its millions of votaries. Intellectually and theoretically it is widespread; and we pray that there may be an infusion of divine life and spirit into the Spiritualism of to-day, that it may touch the hearts and quicken the consciences of the people, that we may see more and better fruit, for it was not given to us as a toy to amuse us—it has a high purpose and mission.

America owes its existence as a nation to Spiritualism. Her large possessions, reaching from sea to sea—protected by one flag—have not come to her by chance. Columbus was an inspired man. Angels or spirits visited him and gave him thoughts and feelings that were not his own. In his night dreams and day visions he saw a goodly land, away over the briny deep in the direction of the setting sun. Wise men of the east told him "there was no such land; and if there was, he could never reach it." But he was inspired with faith and hope, and it was not by his wisdom and skill alone that his little fleet was fitted out and guided over the rough billowy main! The eye which pierced the future and saw the end from the beginning designed that America should be a receptacle of high and progressed truth; and Columbus was sent by invisible powers above, to make a way in a pathless desert, to commence a work of civilization in a new world, and prepare the way for the ushering in of a new spiritual era.

Years rolled on—centuries passed, and again angels from the interior heavens were sent to earth to find a medium through whom the spirit could work. They found a woman, Ann Lee, in the humble walks of life, and they baptized her with power from the resurrection heavens—which first took effect in her own heart as a purifier, and wrought a great work of repentance there; then a work was given her to do for humanity!

Those who preceded her were baptized in the name of the Father. Hence all power, both civil and ecclesiastical, was vested in man; all rule was in the male line. She received a new baptism; was baptized in the name of the Eternal Mother in Deity, and the maternal spirit covered her. And into her charge was a measure of heaven committed, and it has worked slowly but surely from that time unto the present in the cause and for the elevation of woman. Now the time hasteneth and a spirit is working in earnest to bring order out of chaos in this respect.

Ann Lee was a divinely inspired medium. She also saw America in vision, and it was revealed to her that America would be blest of God above all other lands. But America seemed a long distance from Old England in those days of slow sailing vessels; much further away than the elysian fields in the Spirit-land now seems to those who have held close communings with the inhabitants thereof. People had not then learned to link continent to continent by a thread, and to send thoughts from shore to shore with lightning speed. But Ann was directed to come to America with her little band of truth-loving souls who had flocked to the standard which she had raised, and the bright angels who attended them promised to bear them in safety to Columbia's shore. England was not then prepared to receive the message which was given her to bear. They came and sought refuge in a secluded woodland and waited there in hope, in faith and prayer, until the political storm-cloud which had gathered around the nation had passed over, and a way was opened for her to deliver her message and begin the work that was given her to do. America was then struggling to throw off the yoke of British oppression and gain her freedom. Perhaps she became too independent, for as soon as the white portion of the population gained their freedom, they turned and bound heavy burdens upon the colored people and riveted their chains still tighter; and I will venture to say, "that all the blood ever shed on Mount Calvary could not wash away the sins and injustice committed during those dark days of chattel slavery in America against the African race. Individual suffering, confession and repentance must atone for those wrongs. And not until the angel of justice had cried with a loud voice, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the land, and the nation had been baptized in blood and in tears, were the rulers of the land heard to say, "it is enough, let the oppressed go free." And the people said, "Amen."

Now the black man can hold up his hand by the side of the white man's hand in a court of justice, and his voice is beginning to be heard in the councils of the nation. Well, the wheels of progress will not stand still; what is the next step to be taken? We see woman comes riding along in her chariot, demanding her rights as an American citizen. She claims that she has a right to help frame the laws by which she is bound, and to which she is amenable. And where is the man who loves woman, and believes her to be an intelligent, accountable being, that would be willing to limit her sphere of action and say, thus far shalt thou go, but no farther, pointing her to the domestic circle, to bend over the cradle and sing lullabies as the chief end and object of her creation here? If a large class of women choose to marry, bear children and guide the house, and think their duty lies in that direction, let them do it in peace. We would recommend Paul's advice to that class; it is needed. But, if another class choose to enlarge their sphere of action, to step on to a broader platform, and direct their efforts

toward the nation's weal, who will object? We hear a voice saying, "women should be angels; they cannot enter the political arena of life without being contaminated!" If political life has become thus corrupt, is it not time that something be done? To whom shall we look for good wholesome laws? for, "who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" Would it not be well to cleanse and fumigate the old ship of State, and make her fit to take woman on board? We would not be understood as meaning that class of women who give their minds, might and strength to the goddess of fashion, who pledge their all upon her altars and worship there; but sober-minded, deep-thinking, reasoning women, who have learned to compare cause and effect, and who will act from principle, regardless of smiles or frowns. Our friends understand that Shakers do not take part in the political debates of the day; but where we see important principles involved, we feel interested.

Jesus said, "In my Father's house there are many mansions." If this is true in the spirit spheres is it not equally true in this world? There are many different fields of labor, much work to be done, and room enough for all.

Let those who feel a deep concern lest the world become depopulated replenish the earth with healthy offspring, possessing the germs of immortal life, who are capable of growing from the material into the spiritual and being transformed from the earthly into the heavenly. And why not make room for woman to work, who feels that it is her right and duty to see that the scales of justice in a political point of view are equally balanced, and that wholesome laws are enacted and maintained, *i. e.*, if she will be honest. It seems to be an unpropitious time for rogues and rings. It would indeed be a pity if woman should be more unsuccessful than man has been in helping to run the governmental machinery.

In conclusion I will say—the Shakers feel that their work lies in another direction. The spirit and bride have called us to a higher plane of life, into the resurrection life and order—above the work of generation—to begin, while on earth, to live as do the angels in heaven, and to co-operate with them in the work of human redemption and help them to people the heavens. And we ask you friends to give us your prayers and blessing in this work. Pray for us, that we may be Saviours on Mount Zion, the salt of the earth.

REPUTATION.

BY HENRY T. CHILD, M. D.

"It is a poor campaign of life, if a man or woman must be marching up and down forever keeping sentinel to his or her reputation."—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Each individual has about as many different reputations as there are different persons to represent them; more than this, for almost every one of these will give you a reputation for every day, if not for every act.

How often do we see the hard-earned reputation of a lifetime blasted in a moment by some one act, it may be of the highest importance, requiring the greatest heroism.

The history of the past and the experiences of the present show that the best men and women have suffered most severely in their reputations, have been reviled, persecuted and crucified. It would seem as if these revilings and persecutions were proportioned to the purity and goodness of the individual, increasing with these.

Each individual has at least two reputations; one which the world recognizes, and another which they know to be true.

We are all living more or less under masks. The bubble reputations which we are seeking are too often a cloak for hypocrisy and deceit.

A decent respect for the opinions of others and a proper love of approbation stimulate us to do right, but at the same time there is a true and noble independence which results from right actions that lifts us above the influence of malice and slander; and the well-poised mind is not moved by these, except with feelings of pity for those who indulge in them.

If any one is injured it is the party resorting to such things, yet it may be the only means by which they can work up out of those lower conditions, and we must have charity for all such. Many persons seem to be obliged to pass through all these conditions, and it may be necessary for the good and pure of earth to bear this low scandal in order that such may rise into higher condition. What a glorious thing it is to be able to say, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

It is the real interior reputation which is to be the measure of the standard of every individual, and the more we progress either in this life or the continuation of it in the beyond the nearer will the external reputation correspond with the interior.

It is blessed to know that we are all working upward, and that God needs all classes of workers to make up the grand whole, and hence no true soul will ever despise another, no matter what may be their condition, but will seek to help them.

EXTRACT from Mrs. J. H. Stillman Severance's article in *Present Age*:

Another condition we sometimes find—that it requires great skill to regulate, is where one party may be fed by the other—for instance, the wife may be magnetically fed by the

husband; he may supply her necessities in that direction, while she may be unable to give an element to him in exchange. She thrives, he starves. He can give her the elements she lacks, but she could not him, and in time this constant draft upon him without receiving anything in return, uses up his capital stock, and magnetic starvation is the result—he becomes weakened, electric—his life forces, as it were, are gone, he cannot stand it, and, perhaps, is brought *en rapport* with some person who can feed him in this respect, and an attraction is formed at once, he is drawn by as natural a law as the needle is drawn to the magnet. Do you chide him for this attraction? As well chide the falling apple for acting true to the law of gravitation. It is only selfishness that would take from a person without giving an equivalent—only supreme selfishness that would thus hold to starvation a soul in the land of plenty, and it is a species of selfishness too much pampered, too much excused. As well excuse a person for taking the last morsel of bread from his fellow, leaving him to starvation, and then to deny to him the right to accept a pittance from any other source.

We have a great many demands to supply, a great many parts to develop, and to do this effectually, we need a variety of associations: we need to mingle with different classes in society, meet different persons upon various planes of life with diverse natures and varied experiences, in order to feed, round out and fully develop the true harmonious man, and by this exchange and interchange of elements we grow in physical and spiritual strength. Isolation is starvation. By living an exclusive life, by mingling with only a few persons, and those of one particular kind, we become dwarfed in intellect, narrowed in our sympathies, and are only the faint semblances of what we might otherwise become.

PASSING BY.

The old year swiftly passing,
Quickly winged its flight;
Days of sunshine, as of sadness,
Are the same to-night.
And although our hearts were shadowed
By many a stormy scene,
Still the picture memory traces—
Brightest leaves of green.

And the new year sweetly dawning
Beckons us still on—
Bravely toil, O woman weary!
Till our cause is won,
And the joyous cry of freedom
Heralds forth the day
When no longer man's opinion
Women submissively obey.

As the old year swiftly passing
From our sight away,
So old creeds and forms and dogmas
In succession may.
What although the wintry storm-king
Sweeps across the sky,
Know ye not the joyous spring-time
Even now is nigh?

And though man may place obstructions
Many in our way,
We will pass them by unheeded,
For the light of day
Freely gives to every mortal—
Who desires shall see—
Equal rights to progress onward,
Glorious, grand and free.

L. E. BAILEY.

Battle Creek, Mich.

HORACE GREELEY ON FINANCE AND TARIFF— HIS TRUE ROAD TO THE PRESIDENCY.

NEW YORK, Jan. 19.

Editors of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*:

I doubt not your readers have seen the floundering of the *New York Tribune* the last three days on the finance and tariff questions.

Now, Mr. Greeley proposes "a single and low rate of interest for our consols," etc., and he says "to effect this we propose to advertise and sell fifteen hundred millions of these consols, from time to time, for the most they will bring, and redeeming our sixes and fives with the proceeds." He gives it out as his opinion that this change could be made at a cost to the government of not over five per cent.

Over six months ago, in my letter to the *Savannah Republican*, giving Southern and Western Democrats a hint how to grapple with the Bank Rings and other monopolies hereabouts, who at that time controlled and used the National Democratic party to promote their private ends, and keep the Republicans in power, thereby to perpetuate the series of monopolies of bank, bond, railroad and land swindles to their own benefit and the country's ruin, I advised the people, and the Southern and Western Democrats especially, to cut loose from these plundering rings of New York and the East, suggesting the way as follows:

"How shall we meet these men, save our country, restore the Republic and the power to where it justly belongs? The way is clear. One single plank made to fit those which the Republican leaders have been forced by these rings to make for their opponents will do the work. But this saving plank must be brought to the surface now, not six months hence. It must be shown, exhibited to the people now—its character explained—its bearings canvassed—and when the Democracy of the South and West shall make it known that they will never give it up, victory is sure. Of course they will have to change New York leaders. This will be easy, as then the motive for past leadership will not exist, and they will drift to open affiliation with those who are under such lasting obligations to them.

"Let the leaders and press, the patriotic Democrats of the South and West, now openly avow their firm determination, when in power, to pay off the present 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds, and to enable them to obtain the means to do this, declare that they will issue fifteen hundred millions of forty year bonds, bearing interest at the rate of 3.65, principal and interest payable in gold, and free, if necessary, from taxation, and put these in market and sell them for what they will bring, and with the proceeds pay off the usurers.

"This purpose would be met with a howl from about 3 per cent. of all the population, and their prostituted press, but rejoicing will fill the hearts of the other 97."

I said in that letter that the financial policy of the Labor Reform party was perfect—was truly democratic. I say so to-day, and would not for one moment propose to qualify or change it. All these twists and torsions of Presidential candidates, in their slow approach to the truth, only confuse. The Democratic party of Ohio last year put it squarely in their platform, and the manly and outspoken defense of it by Thomas Ewing, Jr., has never been met. No man or press in Ohio, or anywhere else, has attempted to answer that argument. This gallant young Democrat of the West would have been Governor of Ohio but for the corrupt use of money by these rings and their agents against him; there is a future, and we wait its development.

It is not just to himself or his readers on the part of Horace Greeley to discuss the tariff question, leaving out this element of cheap money. The financial and tariff questions are parts of one whole, and cannot be separated. No one knows this better than Horace Greeley. Yet who ever saw an article in the *Tribune* discussing these questions together? or in the *World*, the *Evening Post* or the *Chicago Tribune*? Why is this? There is but one answer. The advocates of high tariff and all who ignore or skulk this element of cheap money are not our friends; they are monopolists, the advocates or apologists of monopolies, their confederates and associates in the robbery; and they know as well as we do that this high rate of interest established by these rings who have so long controlled the National Government makes the high price of everything in this country, and not the mere difference in value between currency and gold. That pretense has been echoed by the *Tribune* and all these subsidized presses for ten years past, while all discussion of the real cause of high prices has been studiously avoided and kept from the people all this while; but it cannot always be so. Educated by suffering, all classes are beginning to inquire the cause of our national decay; and now we trust Horace Greeley will advocate the just tariff system described in the platform of the National Labor Union in connection with our true financial system, which together will insure all the developing interests of our whole country on a vantage ground equal to that of our competitors abroad.

We should say to Horace Greeley—forget that you are the most noted candidate of the people—that the devious ways and shifting quicksands of modern politics is no road for an honest man's way to the Presidency to-day. Place yourself square with the people against monopoly and every form of public plundering. Go back, if may be, to the period when to be an accepted candidate the honest patriot would hide nothing either by silence or other subterfuge; trust in God and the honest people, and enter the fight with all your might. Don't forget to cease your hostility to woman's suffrage; that is coming and you cannot prevent it, and to remove all sectarian education from public schools, and restore harmonious co-operation for the comingling and popular education of the rising generation. Help us to establish a just and proper Civil Service Law, which shall cut to the quick and reach from the White House to the wood-chopper or gate-tender in the public yards. Help us to relieve all classes. You know that to-day there are in this city, thousands of sober, intelligent, able business men, idle and helpless, who, under a just and true system of finance adapted to our republican form of government, would find capital seeking their talents in honest enterprise. You know that the revolution which ten years of this fatal system has brought upon the country is full of deepest significance, imperiling everything sacred and dear to us as a nation; you see capital everywhere drifting—when moving at all—into corporations and centralization where there is no soul, while all individual enterprise is stifled, the people, meanwhile, losing all reverence and respect for our Government and its institutions. No one knows all these things better than does Horace Greeley. We say to you, come out of these dirty pools, they are not native to you, and make you inharmonious, and impair your usefulness. We of the Labor Union have looked over the field for you. Your bailing of Jeff Davis—your early advocacy of universal amnesty—your anti-slavery record—opens the way at the South for all classes of voters. Now stop your trimming to please the capitalists, whether in Wall street or those who own the stock of the *Tribune*. It matters little whether that paper keeps you or not; there needs no one paper to put you in the Presidency; for when you again stand with the people, and not with their oppressors, no human power can keep you out of the White House, for one term, at least—and that is as long as any one man ought to be there under our present system.

HORACE H. DAY.

"JUNIUS" ON "WHAT IS IT?" (1772—1872)—PAINE'S "COMMON SENSE."

"It is somewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England [United States, 1872]. So Mr. Meredith calls it a republic, but in its present state it is unworthy of the name, because the corrupt influence of the crown [appointing power, or executive], by having all the places at its disposal, hath so effectually swallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the House of Commons [House of Representatives], that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain."

Substitute the words in brackets for the corresponding expressions of "Junius" and we have a correct delineation of the tendencies of the Jacksonian doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils."

"That the crown is the overbearing part in the English Constitution need not to be mentioned; and that it derives its whole consequence merely from being the giver of places and pensions is self evident. Wherefore, though we have been wise enough to shut and lock a door against absolute monarchy, we have been at the same time foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key."—*Paine's Common Sense*.

In like manner the people of the United States have "shut and locked a door against" all "monarchy;" but have given the key to politicians of the dominant party by giving such party control of appointments and dismissals, regardless of merit or demerit. The liberties of the people are as much stolen by Conklings and Murphys to-day as by George III. a century ago; the principle is the same, only a little change in the mechanism. There is evidence that "Junius" was Paine, of which more hereafter.

ANTI-PROCRUSTES.

[From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, January 19.] A gentleman called on us to-day to say that if Congress should give two years in which to import free ships, that would allow only six months of actual opportunity if confined to craft to be built on American orders, since the best foreign yards are full for a year and a half ahead. He also gives the following extract from a letter to himself by a resident of Hamburg, which is quite to the point:

To the Editor of the Journal of Commerce: I give you this extract from a letter just received from Hamburg:

"As your relative, I wish you all success in your endeavor to repeal the prohibitory American Navigation laws, but as a stockholder in the Hamburg and American Steamship Company I certainly hope you will fail."

"We are now doing an immensely profitable business, thanks to the kindness of the United States government, who does not permit its people to interfere with it; only we cannot get ships built so fast as we want them, as the Scotch shipyards are full of orders for a year and a half ahead."

You will see that the plan of abrogating our Navigation laws for two years only would give Americans but a poor chance to profit by the permission to build vessels abroad for that limited time.—Very respectfully, your obedient servant, JOHN CODMAN.

CURE FOR CANCERS.

I wish to tell you how I cured my cancer last summer without pain or money. Eight years ago a cancer came on my nose. It grew slowly for several years; the last two years it grew very fast. It became frightful. It commenced to eat out my left eye. I had expended hundreds of dollars, and tried doctors far and near, without finding relief. Last summer I drank Wild Tea, wetting the tea grounds on my cancer every night, as a poultice. In six weeks my cancer was cured. I am sixty-two years old. I have given this remedy to several that had cancer, and know two that have been cured since. I believe Wild Tea grows over the country generally; always on high land.—Charles Yardley, of Pittsburgh, Pa., in Rutland Herald.

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith.

This lady, who has spent six years in California, receiving the highest encomiums from the press of the Pacific coast, cannot fail to please Associations desiring an earnest, eloquent and entertaining lecturer.

SUBJECTS:

- I.—Woman in the Home, the Church and the State. II.—One of the World's Needs. III.—The Religion of the Future. IV.—The Social Problem Reviewed.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

To those who have not heard this lady lecture, we would say, go by all means if you would desire to hear an earnest, well-spoken discourse, with an unbroken flow of well-pronounced, grammatical English. We have our own ideas about woman's mission and how far she unsexes herself when she ventures to lecture men, yet spite of our prejudice we were carried away by her words last evening at Maguire's Opera House.—San Francisco News Letter.

This lady pronounced a remarkable address last night at the Hall opposite the Academy of Music. Remarkable because of the extreme beauty of language and elegance of fancy, and interesting on account of its tender and grateful sentiment.—The Pacific American Flag, San Francisco.

She never hesitated an instant for a word, and she has always the most appropriate. Her voice is sweet and melodious, her enunciation pure and distinct, her attitude and gestures very graceful indeed.—Sacramento Correspondent Santa Clara Argus.

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith gave an interesting and instructive lecture last night to a large assemblage at Maguire's Opera House, which if delivered by some peripatetic male pedagogue with a large reputation, at a dollar per head admission, would have received unbounded eulogiums from the press.—San Francisco Examiner.

Laura Cuppy Smith, one of the best educated and most talented lady lecturers we have ever listened to.—San Francisco Figaro.

Mrs. Cuppy Smith possesses great talent as a speaker, and, standing before her audience in her simple, yet elegant attire, with a spirituelle face, which seems to index the emotions of her mind, commands the attention and respect of all her hearers.—San Francisco Morning Call.

Maguire's Opera House never contained a greater throng than convened to listen to an erudite lecture on Radicalism, by Laura Cuppy Smith, last evening.—Alta California, San Francisco.

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith has proven herself to be a lady of rare culture, added to great natural eloquence. To say that she ranks among the first of all who have addressed an Omaha audience, whether male or female, is but doing her justice.—Wm. L. Peabody, Chairman Relief Committee Y. M. C. Association.—Omaha Republican.

Walking majestically through the splendid gardens of literature and philosophy, culling, as she went rapidly on, the richest gems of inspired genius; riveting the profound attention of all her charmed hearers. Such women you seldom meet. Her praises are on the tongues of all the people.—Omaha Tribune.

She is a fluent speaker, using elegant language, and with far more than ordinary argumentative powers.—Omaha Herald.

She is an educated, refined lady, and one of the best lecturers we ever heard.—Omaha Republican.

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

INCERSOLL LOCKWOOD,

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

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Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old), and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day.—[Evening Mail.]... The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful reconditeness in the subject, and presents an array of curious facts. Though exhausting the subject, he did not exhaust the audience, which listened to it with pleasurable delight.—[N. Y. Herald.]... The lecture delivered last evening, before the Young Men's Association, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck," was a very fine effort indeed.—[Troy Express.]... A good audience was in attendance at Tweed's 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.]

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BY CHARLES G. LELAND.

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Author of "Hans Breitmann's Ballads."

When the first edition of "Meister Karl's Sketch Book" was issued, Washington Irving wrote to the author: "I trust your work has met with a wide circulation, for such it merits by its raciness, its quaint erudition, its graphic delineations, its veins of genuine poetry and true Rabelais humor. To me it is a choice book to have at hand for a relishing morsel occasionally, like a Stilton cheese or a pate de foie gras."

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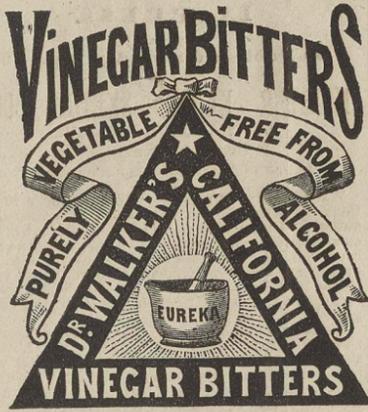
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